



**HAL**  
open science

# Romania's Post-Cold War International Relations

Marc Bonnemains

► **To cite this version:**

Marc Bonnemains. Romania's Post-Cold War International Relations. Political science. Centre d'Etudes Diplomatiques et Stratégiques, 2010. English. NNT: . tel-00731245

**HAL Id: tel-00731245**

**<https://theses.hal.science/tel-00731245>**

Submitted on 14 Sep 2012

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Académie de Paris



**École des Hautes Études Internationales**  
Centre d'Études Diplomatiques et Stratégiques

**Romania's Post-Cold War  
International Relations**

By

Marc Bonnemains

A thesis submitted  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for the degree of

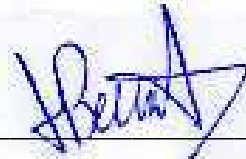
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
International Relations and Diplomacy

Under the supervision of  
Professor Dr. Jacques Barrat, Thesis Director

Paris, 2010

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Marc Bonnemains entitled "Romanian's Post-Cold War International Relations". I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations and Diplomacy.

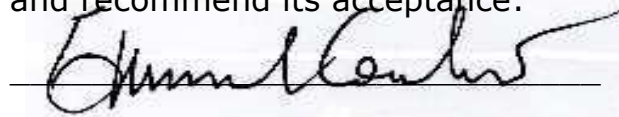


---

Prof. Dr. Jacques Barrat, Thesis director

We have read this thesis

and recommend its acceptance:



---

Emmanuel Caulier, Doctor in International Law

Accepted for the Council:



Accepted

---

Mikaël Strauss, Doctor in International Relations and Diplomacy

## **Statement of Permission to Use**

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relation and Diplomacy at The Centre d'Études Diplomatiques et Stratégiques, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of the source is made.

Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis may be granted by my major professor or in his absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when, in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Date: July 18, 2010



## **CENTRE D'ETUDES DIPLOMATIQUES ET STRATEGIQUES**

*Organisme doté du statut consultatif auprès du Conseil Economique et Social des Nations Unies*

### **JURY'S REPORT ON PhD DISSERTATION**

**Grade : PhD in international relations and diplomacy**

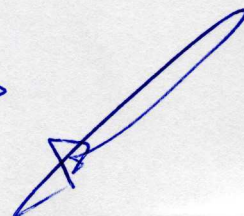
**Date September, 9, 2010**

**PhD candidate : Marc BONNEMAINS**

**Title : Romania's Post-Cold War International Relations**

**Dissertation supervisor : Pr Jacques BARRAT (Professor at Paris II Panthéon Assas University)**

**Members of Jury : Pr Jacques BARRAT (Professor at Paris II Panthéon Assas University), Dr Michael Strauss (PhD graduated from CEDS, Professor at CEDS), Dr Emmanuel CAULIER (Barrister, Professor at CEDS)**



## **JURY'S REMARKS AND EVALUATION**

**After the candidate's presentation, the jury appreciated his work as follows :**

### **Pr Jacques BARRAT**

Professor Barrat congratulates the candidate for the high level of the 600 pages dissertations and the 180 pages of appendixes skillfully selected because of their relevance for the core of the subject. He emphasizes on the perfect mapping of the work. The candidate begins by a clear presentation of the subject and searches in history the reasons explaining the characteristics of Romania's foreign policy. Then he exploits geopolitics in order to explain the very outcomes and future stakes of Romania's place and role in South-Eastern Europe.

Very few remarks and critics can be effectively made concerning any formal lacks or mistakes. The candidate considered and complied with all the formal academic criteria. He supported his assumptions with 1971 footnotes and with a very rich bibliography of 135 pages cautiously and perfectly ordered and written, thus leading to sincere congratulations from his dissertation supervisor.

As a head of diplomatic mission in Romania, Pr Barrat recognizes that the candidate was excellent in explaining the role of Romania as a "crossroad" in the region, and in defending the case for a steady commitment of the country in favor of his historical ties with France instead of the recent Bucharest-London-Washington axis. He did well in demonstrating the useless of the latter except for those who believe that a Romanian involvement in Iraq in supporting US invasion of Iraq was something positive.

Pr Barrat is also totally satisfied with the high quality of expression in English that we can notice in this dissertation in international relations and expresses all his satisfaction for having supervised such a serious and precise analysis of the Romanian present diplomacy. No doubt that this work deserves the jury's congratulations, but also the right to be published as soon as possible in order to inform and learn more to the Romanian English speaking diplomats about this French way of looking at the international relations practiced by the country these recent years.

### **Dr Michael J. Strauss**


Mr. Bonnemain produced a very strong thesis – one of best I have seen from the PhD candidates at CEDS.

His selected an important but largely untreated subject in the current European context – Romania's international relations in the past two decades. He then discussed it comprehensively with solid explanations and assessments of many different aspects. The breadth and quality of his treatment of the subject was impressive. He not only covered Romania's foreign relations in a direct sense, but he also examined the internal dynamics of Romania as they pertained to these relations – social, cultural, the corruption problem, etc.

Importantly, Mr. Bonnemain highlighted aspects of Romania's international relations that will have ongoing importance in its future policy decisions, such as its situation vis-à-vis the Balkans.

The thesis was also insightful – for example, in discussing Romania's need to adapt to NATO and EU membership, he also discussed how NATO and the EU were forced to adapt to the challenges of expanding to a country like Romania.

The number and quality of sources Mr. Bonnemain used in preparing the thesis was equally impressive.

p2/3 

The thesis was very long, but I found every element of the main text to be relevant for someone who wanted to understand Romania in the current international context. At the end of the defence, I commented that the thesis would probably be the most useful text that any diplomat could read upon being stationed in Romania.

The only thing I found missing from the main text was that it did not prepare the reader for understanding the current international tensions involving the Roms – their expulsions from France and previously Italy, and the diplomatic talks that have surrounded these events, have become a very prominent aspect of Romania's relations with other European countries at present, even if Romania is not the active protagonist in these events.

My primary criticisms involved the appendices – the information in some was too vague to be of much use in understanding the matters they discussed. For example, the list of diplomatic visits abroad by Romanian government leaders showed the dates and locations and people visited, but not the specific purpose of the visit or any achievements that resulted (the object of many trips was listed simply as "visit" or "agreement" without elaboration).

Also, some information raised new questions but did not provide answers, such as the appendix that showed the state of diplomatic relations between Romania and other countries; an example is where it showed that Romania and Bolivia opened reciprocal embassies but closed them "temporarily" within one year – although 10 years later they are still closed, but no reason was given (a bilateral problem? budget reasons?).

These are minor comments relative to the work as a whole, which was extremely good. I agreed entirely with the mention of *summa cum laude*, and recommended that it be published (although its length might make it problematic for a single volume).

#### **Dr Emmanuel CAULIER**

Dr Caulier recognized also the high level of the dissertation and of the research done by the candidate. No doubt that a deep involvement of the latter is obviously displayed by the quality of the arguments, the density of the sources and references (more than 130 pages in bibliography), and the relevance of the appendixes.

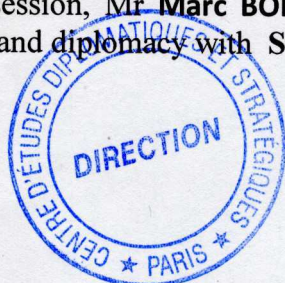
The structure of the work seems also to be perfect and the candidate fulfilled all the academic requirements. He didn't neglect any of them and complied with what was expected.

So was the strong commitment of the candidate who gave the case for a resume of a French-Romanian alliance versus the present trend to bandwagon with Washington. Anyway and despite an academic work has to distinguish between fact judgments and value judgments as Emile Durkheim taught us, we cannot criticize the candidate's obvious commitment. He was excellent in taking all the academic and scientific care and cautious required by political science.

The candidate was comprehensive in his approach because he didn't forget the historical dimension of Romania's diplomacy and he put it together with a geopolitical very clear and rational explanation

For this reason we might congratulate the candidate for his excellent research.

Next to the defense session, Mr. **Marc BONNEMAIN** is Admitted to the Grade of PhD in international relations and diplomacy with **SUMMA CUM LAUDE**



**Fouad NOHRA**  
Academic Director



## ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES

*Membre de l'« Academic Council on the United Nations System »*

Établissement libre d'Enseignement supérieur fondé en 1899  
accrédité par l'« European Board of Higher Education Schools »

-+

### LETTER CERTIFYING THE OBTENTION OF PHD GRADE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

Paris July 13<sup>th</sup> 2011

Mr Marc BONNEMAIN has obtained on Thursday September, 9, 2010, the PhD Grade in International Relations and Diplomacy after having submitted and successfully defended his PhD dissertation on the following subject :  
"Romania's Post-Cold War International Relations" under the supervision of Pr Jacques BARRAT.

He obtained the PhD grade with "Summa Cum Laude" next to his excellent and original work, that has been really appreciated by the jury.

The CEDS is British accredited since February 2011, and has been granted the statute of Premier College by the Accreditation Service for International Colleges (ASIC) and is partner of Anglia Ruskin University (ARU) since may 2011.

Fouad NOHRA  
Academic Director





Copyright © 2010

Marc Bonnemains

All Rights Reserved

This page is left intentionally blank

***Dedication***

**Dedication**

To all the persons I love, in particular to my family.

This page is left intentionally blank.

# **Acknowledgments**

Even if a thesis is a personal work, it involves a lot of persons around, especially by their interactions which permit you to run your project until the end and to refine the meander of the initial idea until its draft.

First, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my thesis director under whom I realise this work, Jacques Barrat, Professor at the Panthéon-Assas Paris II University and at the Joint Defence College (Collège interarmées de défense) and former diplomat. Despite his very busy schedules, he gave me part of its valuable time to discuss about the subject of this thesis, provided me guidance and advices and suggested me some valuable references for my work. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Academic Director at the 'Centre d'Étude Diplomatique et Stratégique' (CEDS), Professor Fouad Nohra, Doctor in Political Sciences, as well the professor Emanuel Caulier, former Academic Director at the CEDS.

To all friends, which it will be too long to name all of them here and who helped me by their interaction and discussion to refine my reflexion in the complexion of this thesis.

During my thesis' researches, I have become indebted to many people for their help in the research and the consultation of the necessary documents: the librarians of the Sciences-Po library in Paris and the special access conditions, the librarians of the 'Institut Europeen des Hautes Études Internationales' (IEHEI) in Nice, as well thus of the University library in Bucharest.

I would like to name few people as Anca Gabriela Scurtu, student in Master of Art in American Studies at the University of Bucharest and Miruna Luana Ionescu, student at the Faculty of psychology and Educational Science at the University Alexandru Ioan Cuza in Iasi for their assistance in documentation research, bibliography preparation and verification. I am also very grateful to Alina Coman for her assistance in reviewing my thesis in English language.

## ***Acknowledgments***

And lastly, special thanks must go to Madalina Vlasceanu for her support, her critical point of view, her listening, her interaction all along the accomplishment of this work.

## **Abstract**

This work's research examines the international relations of Romania after the 89' Revolution, within the changing parameters in the Romania's near shore as well the new paradigms of International Relations appeared at the end of the eighties and the dawn of the 21st century. Focusing on the 'major forces' (geopolitics, country's history...) likewise 'variable forces' (foreign policy, domestic policy, sociology...), this work identified three pillars: the powerful impact of the 'Others', an in-between situation and the complexity of Romania's borderland as well its crossroad situation. These pillars underline the Romanian international relations actions and impel the Romanian foreign policy decisions. It is pointed out that Romania's case study represented the Central and Eastern European Countries' (CEECs) path and contingencies, likewise the politico-ideological transformation of the military alliance as well the European Union enlargement strategy adaptation in the Post-Cold War Era interdependence. In addition, this work allows validating some theories in different fields as Foreign Policy Change, International Relations, Geopolitics, Interdependence...

Over its history despite the geopolitical and domestic changes, Romania's main options in the international relations remained unchanged relying on system of alliance thru balancing or bandwagoning likewise International Organizations to guaranty the country's peace and freedom. In addition, from a constant in-between situation associated to a complex borderland context, the country will move regularly to a crossroad situation. Besides, after restructuring the country's internal situation, its alliances and its bilateral relations, Romania took an active role towards the Balkans and the Wider Black Sea. With its new status, Romania is becoming the 'Nato's aircraft carrier' and practically the EU's voice at the southeast European frontiers with a new role custom designed in the post-Yalta international system.

**Key Words:** Romania, International Relations, Foreign Policy, Post-Cold War, European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Black Sea, Interdependence.

Ce travail de recherche examine les relations internationales de la Roumanie après la Révolution de 89, dans le contexte des bouleversements survenus à la proximité géographique de la Roumanie et au travers des nouveaux paradigmes des Relations Internationales misent en place à la fin de années quatre-vingt et au début du 21e siècle. En mettant l'accent sur les « forces majeures » (la géopolitique, l'histoire...) ainsi que sur les « forces variables » (la politique étrangère, la politique intérieure, la sociologie ...), ce travail a identifié trois piliers : le puissant impact des « autres », une situation d'entre-deux et la complexité de sa situation de frontière ainsi que sa situation de carrefour. Ces piliers sous-tendent les actions de la Roumanie dans ses relations internationales et influencent les décisions de sa politique étrangère. On soulignera que l'étude de cas de la Roumanie représente bien le chemin chaotique et les péripéties des Pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientales (PECO), de même que la transformation politico-idéologique de l'Alliance Atlantique, ainsi que l'adaptation de la stratégie d'élargissement de l'Union Européenne dans l'interdépendance de l'après-guerre froide. En outre, ce travail permet de valider certaines théories dans différents domaines comme le changement en politique étrangère, les relations internationales, la géopolitique, l'interdépendance ...

Au cours de son histoire, en dépit des changements géopolitiques et nationaux, les principales options de la Roumanie dans les relations internationales restent inchangées, s'appuyant sur le système d'alliance par le biais du « *balancing* » (équilibre) ou du « *bandwagoning* » (suivisme), mais également au travers des organisations internationales pour garantir la paix et la liberté du pays. En outre, à partir d'une constante situation d'entre-deux associés à un contexte complexe de frontières, le pays va se placer régulièrement dans une situation de carrefour. D'ailleurs, après la restructuration interne du pays, de ses alliances et de ses relations bilatérales, la Roumanie a pris un rôle actif envers les Balkans et la grande région de la mer Noire. Avec son nouveau statut, la Roumanie devient le « porte-avions » de l'OTAN et pratiquement la voix de l'UE à la frontière du sud-est Européen, comme un nouveau rôle conçu sur mesure dans le système international post-Yalta.

**Mots clés :** Roumanie, Relations Internationales, Politique étrangère, Après guerre froide, Union Européenne (UE), Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord (OTAN), Mer Noire, Interdépendance.



## **Preface**

In the events of the late '80s and the disappearance of the Iron Curtain, as well as changes at the dawn of the 21st century, which created new paradigms in international relations, make the period from 1989 to 2009 an interesting subject to study.

After spending several years in the early 90s in Eastern Europe and in particular in Romania, I have seen the scale of changes, the country's wealth and its particular path as the chaotic return to the West. Under these circumstances, it seemed interesting to me to deal with the topic of international relations of Romania after the 1989 Revolution, to understand and assess more accurately the progress made by the country over the past twenty years. Moreover, I wanted to find out why this path was so special and if the Romania's international relations in this particular period brought some changes or if there was a constant continuity in these relations.

This essay about a unique case in the field of contemporary history has posed several obstacles in its treatment. First, the availability of primary sources which are not always accessible due to their classification and their release to the public only after the opening of states archives. Second, the plurality and the multiplicity of information drown you in a huge amount of information not always pertinent. Third, the need to give time on time in order to stand back from the immediacy of history and to put into perspective various information, oftentimes in contradictory relation to the present moment.

In addition, this issue benefits from very little coverage as well some questions were partially treated or even never. Romanian international relations since the 1989 Revolution have been treated shortly in a partial way, on the one hand, thru several topics not referring directly to Romania, but implying it indirectly, on the other hand, by studying only one aspect of its international relations, such as the domestic policy, the Romanian foreign policy over a given period.

This study is important because it allows through the Romania's case study to explain some options taken in international relations of the country, the way of its implementation among its historical dimension and the questioning of why and how the political class did this choice and took specific orientations. In addition, it permits to

## ***Preface***

show that this case is representative of a whole Eastern Europe region at a historic turning point in contemporary history.

This study explains the geopolitical context and its involvement in a series of specific regions (the Balkans and Wide Black Sea) and the role played in the past, present and future by Romania in the European Union and North Atlantic construction and orientation, as well as vis-à-vis its near and far neighbors.

## **Brief Table of Contents**

<b>Dedication</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Preface</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Brief Table of Contents</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>I Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>I.1 Subject and Issue of Research</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>I.2 Methodology, Concepts and the Corpus of Sources</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>I.3 Thesis Plan</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>II Romania and the International Context</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>II.1 Romania's Situation</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>II.2 The Post-Cold War International Situation</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>II.3 The Paradigm's Change</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>II.4 The 21st Century</b>	<b>52</b>

<b>III</b>	<b>Change into Continuity</b>	<b>55</b>
III.1	Controversial Period	59
III.2	Necessary Rupture	101
III.3	The Comeback	115
III.4	Wind of Change	143
III.5	Partial Conclusion	179
<b>IV</b>	<b>From Isolation to Interdependence</b>	<b>185</b>
IV.1	The Global Situation	187
IV.2	The Security: North Association Treaty Organization	197
IV.3	The European Union as a Western Dream	257
IV.4	The Neighborliness	349
IV.5	Partial Conclusion	425
<b>V</b>	<b>Romania, a Crossroad</b>	<b>438</b>
V.1	The Others and the Impact on Romania	440
V.2	Romania In-between	474
V.3	From Borderland to Crossroad	508
V.4	Partial Conclusion	539
<b>VI</b>	<b>Global Conclusion</b>	<b>545</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>551</b>
	<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>689</b>
	<b>Appendix</b>	<b>705</b>

**List of Figures**

Figure 1: A Model of Foreign Policy Change.	195
Figure 2: Europe in 1993.	261
Figure 3: Romania in 19th century.	262
Figure 4: The European Union in 2008.	267
Figure 5: EU Neighboring Countries.	342
Figure 6: European Access to Russian and Caspian Crude.	345
Figure 7: Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project and Gas Supply Sources for Nabucco.	346
Figure 8: Romania and its Neighbors.	351
Figure 9: The Dobroja region.	353
Figure 10: Transylvania.	356
Figure 11: The dismemberment of the Kingdom of Hungary.	357
Figure 12: Northern Transylvania Annexed to Hungary During WWII.	358
Figure 13: The Székely Land Issues.	366
Figure 14: The Principality of Moldavia in 1483.	369
Figure 15: The Bessarabia.	371
Figure 16: The Greater Romania 1918-1940.	372
Figure 17: Romania after the World War II.	373
Figure 18: The Republic of Moldova.	374

## **List of Figures**

Figure 19: Old and New Territories on the Romanian-Ukrainian Border.	393
Figure 20: Ship Channels in the Lower Danube Delta.	396
Figure 21: The Snakes Island.	399
Figure 22: Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea.	401
Figure 23: Romania under Michael the Brave's reign in the sixteenth century.	469

**List of Tables**

Table 1: Minorities in Romania in 1930.	76
Table 2: Romania Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) and rank – 2001-2008.	168
Table 3: Member state preferences on enlargement.	271
Table 4: The Impact of Foreign Policy Orientation Between Romania and Ukraine.	405
Table 5: The Impact of External Factors for Romania and Ukraine.	407

## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

9/11	September 11, 2001
ACT	Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa
ANP	Annual National Programme
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BoP	Balance of Power
BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BSER	Black Sea Euro-Region
BSS	Black Sea Synergy
CDR	Democratic Convention
CEDS	Centre d'Etude Diplomatique et Stratégique
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Country
CEI	Central European Initiative
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Area
CFE	Conventional Force in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CHDGM	Committee of History of the Second World War
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIO	Chairperson-in-Office
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States



## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CNRS	French National Center for Scientific Research
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CSAT	Supreme Council of National Defence - (Consiliului Suprem de Apărare a Țării)
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CVM	Cooperation and Verification Mechanism
DCP	Danube Co-operation Process
DEF	Danube Environment Form
DISAM	Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
EC-CMEA	European Communities - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
ECSC	European Steel and Coal Community
EEA	European Economic Area
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EIA	Environmental Investigation Agency
EMU	European Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighborhood and Partnership Instruments
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
EU	European Union
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GMF	German Marshal Fund of the United States
GRECO	Council of Europe Group of States Against Corruption
IAAE	International Agency of Atomic Energy
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICR	Romanian Cultural Institute
IGC	InterGovernmental Conference
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IHTP	Institute of History of the Present time
IICCR	Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania
IMAS	Institute for Marketing and Public Opinion Polls
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
IPP	Institute for Public Policy
IPTF	International Police Task Force
IR	International Relation"

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

IRSI	Romanian Institute of International Studies “Nicolae Titulescu”
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JTFE	Joint Task Force East
KGB	Committee for State Security - (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti)
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MARSOC	U.S. Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command
MASSR	Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics
MDG	Millenium Development Goal
MDGR	Millennium Development Goals Country Report
MEP	Members of European Parliament
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MFN	Most-Favoured-Nation
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MLA	Basic Multilateral Agreement
MONUA	United Nations Mission of Observers in Angola
MSSR	Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic
MURM	Unionist Movement of the Republic of Moldova
NAA	North Atlantic Assembly
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NACS	National Anti-Corruption Strategy
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NAS	National Anti-corruption Strategy

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NPAA	National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis
NPAR	National Program for Accession of Romania
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSF	National Salvation Front
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
OLAF	EU's European Anti Fraud Office
OPA	Operation Per Acquisition
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OUA	Organisation of African Unity
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PCC	Political Consultative Committee
PD	Democratic Party
PDSR	Party of Social-Democracy in Romania
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNA	National Anti-Corruption Prosecution Office
PNA	Plan for Preparation of Accession

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

PNAR	National Program for Accession of Romania to the European Union
PNL	National Liberal Party
PNȚCD	Christian-Democratic National Peasants' Party
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRM	Greater Romania Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party of Romania
PSE	Pact of Stability in Europe
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
PUNR	Party of Romanian National Unity
RCP	Romania Communist Party
RM	Republic of Moldova
ROMRRF	UN rapid-reaction force in MONUA
RSI	Romanian Security Intelligences
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SCND	Supreme Council of National Defense
SDN	Société des Nations
SECI	Southeast European Cooperative Initiative
SEECAP	South-Eastern Europe Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities
SEED	Support for East European Democracies
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

SPC	Political Committee at Senior Level
SPC R	Political Committee at Senior Level Reinforced
SPSEE	Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe
SSNR	The National Security Strategy of Romania
TCA	Trade and Cooperation Agreements
TDA	U.S. Trade and Development Agency
TI	Transparency International
TIC	Informational Communication and Technology
TRACECA	Transport Corridor Europe – Caucasus – Asia
UDMR	Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMIR	UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNESCO	Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina

## ***List of Acronyms and Abbreviations***

UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIN	United Nations Mission in Nepal
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNOMUR	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

# **I Introduction**

Due to the fall of the 'Iron Curtain', the collapse of the existing international relations system and the 1989 Revolution in Romania, we want to explain Romania's international relations in this new local and international context.

We chose to study Romania's international relations, due to the geographical position of the country, its future potential role played in the North Alliance Treaty Organisation and its future possible role in the European Union. This country has a very rich historical background and historical relations with European states, especially France and Germany likewise other Eastern countries (the Republic of Moldova, Russia) and countries on Asiatic continent (Turkey). Romania was and continues to be in a paradoxically situation like being in a shadow and in the same time involved on the international scene. The way the country acted during some international major events trigger will help us to better understand and to explain how and why Romania acted in the way it did.

We decided to cover the period from the 89's Revolution until nowadays in order to have a complete view of the Romania's Post-Cold War international relations covering a period less than twenty years and to fill a gap in knowledge on a poorly and partial studied topic. In our point of view all this period has a logical aggregate that gives the possibility to better clarify the Romania's international relations achievements and motivations. In order to illustrate this, we explored this precise period, which is characterised by some major international events and change shift of presidents in the country. In other words, this historical period is representative for our study of the Romania's evolution with the political and military changes. In the same time, the Romania's important objectives cover international relations' activities until the European Union accession in 2007, without neglecting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization accession in 2004. We consider that some special past events are enough important to create a logical end of the period studied, covering from the 89's Revolution to 2008. Events held in 2008, consist in the organization of the NATO summit in April, the end of Radio Free Europe in Romania in September and the strong implication of Romania as a potential regional leader toward the Black Sea and the Balkans. For us, the closing of Radio Free Europe for Romania puts an



## **Introduction**

end to a period of history started during the Cold War as a tool for the liberation of Eastern European country from the Soviet domination until the restoration of democracy and freedom. The organization of the NATO Summit indicates the full Romania's participation in the Western democratic institutions. The diplomatic actions and the Romania's initiative give a potential leadership for Romania in the NATO and EU concerning the South-Eastern borders of the Union and the military Alliance.

We will explain the particular acting pillars of the Romanian international relations, the subject of the research and the general context added to it. More precisely, we will describe our understanding in the international relations field, the choice of theories and the different implications according to our case study. In addition, we will set the limits of our study. Within the framework of our research, we will present the different sources used with their advantages and their limits. We will also announce our thesis plan elaboration with its different sections.

## **Introduction**

### **I.1 Subject and Issue of Research**

#### **I.1.1 Subject of Research**

The upheaval of the eighties provoked by the 'perestroika'<sup>1</sup>, introduced in 1985 by the Soviet leader Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, after his election as General Secretary of the Communist Party, followed by the opening of the Austria-Hungarian border on May 2, 1989<sup>2</sup> and by the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989<sup>3</sup>, has been regarded as the opening point of the East by the total disappearance of the Iron Curtain. As Moreau wrote,

It all starts in an almost alleviating way: as of August 1989, East Germans cross the border clandestinely (...) On November 9, 1989, the inter-German border is opened; it is the end of the Wall. During this same month, Bulgaria engages in a reorganization process and Czechoslovakia enters democracy. In December, in Romania, the regime of Ceausescu disappears in blood. In one autumn, the Eastern European socialist block disappeared. The East-West system in Europe lived; ...<sup>4</sup>

These steps marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War, which really ended when "the Soviet Union lowered its flag over the Kremlin on December 25 [...] 1991, when the Russian Federation flag took its place"<sup>5</sup>. Even if the Cold War was not officially over – an

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Perestroika' is the Russian term for the economic reforms introduced in June 1987, by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Its literal meaning is 'restructuring', referring to the restructuring of the Soviet economy

<sup>2</sup> Schreiber, Thomas. Hongrie : 1956 / 2006 [online]. (Hungary: 1956 / 2006). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique, Oct. 2006. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2006. [cited 15 April 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/hongrie06103.htm>>.

<sup>3</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. 1989, chute du mur: la fin d'une époque [online]. (1989, fall of the wall: the one time end). *Deutschland ONLINE*, 26 July 2004. s.l.: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei GmbH, 2006a. [cited 16 April 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/issue/Essays\\_4-04\\_Mauerfall\\_FRA\\_F1.php?&lang=deu](http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/issue/Essays_4-04_Mauerfall_FRA_F1.php?&lang=deu)>.

<sup>4</sup> Moreau Defarges, Philippe. *Relations Internationales - 2. Questions mondiales (International Relations - 2 World Questions)*. 6e ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2004. (Essais). p. 37. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>5</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The End of the Cold War* [online]. 2005k, 2005. The Cold War International History Project. [cited 16 April 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://coldwarfiles.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=units.details&thisunit=17>>.

issue of dialectic or experts - after December 1989, we witness a complete collapse of the satellite countries of the Soviet Union, with the bankruptcy of their communist system, their economy and the total reorientation of these Eastern European states. Albert Legault wrote in 1991,

*Annus mirabilis*, 'the time of all the ruptures', 'the year of the gigantic upheavals', here are the many expressions that each and every one of us can find in the large pages of the current status quo in relation to these events. The ruptures are deep. First of all, it is the old order established after the Second World War which collapses. For some, the United States won the Cold War; for others, it is a victory of the West and the 'end of history'. Unquestionably, it is the beginning of a new history...<sup>6</sup>

As Fred Halliday<sup>7</sup> commented it, the fall of the Berlin wall represented "the end of the inter-state conflict that has dominated the world since 1945 and of the Soviet-US nuclear confrontation".<sup>8</sup> If the end of the Cold War made necessary a fundamental change, it was also the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the peace process in the Middle East and the end of the apartheid in Southern Africa that brought a fundamental revision not only within the international system, but also for all the international actors that had to re-examine their international relations and their foreign policies according to the latest events. The wave of change has stake out all the countries: the Soviet Union, the United States, the Western European States and Eastern European countries. Romania could not have escaped from this transformation, which was materialized thru the Revolution of 1989, leading to the fall and execution of the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. The international relations were rendered chaotic and created a new dimension by removing the East-West confrontation, a disruption on the international plan and a change in the world confrontation with the United States as the world's only superpower.

---

<sup>6</sup> Legault, Albert (dir.). *Les six mois qui ont ébranlé le monde* (Six months which shook the world). Centre québécois de relations Internationales, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1991. p. Preface. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>7</sup> Halliday Fred is a British academic and a leading expert in international relations. He was professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and a member of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights. Today is a research professor at the Barcelona Institute for International Studies (IBEI). He argued that the Soviet and Communist periods were detrimental for international relations and profoundly undemocratic.

<sup>8</sup> Halliday, Fred. *The End of the Cold War and International Relations: Some Analytic and Theoretical Conclusions*. In Booth, Ken and Smith Steve (Eds.), *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. p. 41.

## **Introduction**

The end of the Cold War, the break-up of different space in the Balkans and in the former Soviet Union defined a new strategically position for Romania and brought new neighbors and challenges. With new neighbors in the South-west (Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo), in the North-east (Moldova and Ukraine) as the violent uprising of the 89's Revolution create new security and foreign policy questions.

All that came to add to the spheres of instability in the nineties: the Balkans and the post-Soviet instability followed by the Russian weakness on the world scene. Moreover, there was the international context of the years 2000, with particular emphasis on the United States on September 11, 2001 called 9/11, and with the fight against terrorism and rogue states, which followed, as well as the questions on the supply of energy sources. Within this new international context and challenges, we will put Romania's international relations in parallel with those of the Eastern European states and with the way they adapted their foreign policy to the new world challenges. In other words, we will study the Romanian international relations since the 1989 Revolution, with the proclamation of the "Communiqué for the country" issued by the National Salvation Front Council on December 22nd<sup>9</sup>, until the years 2008 within the NATO Summit organized in Bucharest in 2008.

### **I.1.2 Issue of Research**

Since the 1989 Revolution, within the new international context, Romanian international relations goals had to be redefined, with particular emphasis on the necessary redevelopment of its international relations and redefinition of its foreign policy. The question is – which were Romania's new international relations goals and, in particular, the direction of the Romanian foreign policy after the 1989 Revolution, thru the North Atlantic Treaty Organization membership obtained in March 2004, thru the accession to the European Union in January 2007 and to the organization of the NATO Summit in April 2008?

After the 1989 Revolution and the set-up of the new provisional government, how did the Romanian foreign policy change? With the loss of Romania's influence in the eighties and the change of years

---

<sup>9</sup> Sava, Constantin and Monac Constantin. *Revoluția română din decembrie 1989 rețrăită prin documente și mărturii* (The Romanian Revolution of December 1989, revived through document and testimonies). București: Editura Axioma Edit, 2001. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

1989-1991 on the world scene, what was Romania's strategy for its repositioning as an influential actor in international relations? Did Romania have a true strategy to establish a specific foreign policy or was the Romanian foreign policy imposed by the choices made? How was the change made and implemented? Was it an interaction between the external actors and the internal actors of Romania? Do we have some invariable factors existing in the country, independent from the international situation or the change of government? Do we have any variable factors? Why did Romania seek, immediately after 1989, to get closer to NATO and Europe? Is there any continuity, with some nuances, of the Romanian international relations from 1989 to the entry in the European Union, going thru various periods before the First World War, the interwar period, the communist period and after the 1989 Revolution? Which have been the big steps of the Romanian international relations and foreign policy since 1989? Why was the Romania's transformation slower than the one of other Eastern European countries? What is Romania's current position on the international chessboard?

This issue benefits from very little coverage and some of the questions were never asked or very quickly answered. If Romania's International Relations have been largely covered for previous period<sup>10</sup> as in modern period<sup>11</sup>, Romanian international relations since the 1989 Revolution have been treated in a partial way; on the one hand, thru several topics not referring directly to Romania, but implying it indirectly, such as: the enlargement of NATO,<sup>12</sup> the enlargement of the European Union,<sup>13</sup> the Black Sea area...<sup>14</sup>; on the other hand, by studying only one aspect of it all, such as the domestic policy, the Romanian foreign policy over a given period of

---

<sup>10</sup> Lache, Ștefan *România în relațiile internaționale, 1939-2006*. București: Editura Fundației România de Măine, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> Cârțână, Iulian. *Relațiile internaționale ale României în epoca modernă*. București: Cartea Universitară, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Alamoreanu, Adriana. *La Roumanie et l'OTAN. Plaidoyer pour un avenir commun* (Romania and NATO. Plea for a common future). Dissertation (Master), Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Université de Nice - Sophia-Antipolis, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Pasidea, Oana. *L'élargissement de l'Union Européenne : Incidences en matière de sécurité et de défense des PECO* (The widening of the European Union: Incidences safety defense of the PECO). Dissertation (Master), Centre International de Formation Européenne, Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Corduban, Cristina. *La région de la Mer Noire dans le contexte de l'élargissement de l'Union Européenne* [online]. (The area of the Black Sea in the context of the widening of the European Union) Ibid. (Diplôme européen), 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.iehei.org/bibliotheque/memoires/CORDUBAN.pdf>>.

## **Introduction**

time - 1989 to 1994<sup>15</sup>, from 1989 to 1993<sup>16</sup>, after 1992<sup>17</sup>, after 2001<sup>18</sup>...- or by treating only an aspect of this foreign policy, such as the actors. No books, theses or articles cover the entire period of Post-Cold War Romanian international relations, going from the 1989 Revolution to nowadays, i.e. the NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008.

There is only one recent work, a thesis that approaches the analysis of the foreign policy, which covers part of this subject until 2006. The thesis was released in 2007 and entitled *The Romanian Foreign Policy, 1990-2006. Actors, Processes and Results*.<sup>19</sup> This thesis presents the factors that influenced the strategic decisions of the Romanian foreign policy thru the method of foreign policy analysis, focused on the analysis of the actors.

As we want to fill a gap in knowledge, this study of the Post-Cold War period, from 1989 Romanian Revolution to 2008, will bring the following clarifications:

**First**, the gap in knowledge requires thorough coverage; moreover, all studies were not made by taking into account the entirety of international relations, from the above-mentioned period, within the theories of the 21st century.

---

<sup>15</sup> Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics - Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>.

<sup>16</sup> Torcatoriu, Bogdan. *Contribution à une analyse critique de la politique étrangère de la Roumanie entre 1989 et 1993* (Contribution to an analysis criticizes of the foreign politics of Romania between 1989 and 1993). Disertation (Diplôme), Centre Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 1993.

<sup>17</sup> Spinant, Daniela. *La politique étrangère roumaine après 1992 : la reconstruction de la crédibilité* (The Romanian foreign politics after 1992: the rebuilding of credibility). Disertation (Master), Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Université de Nice - Sophia-Antipolis, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> Pelinescu, Marilena. *Politica externa a Romaniei dupa 11 septembrie 2001* [online]. (Romanian Foreign Policy after September 2001). Disertation (Licence), Departamentul de Relatii Internationale si Integrare Europeana, Scoala Nationala de Stiinte Politici si Administrative, 2007. [cited 5 Sep. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://www.e-referate.ro/referate/Politica\\_externa\\_a\\_Romaniei\\_dupa\\_11\\_sep.2001\\_%5Bwww.e-referate.ro%5D\\_%5BIstorie%5D\\_%5B2007-07-06%5D.zip](http://www.e-referate.ro/referate/Politica_externa_a_Romaniei_dupa_11_sep.2001_%5Bwww.e-referate.ro%5D_%5BIstorie%5D_%5B2007-07-06%5D.zip)>.

<sup>19</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. *La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultats* (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007.

**Secondly**, we want to specify in detail what one knows in a general way, and to fulfill the lack of explanations related to Romania's way of acting; in addition, we will discuss what and why Romanians took this course of action and these decisions. We will do a different reading, covering not only the foreign policy, but also the Romanian international relations. We will bring a global vision to see whether the Romanian international relations show continuity or discontinuity with the country's past foreign policy behavior.

However, Romania became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 2004 and of the European Union on January 1st, 2007. The understanding of its international relations, within its foreign policy will bring the comprehension of the European foreign policy regarding the strong and weak points of the Romanian foreign policy. In addition, as an Alliance member, the foreign policy of Romania can interfere with neither NATO's strategy nor goals. It is necessary to consider this, as Romania is today in the Alliance and in the European Union. Indeed, within the European context, any foreign policy issues of any of the states becomes or will become in the long term an issue, but also any abilities or strong outcomes will become a strength for the Alliance nor the European Union and for these member states. This analyse is also important, in order to better understand Romania's foreign policy and political actions. Today, not all assumptions on the major reasons of Romania's behavior, as a country, within the international relations and the implementation of Romania's foreign policy were explained. By now, no scholar could identify a theory that is able to explain Romania's actions at the international level.

## **Introduction**

### **I.2 Methodology, Concepts and the Corpus of Sources**

#### **I.2.1 Methodology**

The thesis will cover the field of International Relations<sup>20</sup> (IR). However, more precisely, it will be in the area of the History of International Relations in the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries, covering a recent period of time through the case study of Romania. Case study is a research methodology but also a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context.<sup>21</sup> Theories will provide a blueprint for research and establish propositions as “a hypothetical story about why acts, events, structure and thoughts occur”<sup>22</sup> before starting fieldwork.

Our topic could be treated by different researches approaches<sup>23</sup>, as quantitative or qualitative approaches. Quantitative approached will require to identifying certain variables in relation with the question treated, to isolate them and then to see their effects on the question being investigated. In order to do it, it will be necessary to build a measurement scale to be able to compare all results, and to carry out experimental subject to obtain these measurements. With these measurements, it will be possible to compare the question studying to many other experimental subjects. However, because data about other experimental subjects in the same field of research do not necessary exist and because the measurement tool has to have a scale and certain limits that cannot permit to take into account factors outside of the scale created, this method will not be adapted to our research topic.

---

<sup>20</sup> We will write International Relations, with 'I' and 'R' caps, when we will speak about the Discipline. Further details will be given when we will speak about the topics.

<sup>21</sup> To see : Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1995.

<sup>22</sup> Sutton and Straw, 1995 cited in Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2003. (Applied Social Research Methods Series). p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Singleton, Royce and Straits Bruce C. *Approaches to social research*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.



In opposite, qualitative approached will permit to conduce the research with a more flexible and open-ended perspective. Qualitative research can be described as “the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships”.<sup>24</sup> This approached that could use different methods as interviews, participant-observation, archive, document collection, document analysis, have a more flexible path that might permit to cash unexpected outcomes. As we focus on a study concerning Romania after the 89’ Revolution, the qualitative approach is chosen to give better results in the research.

### **I.2.2 Concepts**

#### **I.2.2.1 International Relations Definitions**

By the term ‘international’, we understand ‘between nations’, a phrase built at the end of 18th century by Jeremy Bentham<sup>25</sup>, an English jurist, philosopher, legal and social reformer. For James N. Rosenau the ‘International Relations’ represents

a generic concept for a vast array of activities, ideas, and goods that do or can cross national boundaries, international relations (IR) embraces social, cultural, economic, and political exchanges that occur in ad hoc as well as institutionalized contexts.<sup>26</sup>

The above-mentioned definition means that “the study of the International Relations analyzes and explains the relations between

---

<sup>24</sup> Babbie, Earl R. *The Practice of Social Research*. 3rd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1983. (Practice of Social Research). p. 537.

<sup>25</sup> Viner, Jacob. *Studies in the Theory of International Trade* [online]. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1965. [cited 21 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1414>>.

<sup>26</sup> Rosenau, James N. International Relations [online]. Krieger, Joel (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bibliotheque Sciences Po, 2001. [cited 16 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0257>>>.

## **Introduction**

the political communities organized in a territory, i.e. between the states".<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, we would rather choose this less restrictive definition by Daniel Colard<sup>28</sup>, who says that

*the study of the international relations includes the peaceful or quarrelsome relationship between states, the role of the international organizations, the influence of the transnational forces and the whole exchanges or activities which transgress the states' borders* (italic in original text).<sup>29</sup>

The question is how to study this discipline? International Relations have so many different theories, such as realism, neo-realism, liberalism, neo-liberalism, Marxism orthodoxy, English school, constructivism, neo-Marxism, critical theory, post-modernism, feminism ..., that no one can agree to completely and everyone can explain everything in a different way. If

[s]peakers perceive events through very biased or ideological national positions, the concepts of objectivity or 'pure fact' are at the very least random. There is no reason to believe that the situation is very different for specialists in the International relations.<sup>30</sup>

Canadian Robert Cox wrote that a "[t]heory is always for someone and, for some purpose".<sup>31</sup> As proved, the exercise done by Alex Macleod and Dan O'Meara in their book on the 'Iraqi War', every

---

<sup>27</sup> Renouvin, Pierre and Duroselle Jean-Baptiste. *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales* (Introduction to the history of the international relations). 4e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1997. (Collection Agora). p. 1. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>28</sup> Colard Daniel is professor in Law at the Franche-Conté University and an International Relations expert. He wrote many books and articles on international political questions in many publications.

<sup>29</sup> Colard, Daniel. *Les relations internationales de 1945 à nos jours* (International relations from 1945 to our days). 8e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1999. (Collection U. Série Droit). p. 5. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>30</sup> Macleod, Alex (dir.) and O'meara Dan (dir.). *Théorie des relations internationales. Contestations et résistances*. (Theory of International Relations. Contestation and Resistance). Outremont, QC: Athéna éditions and CEPES, 2007. p. vii. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>31</sup> Cox, Robert W. *Social Forces, States and World Orders : Beyond International Relations Theory*. In Keohane, Robert Owen (ed.) (Ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. p. 207.

situation can be explained and given a meaning with any theory.<sup>32</sup> In 2003, Randall Schweller underlined that:

There is no unifying, grand theory of international relations (IR), and there is little hope of ever constructing one. I am not even sure what such a theory would look like.<sup>33</sup>

Being a 'crossroads discipline', "the international relations are not a science"<sup>34</sup> as Philippe Moreau Defarges said. It appears that International theory is a "[c]rossroads discipline associating geography, history, economy, cultural data, politics and even psychology, this field draws its unity from its field of analysis: human decisions, their more or less foreseeable consequences, their interactions."<sup>35</sup>

In order to analyze Romania's international relations, it is compulsory to take into account other disciplines in our thesis, such as geopolitical study, history, sociology and foreign policy. To reinforce this idea, we join Moreau Defarges saying that "sovereign states are only historical constructions [...] they are in perpetual transformation. Moreover, these states are taken in vaster flows, which contribute to their construction or destruction."<sup>36</sup> We add that international relations are relations cannot be dissociated and are established between states themselves. These relations impose agreements, rules, limitations, and various movements of goods, people, and ideas. It is the action of the states "in the center of the international relations", the general framework in which we will fit here. Within the framework of the state, we will take in account the interest of the state itself, its initiatives, its government's actions, decisions, intentions, as well as personal interests, powers, capacities and safety.

To explain the Romanian international relations, we need to understand two simultaneous forces: the 'major forces' which created the framework of the state and determined its 'character', and the

---

<sup>32</sup> Macleod, Alex (dir.) and O'meara Dan (dir.). *Théorie des relations internationales. Contestations et résistances*. (Theory of International Relations. Contestation and Resistance). Outremont, QC: Athéna éditions and CEPES, 2007. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>33</sup> Schweller, Randall L. The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism. In Elman, Colin and Elman Miriam Fenduis (Eds.), *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2003. p. 311.

<sup>34</sup> Moreau Defarges, Philippe. *Relations Internationales - 2. Questions mondiales* (International Relations - 2 World Questions). 6e ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2004. (Essais). p. 53. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 55. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Introduction**

'variable forces' which changed in time according to the circumstances.

Pierre Renouvin understands by 'major forces'<sup>37</sup>, the elements having shaped the state and having created a way of doing, a manner of being. These 'major forces', such as geography, history, demography, economical forces, nationalism, and natural resources are studied, in addition to other scientific fields, such as geopolitics and history. Because the 'major forces' are invariable, we would like to introduce a second concept called 'variable forces', in order to correctly draw all the different forces in actions in the state international relations. This new concept, 'variable forces', adapts the shift about the local and international variation across situation and time. We explain the 'variable forces', as non-permanent elements changing in time such as government, political leaders, nation's chief executive, crisis, ideological goals, economical prosperity as well international situation and can be studied by analyzing mainly the state's foreign policy.

### **I.2.2.1.1 Major Forces – Geopolitics**

Geopolitics, recognized by us as a 'major force', was defined by ancient and modern historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Montesquieu<sup>38</sup>, Henri Thomas Buckle, Hippolyte Taine and Heinrich von Treitschke. We can underline that, for a long time, the study of geopolitics had been unfashionable, largely due to its historical association with fascism. It was developed in an attempt to justify German aspirations to 'Lebensraum'<sup>39</sup> (living space) in the period between the two world wars. Several definitions have been drafted by

---

<sup>37</sup> Renouvin, Pierre. Première Partie - Les forces profondes (First Part. The deep forces). In Renouvin, Pierre and Duroselle Jean-Baptiste (Eds.), *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales*. 4e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1997. (Collection Agora). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>38</sup> More exactly: Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu

<sup>39</sup> 'Lebensraum' is a German word usually translated as 'vital space'. It is a concept that refers to the idea of territory sufficient to, first, ensure the survival of a people and, second, foster its growth. This territory is available in the 'cleaning' as the Nazi 'Final Solution' or the conquest, most often by the war.

This idea is generally known for being one of the main justifications for the Nazi expansionist policies of Germany during the Second World War. However, it is not considered as a 'Nazi idea' because it is, like many other nationalist political (for example, the American Manifest Destiny), a simple explanation of expansionism.

different scholars as Kjellén<sup>40</sup>, Demangeon<sup>41</sup>, Ancel<sup>42</sup>, Lorot<sup>43</sup>, Lorot and Thual<sup>44</sup>, Chauprade and Thual<sup>45</sup>, Barret and Charvet<sup>46</sup>, Vidal De La Blanche<sup>47</sup>, Moreau Defarges<sup>48</sup>, Levy and Lussault<sup>49</sup>, Lacoste<sup>50</sup> and Fabre<sup>51</sup>. However, each definition deals with a specific orientation and ideology.

In order to draft a comprehensive definition of the term 'geopolitics', we will start by retaining three definitions. First, according to the Unabridged Hutchinson Encyclopaedia: "Geopolitics is the study of the relationship between geographical factors and the political aspects of states".<sup>52</sup> Emmanuel Fabre tries to give the most complete definition based on a compilation of scholars' definition, as follows:

Geopolitics is the study of the territorial stakes mobilizing different rival powers (state powers, but also intra and inter-state). It is knowledge (science?) of conflicts, which result from the more or less violent expression of contradictory representations of a territory. It is the practical and

---

<sup>40</sup> Kjellén, Rudolf. *Der Staat als Lebensform* (The State as a Living Form). Berlin-Grunewald: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1924.

<sup>41</sup> Demangeon, Albert. *Géographie Politique* (Political Geography). *Annales de Géographie*, 1932.

<sup>42</sup> Ancel, Jacques. *Géopolitique* (Geopolitics). Paris: Delagrave, 1936.

<sup>43</sup> Lorot, Pascal. *Histoire de la géopolitique*. Paris: Economica, 1995.

<sup>44</sup> Lorot, Pascal and Thual François. *La géopolitique*. Paris: Montchrestein, 1997.

<sup>45</sup> Chauprade, Aymeric and Thual François. *Dictionnaire de géopolitique : états, concepts, auteurs*. Paris: Ellipses, 1998.

<sup>46</sup> Barret, Christain and Charvet Jean-Paul. *Dictionnaire de géographie humaine*. Paris: Liris, 2000.

<sup>47</sup> Vidal de la Blanche, Paul. *La France de l'est*. Paris: La Découverte, 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Moreau Defarges, Philippe. *Introduction à la géopolitique*. Paris: Seuil, 1994.

<sup>49</sup> Lévy, Jacques (dir) and Lussault Michel (dir). *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*. Paris: Belin, 2003.

<sup>50</sup> Lacoste, Yves (dir.). *Dictionnaire de géopolitique*. Paris: Flammarion, 1993.

<sup>51</sup> Fabre, Emmanuel. De la géopolitique. Le point de vue des dictionnaires de géopolitique [online]. (About geopolitics, from geopolitical dictionaries). *Cybergeo. european journal of geography*, 22 June 2007, Vol. Epistemology, History, Teaching, Article 259: Cybergeo, 2004. [cited 10 Feb. 2004]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cybergeo.eu/index3901.html>>.

<sup>52</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Geopolitic [online]. *The Unabridged Hutchinson Encyclopedia*. Research Machines plc, 2004c. [cited 18 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://encyclopedia.farlex.com/Geopolitic>>.

## **Introduction**

operational knowledge based on a scientific method of analysis that relies on multiple scales of time and space.<sup>53</sup>

As we can notice, the two definitions resumed relations between states and territories. However, the scholar Aymeric Chauprade introduces very well the human aspect of the relations between states. He says: "Geopolitics is the study of the will for power applied to the situations of the physical and human geography".<sup>54</sup> He specifies, in addition, that in geopolitics, "the power is the product of both the force of the actors and of the geographical location".<sup>55</sup> For Chauprade "geopolitics analysis aims at understanding the deep psychology of the states, considered, deep down, as beings; beings characterized by the constant features of their personality, but also by the fact that they face a changing environment during their life."<sup>56</sup> This last definition will be a better match for our study and will meet the 'major forces' of Renouvin.

If the study of International Relations is related to events, crises, changes and rupture, geopolitics underlines the continuity, which finds its stable character in geographical characteristics. The foreign policy of several states often seems constant, whatever happens and irrespective of the ideological changes or inversions, because the geographical environment is stable in time and has constant historical weight. To be partly compelled from the ideological analysis of international relations, Chauprade started, in his introduction to the geopolitical analysis, by saying that

the logic of the geographical map is higher than philosophy, the ideological idealism, or merely the economic logics. [...] ideology plays a part, not as a major reason, but as an instrument of propaganda, of maneuver, of foreign politics.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Fabre, Emmanuel. De la géopolitique. Le point de vue des dictionnaires de géopolitique [online]. (About geopolitics, from geopolitical dictionaries). *Cybergo. european journal of geography*, 22 June 2007, Vol. Epistemology, History, Teaching, Article 259: Cybergo, 2004. [cited 10 Feb. 2004]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cybergeo.eu/index3901.html>>.

<sup>54</sup> Chauprade, Aymeric. *Introduction à l'analyse géopolitique*. Paris: Ellipses Editions Marketing S.A., 1999. p. 8. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 9. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>57</sup> Chauprade, Aymeric and Thual François. *Dictionnaire de géopolitique : états, concepts, auteurs*. Paris: Ellipses, 1998. p. 8. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

It will be important also to take in consideration history, because as believed Lucian Boia, "everything in this world must be explained in the first instance by history."<sup>58</sup>

### **I.2.2.1.2 Variable Forces – Foreign Policy**

We will study Foreign policy, seen by us as a 'variable force', to understand the state diplomatic actions and the perception of the influence of its actions.

In their handbook of Political Science, Bernard Cohen and Harris Scott have warned, "for no two people seem to define it [foreign policy] in the same way, disagreements in approach often seem to be deep-seated, and we do not yet know enough about it to be able to say with confidence whether it may be differential from all other areas of public policy".<sup>59</sup> To draft a comprehensive definition of the term 'foreign policy' we will refer, first, to the Oxford dictionary definition. Thus, foreign policy

is a nineteenth-century expansion of the idea of 'policy', which had been in use since Chaucer to denote a government's conduct of affairs. Foreign policy, then, can be characterized as the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations.<sup>60</sup>

This definition is short and of practical use with enough flexibility to incorporate the changes that have occurred and continue to occur in the nature of modern international politics. However, many materials have appeared since the sixties on foreign policy to provide us with many different views, as there are different schools of thought on international relations, or types of political ideology and theories according to different times and scholars. We have chosen a limited number of scholars for the purpose of the sensitivity of our study.

---

<sup>58</sup> Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 269.

<sup>59</sup> Cohen, Bernard C. and Harris Scott A. Foreign Policy. In Greenstein, Fred I. and Polsby Nelson W. (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Science*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975. 8 vols. Vol. 6. p. 318.

<sup>60</sup> Hill, Christopher. Foreign Policy [online]. Krieger, Joel (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bibliotheque Sciences Po, 2001a. [cited 16 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0257>>>.

## **Introduction**

Cohen and Harris define it as

a set of goals, directives or intentions, formulated by persons in official or authoritative positions, directed at some actor or condition in the environment beyond the sovereign nation state, for the purpose of affecting the target in the manner desired by the policy-makers.<sup>61</sup>

For Charles Hermann, it is "a goal-oriented or problem-oriented program by authoritative policymakers (or their representatives) directed towards entities outside the policymakers' political jurisdiction"<sup>62</sup>, Rosati while Jerel A. understands foreign policy to be "the scope and collection of goals, strategies and instruments that are selected by governmental policymakers to respond abroad to the present and future environment".<sup>63</sup>

Contrary to Colard's point of view that "[the] study of the foreign policy is not related to our discipline [International Relations] either, because it is interested in the conditions under which a state power functions, acts and reacts in relation to external problems,"<sup>64</sup> we will further argue that the foreign policy of the state have an influence on the country's international relations.

Concerning the components of the definition, 'international relations' refers to the web of transactions across state boundaries by all kinds of groups and individuals, and 'external relations' refers to the same activities from the point of view of these actors as they move outside their own society into dealings with others. Neither is restricted to 'policy' in the narrow sense, as almost any act can be political if it relates to fundamental issues like the distribution of power or the setting of social values and priorities. On the other hand, relations must be 'official' to be qualify as foreign policy, because otherwise all transactions could be included in and there

---

<sup>61</sup> Cohen, Bernard C. and Harris Scott A. Foreign Policy. In Greenstein, Fred I. and Polsby Nelson W. (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Science*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975. 8 vols. Vol. 6. p. 3831.

<sup>62</sup> Hermann, Charles F. Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy [online]. *International Studies Quarterly*, 1990, vol. 34, no. 1. [cited 16 May 2008 06:52]. Portable Format Document. Available from: <<http://www.jstor/stable/2600403>>. p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> Rosati, Jerel A. Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of Sotuh Carolina Press, 1994. p. 225.

<sup>64</sup> Colard, Daniel. *Les relations internationales de 1945 à nos jours* (International relations from 1945 to our days). 8e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1999. (Collection U. Série Droit). p. 5. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



would be no inherent sense of agency or purposive action, which is what the term 'policy' always implies. In this sense, all external relations conducted by legitimate officeholders of the entity express and contribute to foreign policy: defense ministers, foreign trade ministers, and environment ministers may be almost as involved as their colleagues in charge of the diplomatic service. To the extent that senior bureaucrats also take part directly in high-level international transactions, they will be conducting foreign policy, although their margin of maneuver will vary enormously from state to state and from issue to issue. At the extremes, bureaucratic and political competition sometimes means that a state is running several foreign policies simultaneously.

A country's foreign policy is a set of goals that seeks to outline how that particular country will interact with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors. Foreign policies are generally designed to help protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through aggression, war, and exploitation. It may be assumed that foreign policy is ancient as the human society itself. The Twentieth century saw a rapid rise in the importance of foreign policy, with virtually every nation in the world now being able to interact with others in some diplomatic form.

According to Frank Robert, the historian Pierre Renouvin is at the origin of a great epistemological turn in the fifties.<sup>65</sup> He expressed the will to exceed the concept of 'History Diplomacy' and to replace it by the 'History of International Relations'. But "this global point of view, which goes beyond classical boundaries and historical periods, frequently brings us to interest ourselves in the present and to observe current affairs with a much more different eye than that of a journalist or political analyst".<sup>66</sup> But what is history? In 1821, Wilhelm von Humboldt proposes his definitions of history (which will be resumed by Marc Bloch): "history is a science of men in time, science which needs incessantly to link the study of the dead to that of those

---

<sup>65</sup> Frank, Robert. Penser historiquement les relations internationales [online]. In Thucydide, Centre (Ed.), *Annuaire français de relations internationales 2003*. 2003 ed. Paris: Centre Thucydide - analyse et recherche en relations internationales, 2003 Vol. IV. [cited 20 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.afri-ct.org/IMG/pdf/frank2003.pdf>>. p. 44.

<sup>66</sup> Frank, Robert. *Historians of International Relations and the war in Iraq*. Paris: Commission of History of International Relations - Forum, 24 Jan. 2005 8:51 am. [cited 20 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.polestra.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=9>>.

## **Introduction**

alive".<sup>67</sup> In addition, Paul Veyne wrote that "history is the description of what is specific, i.e. comprehensible, in human events".<sup>68</sup>

In the history of international relations, we have to be relative and reset our analysis "within the perspective of a long term evolution, giving it at the same time a larger scope than it would initially seem to have or, on the contrary, considerably weakening its impact".<sup>69</sup> Or, we witnessed the disintegration of the system of international relation following the end of the Cold War. This new era is the start of the new contemporary study that brings us to the present. We will conclude here with the thought of Jean-Louis Martres: "What is then the theory that answers these needs best? None and all of them at the same time. Each one murmurs the best solution in the Prince's ear..."<sup>70</sup>

### **I.2.2.2 History of International Relations – Present Time**

This thesis, in the field of the history of international relations, will cover a recent period of time which is less than two decades. We want to underline that in our thesis the definition timeline of History will be based on international historian definition and not on the French one. In this situation, how can we study the history of international relations? To do so, for the purpose of international relations history, we will develop our study in the field of

---

<sup>67</sup> Cadiou, François, Coulomb Clarisse, Lemonde Anne, *and al. Comment se fait l'histoire. Pratiques et enjeux* (How hystory is made? Practices and stakes). Paris: La Decouverte, 2005. (Guides Repères). p. 6. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>68</sup> Veyne, Paul. *Comment on écrit l'histoire* (How the History is Written). Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1971. p. 54. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>69</sup> Frank, Robert. *Historians of International Relations and the war in Iraq*. Paris: Commission of History of International Relations - Forum, 24 Jan. 2005 8:51 am. [cited 20 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.polestra.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=9>>.

<sup>70</sup> Martres, Jean-Louis. De la nécessité d'une théorie des relations internationales. L'illusion paradigmatique [online]. (Need for a theory of the international relations. The paradigmatic illusion). In Thucydide, Centre (Ed.), *Annuaire français de relations internationales 2003*. 2003 ed. Paris: Centre Thucydide - analyse et recherche en relations internationales, 2003 Vol. IV. [cited 20 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.afri-ct.org/IMG/pdf/martres2003.pdf>>. p. 29-40. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

contemporary history.<sup>71</sup> In France, under the influence of politics, especially for the study of the Second World War, “the present time ends up fully reinvestigating the scientific field”.<sup>72</sup> The Institute of History of the Present time (IHTP), as a new laboratory of the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), was founded in 1978; at the time, it inherited the library of the Committee of History of the Second World War (CHDGM) with its acquisitions dating back to 1944. The Institute responded to the recent renewal of contemporary history research under the management of Bédarida François. We can also mention that the Institute of Contemporary British History was founded in 1986, but it took as its starting-point the year 1945; in the United States, in 1966, the Journal of Contemporary History was created for the scientists of the modern history.

Contemporary history is about advancing interpretation and understanding of our own times through an historical and comparative analysis of political and societal changes that have taken place during several past decades. The study of history in international relations in the recent past, no more than two decades in our case, is called the history of the present time, also called ‘immediate history’. “Since 1980, in order to be different from the modern history, the history of present time was defined as a chronological period during which the studied moment and its study coincided”<sup>73</sup> or “as a field of research being interested only in this small fraction of the past, whose actors are still alive”.<sup>74</sup> “Contemporary history should be considered as a distinct period of time, with characteristics of its own which mark it off from the

---

<sup>71</sup> Contemporary history, for international historians, describes the historical timeframe that are immediately relevant to the present and is a certain perspective of modern history. Recent contemporary history’s intentionally loose definition includes major events of this Twentieth century. At contrary, French historians consider Contemporary history a period begins with the French Revolution and covers the Nineteenth century, the Twentieth century and early Twentieth-first century.

<sup>72</sup> Tétart, Philippe. *Petite histoire des historiens* (Small history of the historians.). Paris: Armand Colin, 2005. (Synthèse. Histoire. n°14). p. 78. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>73</sup> Voldman, Danièle. Le témoignage dans l’histoire française du temps présent [online]. (Testimony in the French history of time present). *Dossier - L’histoire du temps présent, hier et aujourd’hui*, Vol. 75, June 2000. Paris: Institut d’histoire du temps présent, 2000. [cited 19 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ihtp.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article472&lang=fr>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>74</sup> Noiriel, Gérard. *Qu’est-ce que l’histoire contemporaine ?* (What is it Contemporary History?). Paris: Hachette, 1998. (Carré histoire). p. 27. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Introduction**

preceding period”,<sup>75</sup> in our case, we can say with “revolutionary change and crisis”.<sup>76</sup>

Our approach will stumble on two important questions in the fields of Contemporary History study. One of these questions is concerning the working material and will be detail in the next chapter. The other one is the study of contemporary events, which we were as a spectator, a witness or even a potential actor. This status can induce a possible subjectivity in processing information and lead to wrong interpretation. To avoid possible subjectivity, we will put us with the status of observer, a person exterior to the events with a look more or less acute and critical questioning.

As Peter Catterall says, “our understanding of the contemporary needs to be shaped, not just by the headlines, or by the study of social, political or economic structures, but by how these have changed over time and been molded by the past”.<sup>77</sup> Without history to reconstitute the events’ context as part of our understanding, manned by Jean-François Soulet ‘vertical’ perspective<sup>78</sup>, there will always be the risk to give to the current fact too much importance because “this is not simply the writing of the history of the contemporary, but the explicit addressing of a series of questions which apply only to a specific period.”<sup>79</sup> Moreover, this ‘vertical’ approach “helps thus to overcoming conjunctural analysis to highlight the recurring phenomena, the only way to express ‘principles’ or at least constant, only so as to understand what is really new in the current context”<sup>80</sup>. Moreover, we need also to choose a ‘horizontal’ perspective to adapt to our contemporary world and its interdependence. This approach obliges to use contemporary appropriate concepts, tools and theories

---

<sup>75</sup> Barraclough, Geoffrey. *An Introduction to Contemporary History*. London: C.A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1964. p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> Catterall, Peter. What (if anythings) Is Distinctive about Contemporary History? *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1997, vol. 32, no. 4. [cited 19 May 2008 18:40]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/261109>>. p. 442.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 450.

<sup>78</sup> To see: Soulet, Jean-François. *L'histoire immédiate. Historiographie, sources et méthodes* (The Immediate History. Historiography, Sources and Methods). Paris: Armand Colin, 2009. p. 70.

<sup>79</sup> Catterall, Peter. What (if anythings) Is Distinctive about Contemporary History? *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1997, vol. 32, no. 4. [cited 19 May 2008 18:40]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/261109>>. p. 444.

<sup>80</sup> Soulet, Jean-François. *L'histoire immédiate. Historiographie, sources et méthodes* (The Immediate History. Historiography, Sources and Methods). Paris: Armand Colin, 2009. p. 71.

to cover this study, especially with Social Sciences, viewed by Soulet as a *sine qua non* condition of success.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, we will analyse fact in the four different dimension describe by Soulet.<sup>82</sup> The fact has itself a factual dimension within a perspective in the situational environment, a systemic dimension. Nevertheless, the fact generates series of reaction and representation that oblige to study the cultural and symbolic dimension. In general, the fact in which we are interesting is not isolated but an element of a serial dimension because fact is not arbitrary but has an origin<sup>83</sup>. With this methodological approach, the fact will become a 'historical fact' after being analysed with methods on multiple dimension.<sup>84</sup>

As we define the methodological approach associated with the historical research field, we need to define and explain the case study approach, too.

### I.2.2.3 Case Study Theory

From the methodological point of view, we will work on a case study represented by Romania. For our approach, the case study is an ideal methodology when an in-depth holistic investigation is needed.<sup>85</sup> We notice also, that "[t]he single case study is actually a family of research designs".<sup>86</sup> Our approach through the case study is, in the science of history, a part that we call micro-history and in the political science "closely similar to, that of clinical studies"<sup>87</sup>. Robert Stake defines the case study as being "the study of the particularity

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p. 79-81.

<sup>83</sup> Nora, Pierre. Le retour de l'évènement (The return of the event). In Nora, Pierre and Le Goff Jacques (Eds.), *Faire de l'Histoire. Nouveaux problèmes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974. 3 vols. Vol. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Soulet, Jean-François. *L'histoire immédiate. Historiographie, sources et méthodes* (The Immediate History. Historiography, Sources and Methods). Paris: Armand Colin, 2009. p. 79-81.

<sup>85</sup> Feagin, Joe, Orum Anthony M. and Sjoberg Gideon (eds). *A case for the case study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

<sup>86</sup> Odell, John S. Case Study Methods in International Political Economy [Online]. *International Studies Perspectives*, 2001, no. 2. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www-rcf.usc.edu/~odell/Case%20study%20methods.pdf>>. p. 162.

<sup>87</sup> Eckstein, Harry. *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change* [online]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. [cited 19 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0k40037v/>>. p. 120.

## **Introduction**

and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances".<sup>88</sup> For Robert Yin the case study method is viewed as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used".<sup>89</sup>

For further explanations, Stake underlines that the 'case study' is "a common way to do qualitative inquiry. [...] [it] is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied".<sup>90</sup> The interest is that "as a form of research, case study is defined by interest in an individual case, not by the methods of inquiry used".<sup>91</sup> In addition, "[f]urthermore, within a single case study, however defined, multiple observations of theoretically relevant variables normally can be made".<sup>92</sup> It "is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry".<sup>93</sup> Lamnek reinforces it with the following remarks: "The case study is a research approach, situated between concrete data taking techniques and methodological paradigms".<sup>94</sup> It is important to outline the fact that we can have different types of case study and with the use of the case study methodology more than one objective can be followed. In our specific case, we will choose the heuristic case study<sup>95</sup> as defined by Harry Eckstein:

---

<sup>88</sup> Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1995. p. xi.

<sup>89</sup> Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2008. (Applied Social Research Methods Series).

<sup>90</sup> Stake, Robert E. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln Yvonna S. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005. p. 443.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>92</sup> Odell, John S. Case Study Methods in International Political Economy [Online]. *International Studies Perspectives*, 2001, no. 2. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www-rcf.usc.edu/~odell/Case%20study%20methods.pdf>>. p. 162.

<sup>93</sup> Stake, Robert E. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln Yvonna S. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005. p. 444.

<sup>94</sup> Lamnek, Siegfried. *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Lehrbuch* (Qualitative social research. Hand book). 4th ed. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz Verlag, 2005. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>95</sup> Eckstein, Harry. *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change* [online]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. [cited 19 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0k40037v/>>. p. 143-147.

[...] the case study is regarded as an opportunity to learn more about the complexity of the problem studied, to develop further the existing explanatory framework, and to refine and elaborate the initially available theory employed by the investigator in order to provide an explanation of the particular case examined.<sup>96</sup>

The above-mentioned definition is linked to Stake's definition, in the sense that "the purpose of a case report is not to represent the world, but to represent the case."<sup>97</sup>

### **I.2.3 The Corpus of Sources**

Within the framework of our study, we used both primaries as secondary sources. Most of the principal sources, often accessible by Internet, are issued by governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, but also by knowledge bases containing primary documents and thesis on the subject.

Governmental sources come from various institutions such as the Presidency, the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in different countries: Romania, France, United States, England, Moldova, Russia... but also from various other governmental institutions indirectly involved in the topic of our subject, like the Senate, Parliament, and last but not at least official representations as foreign embassies in Romania, the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) House.

International organizations sources come from the various organizations involved and which are impossible to circumvent in the international relations or regional representation. We can list, at the international level, the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and several others; at the regional level, there are the European Union, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Organization for Security and Co-operation in

---

<sup>96</sup> Definition of Harry Eckstein cited in George, Alexander L. Case studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison. In Lauren, Paul Gordon (Ed.), *Diplomacy: new approaches in history, theory, and policy*. New York: The Free Press, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979. p. 51-52.

<sup>97</sup> Stake, Robert E. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln Yvonna S. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005. p. 460.

## ***Introduction***

Europe and all the others whose list would be too long to mention here.

Nongovernmental organizations sources represent the sets of organizations working in the field of interest to us with reference to Romanian international relations. These organizations are from various countries and various sectors. For further details, you can find the entire list of sources in the bibliography chapter of this thesis.

We consulted<sup>98</sup>, on governmental websites, fundamental documents in which we found legal texts, official agreements, strategy drafts, action plans, but also press releases, official statements, speeches, interviews, working session reports...

It is necessary for us to mention that some of these primary sources have limited access in time and/or space, and it is one of our problem. In particular, the website of the Romanian presidency offers various sources from 1996 to 2009, the prime minister website from 2000 to the present, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2001 to 2009. Certain sources are not accessible anymore because they were not stored online, following the change of administration or dissolution of the ministry in question, especially the Ministry for European Integration. Other sources are not accessible due to the lack of authorization, availability or due to the geographical distance, such as documents at the Library of the United Nations in New York or Geneva. The accessibility of certain documents in the history of the present time, was not possible because they were subject to national security considerations and will be available only after the contemporary period. An other problem considering this type of source is objectivity. These sources contain political idea that can give a first wrong interpretation.

One retains from this stage, which consisted of identifying the sources used for this analysis, that this research has an abundance of primary sources. Contrary to other types of historical studies, the primary sources could not be used exclusively. In the field of the history of the international relations, each source brings in fact its part of the answer. Standalone, they lead most of the times to

---

<sup>98</sup> We must specify here that it was not possible for us to access and consult, in the various organizations, the paper sources on the missing period, in spite of our request with these institutions and laws in Romania on the right to public information access. This refusal was justified by the confidentiality of information not being able to be released for study.



truncated realities, which can lead to an erroneous interpretation of a phenomenon. The analyzed sources are abundant, but do not necessarily have the same value for our study. It is noted indeed that certain documents provide the foundations of a new orientation or strategic redefinition. These documents are of major importance for us. It is mainly about legal texts, official agreements, documents of strategy orientation and various public statements.

Others, on the other hand, are rather regarded as being of a second order, thus we will call them secondary sources, because they do not necessarily set new realities and they only tackle our problems. These secondary sources can be press articles, professional magazine articles, monographs, experts' books, analyses books, history books, autobiographies, etc. These documents remain necessary, since they give access to inaccessible information and reinforce our comprehension of the subject. In a pragmatic way, that thus makes it possible to confront the practical side of the diplomacy with the great principles it implies. On certain questions, these sources generally allow for better comprehension than the simple reading of fundamental texts, because they refer to information which does not show any things or which is less obvious to detect ideas during a first analysis. If we refer in the same way to the historians of the present time, we note that they commit to a variety of sources, which exceed the analysis alone of the official files; by this, we understand the official documents with public access, public records, media documents, interviews, etc. Of course, the chosen problems make that not all of them necessarily exploit the same documents, but the essence that they refer to it. At this stage, the subjectivity of the historian can be taken into account. It is noted indeed that the choice of the other sources is dependant on the vision of the historian compared to his object of study. Does that make the choice of sources arbitrary? Not inevitably. Insofar as the historian takes note of his inevitable partiality and manages to justify his choices, the arbitrary makes room for the logic. As Thierry Hentsch points out:

The link which is established between mental structures, the methodological reflexes of the researcher and the historical field in which he always works preserve something irrational, unexplainable. Rendering, in an accessible conceptual form, the intuition one has of the past (or of the present) and making this framework flexible enough to make it possible to

## **Introduction**

take information (or data) into account new and firm enough to remain coherent represent a permanent challenge.<sup>99</sup>

The other sources are more regular and are related to subjects such as democratization, justice, respect of minorities, the internal political situation, laws, decrees, etc. These complementary documents were vital and allowed us to preserve a temporal thread on the evolution of the country, and the essential points in Romania's integration in the international environment and its relations with the other states.

The careful examination of the sources independently from each other certainly makes it possible to establish the general lines, but we quickly notice the limits of such an approach when it comes to analyzing the major tendencies. Confrontation with other sources made it possible to move on to a higher stage of analysis. Thus, we could look further into our comprehension on the nature of the collaboration between the various actors and we could check for agreements or disagreements between what one observes in the analysis of the various sources. We will make a triangulation process of the sources. This process is used in the case of qualitative studies. More exactly, Stake defines triangulation as follows: "an effort to see if what we are observing and reporting carries the same meaning when found under different circumstances"<sup>100</sup> and "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation".<sup>101</sup>

By this process, we arrive to very interesting results, since this forces us to put into perspective the collected data and to integrate them in a vaster whole of knowledge. Thus, this method makes it possible to establish a reasonable distance from the source, so that we can integrate it in a broader context and release the historical process. In our case study, it will be used to determine the way in which Romania's international relations are

---

<sup>99</sup> Hentsch, Thierry. Histoire et théorie des relations internationales : pour une études critique de la société mondiale (History and theory of the international relations: for criticizes studies of world society ). In Friedländer, Saul, Kapur Harish and Reszler André (Eds.), *L'Historien et les relations internationales : recueil d'études en hommage à Jacques Freymond*. Geneva, Switzerland: Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales, 1981. p. 109.

<sup>100</sup> Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1995. p. 133.

<sup>101</sup> Stake, Robert E. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln Yvonna S. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005. p. 454.

representative of the transformation of Eastern European countries, since 1989 and of the overall transformations of the international system and its new stakes.

## **Introduction**

### **I.3 Thesis Plan**

Our thesis plan has three main parts, starting by a special chapter explaining '**Romania and the international situation**' describing the 'Romania's situation' at the edge of the '89 Revolution and the 'Post-Cold war international situation'. This special chapter set-up the background of the Romania's situation that is necessary to understand how the country arrived to the revolutionary phenomenon. Likewise, the context of the Post-Cold war international situation changed and brought at the end of the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twentieth-first centuries two radical shifts on the international scene creating paradigm's changes.

**The first part, 'the change into continuity'**, presents the different presidency periods and their impact on the Romanian international relations, as well as the way to implement the foreign policy. For each presidential period, we focus on the main challenges faced and/or the important changes characterizing by the period. We will demonstrate through, this chapter, on one hand that the Romanian international relations changed, and in the other hand the continuous process and the continuity of the Romanian international relations with the previous pre-revolutionary period. The first presidency mandate (1990 to 1996) is characterized by '**a controversial situation**' within the democratic process and the Romania international situation. It ensured the continuity of the institution and the behavior inherited from the previous communist period. The citizens' desire for change and the will to access richness and security led to '**the rupture**', represented by the Emil Constantinescu presidency (1996-2000). '**The comeback**' of Ion Iliescu with the deception and the high costs paid for the change, starts a new period (2000-2004) in the foreign policy continuity. The electorate's desire for change and the mitigated result of the past mandate (2000-2004) reinforced by the program '*Justice and Truth Alliance*' brought '**a wind of change**' by the election of Traian Băsescu in 2004.

**The second part** focuses on the foreign policy change and will trace the shift of the Romanian international relations '**from isolation to interdependence**', thru dependence. We will explain the choice and the foreign policy change of Romania seeking for security within the North Association Treaty Organization ('**the security: North Association Treaty Organization**'), viewed the European Union, as a Western dream for democratic and economic

purposes (***the European Union as a western dream***), and the relation with neighbors (***the neighborliness***). Within NATO, we will underline the importance and the link with the United States' foreign policy and its role as 'World's policemen'. As well, we will explain the challenges faced by the Alliance and the integration process building in order to accept the Eastern European Countries and Romania. We will describe and explain the Romania's integration process '*from cooperation to integration*', as well the new position of the country as the new '*NATO's membership*'. Likewise, we will treat the European Union process of transformation and integration of the Eastern countries and their obligation to meet '*the European Union accession criteria*', including the '*accession timetable*' and the '*enlargement process*' itself. '*From the cooperation with the EEC to the accession in the EU*', we will present the progress accession of Romania, and the Romania's foreign policy as European members' state. '***The neighborliness***' represents an important component in the Romanian foreign policy linked with history and minorities.

**The third and final part, '*Romania, a crossroads***', contains the pillars of Romania's international relations choices and actions. We will discover '***the others and the impact on Romania***' with different aspects as '*the victimization feeling*' thru different examples and '*the need for recognition*' in different fields. However, the country will feel to be in an in-between situation (***Romania, in-between***) that we will examine thru three different axes, the '*Romania between West (Latinity) and East (Orthodoxy)*', the '*permanent balance between Europe (EU) and the United States (NATO)*' and the country '*in-between geographical situation*'. In fact, we will see how Romania will move '***from borderland to crossroad***', managing the '*complexity of the borderland*' in order to enjoy a '*crossroad*' situation.

## **II Romania and the International Context**

### **II.1 Romania's Situation**

There is so much to say on the events of the eighties, which brought the international boycott of the country and the fall of Ceausescu's regime. Indeed, Romania was isolated not necessarily by its will, but by the consequences of international and domestic policies. This part of the subject is outside our scope of study, but it is necessary to quickly describe the reasons which led to this situation. We saw that the nationalist and independent Romanian foreign policies were a strong skill force in the previous years of the 'détente', between 1955 and 1978, and by the refusal of change in the eighties, they became a handicap which will precipitate the fall of the power in place. In fact "[i]n the wake of the wave of reforms that swept Eastern Europe in late 1989, Romania was increasingly isolated as the only anti-reform state in the block".<sup>102</sup>

#### **II.1.1 International Recognition**

After a long period of recognition and opening policy by Romania since the sixties on the international scene, especially through the United Nations Organization, "a central element in Ceausescu's activist foreign policy"<sup>103</sup>, and by a development plan at the economical and political level in all directions, we can say that

Romanian foreign policy is directed [...] at a maximum of maneuvering within present economic, defense and ideological groupings, and at increasing economic cooperation with the noncommunist world.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> De Nevers, Renée. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: The End of an Era*. Vol. 249. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1990. (Adelphi Paper). p. 53.

<sup>103</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> Schöpflin, George. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. London: Muller, Blond & White, 1986. p. 95-96.

## **Romania and the International Context**

Nicolae Ceausescu, in spite of its will, wanted to show, on the international scene at the political level and the commercial level, an independent positioning from the East and an opening to the West<sup>105</sup>. In 1980, Romania signed "an agreement on the trade of industrial products..." the first agreement of this kind concluded by the European Community with an Eastern European country, other than sectorial agreements. The European Community notified that "the government of Bucharest also took its distances with the thesis in force in the socialist camp..."<sup>106</sup>

Also, Ceausescu avoided military participation inside the Warsaw pact by diminishing the number of troops and by cutting down military expenditure, and "step by step, the military link between Romania and the Warsaw Pact weakened".<sup>107</sup> As the following statement, uttered in 1978 at a meeting of the executive political committee of Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty, explains it:

Bucharest argued there was no need to spend more money for military expenditures. On the contrary, the Romanians thought that it was necessary to reduce the costs in the military field. In this respect, the Romanian government proposed a minimum 5 percent reduction of troops and military expenditures...<sup>108</sup>

Romania, in this period of the eighties, is confronted with serious problems such as economical difficulties, important foreign debts, more and more problems of dissidence, as well some problems of internal contestation on behalf minorities, and a dealing-out of the borders more and more contested by the democracies of the West.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Lemaitre, Philippe. Bucarest établit des liens directs avec la C.E.E. (Bucharest establishes direct links with the EEC). *Le Monde*, 10 Feb. -11 Feb. 1980.

<sup>106</sup> Lemaitre, Philippe. La C.E.E et la Roumanie concluent un accord commercial (ECE and Romania concluded a trade agreement). *Le Monde*, 30 March - 31 March 1980. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>107</sup> Deletant, Dennis and Ionescu Mihail. *Romania and the Warsaw Pact: 1955-1989* [online]. Vol. 43. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. April 2004, 2004. (Cold War International History Project). [cited 25 May 2008]. Portable Document Format Available from: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF368.pdf>>. Working Paper # 43. p. 90.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. Romania and the Warsaw Pact: 1955-1989.

<sup>109</sup> For more information, read the articles published in the newspaper 'Le Monde' in 1983 : \_\_\_\_\_. Sinistre thriller - agissements de Securitate à l'extérieur (Loss thriller - Securitate actions abroad). *Le Monde*, 6 Apr. 1983. and \_\_\_\_\_. L' « organisation » spécialisée dans l'attentat contre les dissidents roumains (The "organization" specializing in the assault against Romanian dissidents). *Le Monde*, 12 Apr. 1983.

### **II.1.2 Romania's First Challenge(s)**

From the eighties, "the margin of Romania's independence from the Soviet Union has diminished"<sup>110</sup>, as Bernard Guetta emphasizes in 'Le Monde' of January 1980;

The foreign policy that Mr. Ceausescu had skillfully developed during the ascending time of the détente is indeed likely to suffer from a climate of confrontation of block to block, to be much less easily tolerated by Moscow. The economic difficulties and the energy crisis already substantially increased Romania's dependency from its powerful neighbor, by leading it to plan to resort to Soviet oil imports.<sup>111</sup>

Dependence increased with the Eastern European countries because "the worsening economic hardships encourage closer links with the Comecon".<sup>112</sup>

But economical difficulties were real<sup>113</sup> as well as the important foreign debts.<sup>114</sup> The country lost assistances, such as the refusal of a 65 million dollar loan by the American president Ronald Reagan and the loss of the clause of the most-favored-nation in 1987.<sup>115</sup> In fact, "[i]n the United States, pressure was put on the Senate to deny

---

<sup>110</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. La marge d'indépendance de la Roumanie vis-à-vis de l'URSS s'est réduite (visite du président de Roumanie à Paris) (The margin of the independence of Romania face to the Soviet Union has diminished (visit of the President of Romania in Paris)). *Le Monde*, 23 June 1980. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>111</sup> Guetta, Bernard. La Roumanie demande que cesse la « politique de force et de diktat » (Romania calls for end to the "policy of force and diktat"). *Ibid.*, 6 Jan. -7 Jan. 1980. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>112</sup> Laux, Jeanne. L'aggravation des difficultés économiques incite au resserrement des liens avec le Comecon (The worsening economic hardships encourages closer links with the Comecon). *Le Monde diplomatique*, Feb. 1982. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>113</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Le gouvernement prend des mesures draconiennes pour faire face aux graves difficultés alimentaires (The government is taking draconian measures to cope with severe food problems). *Le Monde*, 15 Oct. 1981. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>114</sup> One can note it through the articles of 'Le Monde' from 1981 and 1982 that - \_\_\_\_\_. Les difficultés financières de la Roumanie ont fait l'objet d'« échanges de vues approfondis » (visite de S. Andrei en France) (The financial difficulties of Romania made the subject of "deep discussions" (visit of S. Andrei in France)). *Le Monde*, 27 Nov. 1981. – and - \_\_\_\_\_. Les difficultés économiques ont été au centre de la conférence nationale du parti (Roumanie) (The economic difficulties have been in the centre of the national conference of the party (Romania)). *Le Monde*, 21 Dec. 1982. – but also - \_\_\_\_\_. La Roumanie ne remboursera pas le principal de ses dettes échues en 1983 (Romania will not reimburse the principal of its debts failed in 1983). *Le Monde*, 5 Jan. 1983.

<sup>115</sup> Ceaușescu denied the most-favoured-nation status in February 1988.



## **Romania and the International Context**

Romania its most-favored-nation status because of its anti-minority policies"<sup>116</sup> and by the end of 1981,

Romania had accumulated more than \$1 billion in arrears to foreign banks, had totally lost access to new credits, and was therefore out of compliance with the terms of the stand-by arrangement with the Fund.<sup>117</sup>

We can note that

With 10 billion dollars worth of debts, Romania was, in 1980, one of the most indebted Eastern European countries. On April 12, 1989, the dictator could announce triumphantly that Romania was the only Eastern European country - and probably one of the few if not the only one of all the poor countries on the planet - to have completely refunded its debts.<sup>118</sup>

Because of the internal situation of poverty and human rights, Romania's catastrophic internal situation generated much dissidence<sup>119</sup> and contestation, especially from the Hungarian minority.<sup>120</sup> The United Nations denounced the retention by the

---

<sup>116</sup> Schöpflin, George. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. London: Muller, Blond & White, 1986. p. 312.

<sup>117</sup> Boughton, James M. *Silent Revolution. The International Monetary Fund 1979-1989* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2001. [cited 25 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://imf.org/external/pubs/ft/history/2001/index.htm>>. p. 323.

<sup>118</sup> Laguiller, Arlette. *Ceux qui en occident profitaient de la dictature de Ceausescu* (Those in the West who took advantage of the Ceausescu dictatorship). *Lutte ouvrière*, 5 Jan. 1990. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>119</sup> Many Romanians flee their country and ask for the political asylum in the countries of Western Europe. One can see the scale of the problem of dissidence through journalistic publications named hereafter. \_\_\_\_\_. *Sept nouveaux touristes roumains demandent asile à la France* (Seven new Romanian tourists seeking asylum in France). *Le Monde*, 5 Jan. 1981. \_\_\_\_\_. *Cinq roumains ont réussi à quitter leur pays* (Five Romanian have managed to leave their country). *Le Monde*, 23 Jun. 1981. \_\_\_\_\_. *Le poète roumain Ion Caraion demande asile politique en Suisse* (The Romanian poet Ion Caraion requests political asylum in Switzerland). *Le Monde*, 27 Nov. 1981. \_\_\_\_\_. *La fièvre de l'exil (le pourquoi de l'exode roumain)* (The fever of exile (the reason for the Romanian exodus)). *Le Monde*, 4 Jan. 1982. \_\_\_\_\_. *Un écrivain roumain demande l'asile politique à Berne* (A Romanian writer asks for political asylum in Bern). *Le Monde*, 27 Jan. 1982. \_\_\_\_\_. *Washington confirme la désertion d'un diplomate roumain* (Washington confirmed the desertion of a Romanian diplomat). *Le Monde*, 6 Dec. 1982.

<sup>120</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Trois membres de la minorité hongroise protestent contre la violation des droits de l'homme* (Three members of the Hungarian minority protesting against the violation of human rights). *Le Monde*, 26 March 1983. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Romania and the International Context***

Romanian government of one of their Romanian high-level civil servant from 1987 to 1988.<sup>121</sup> Also

[i]n France, traditionally a country well disposed to Romania, attitudes began to change as several espionage scandals involving Romania became public. Likewise, in West Germany, there was concern over the fate of the German minority in Romania, and some of this rubbed off on the Hungarians.<sup>122</sup>

From 1982 to 1989, the veil fell gradually off the Romanian policy because "sixteen years after that, the West continues periodically to feel shivers of fright concerning the non-conformism, apparent rather than real, of Nicolae Ceausescu and his diplomatic freaks".<sup>123</sup>

### **II.1.3 The Beginning of the End**

In Dupoy Georges' opinion, Ceausescu "has always held in strict Stalinism, Romania being the country the most 'spied on' of Europe because of its 'Securitate'<sup>124</sup>".<sup>125</sup> Romania was

quarantine[ed] by the international community. Amidst an avalanche of criticism from both West and East, the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva adopted on 9 March 1989, by 21 votes for to 7 against, a resolution

---

<sup>121</sup> Mossu, Laurent. Epreuve de force entre l'ONU at Bucharest. Un expert des Nations unies serait retenu contre son gré depuis l'an dernier par le gouvernement roumain (Test of strength between the United Nations at Bucharest. An expert of the UN would be held against him last year by the Romanian government). *Le Figaro*, 9 Sep. 1988. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>122</sup> Schöpflin, George. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. London: Muller, Blond & White, 1986. p. 312.

<sup>123</sup> Dupoy, Georges. Roumanie : une diplomatie en liberté surveillée (Romania: diplomacy on probation). *Le Monde*, 2 Feb. 1984. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>124</sup> The 'Securitate' (Romanian for Security; official full name Departamentul Securității Statului, State Security Department), was the secret service of the Communist regime of Romania, was founded on August 30, 1948, with help from the Soviet NKVD. The 'Securitate' was abolished in December 1989, shortly after the fall of the president Nicolae Ceaușescu. The Securitate was, in proportion to Romania's population, one of the largest and most brutal secret police forces in the Eastern bloc.

<sup>125</sup> Dupoy, Georges. Roumanie : une diplomatie en liberté surveillée (Romania: diplomacy on probation). *Le Monde*, 2 Feb. 1984. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania and the International Context**

calling for an inquiry into alleged human rights abuses in Romania, the first such investigation to be authorized in any country for five years.<sup>126</sup>

This progressive isolation results in refusal of co-operations, assistances, denunciations on behalf of the international community, and by various governments, diplomats and Western newspapers. The Romanian international involvement was at its lowest level, being stopped by international mediators. Diplomats said that "Romania's Communist government, long seen as the most independent of the Soviet Union's Eastern European allies, has suffered a marked deterioration in its relations with both the East and the West, as President Nicolae Ceausescu has embraced financial tactics and extreme domestic policies...".<sup>127</sup> In fact "Ceausescu symbolizes [today – 1986 –] all the things Gorbachev is opposing – dogmatism, lack of economic realism, personality cults", said a diplomat in Bucharest".<sup>128</sup> On can notes that

'Romania tries to play a role, but there is no role for them anymore. They are no longer regarded as a reliable partner by anyone,' said a [other] diplomat in Bucharest. [...] Mr. Ceausescu's domestic policies, however, have restricted Western economic cooperation in the last five years and have drawn the attention of human rights groups.<sup>129</sup>

The international community started to react vis-à-vis the Romanian case<sup>130</sup> because

[f]or several years, Romania makes itself conspicuous by multiplying the authoritative acts in total violation of the human rights and of the contracts signed with international organizations. Bucharest acts in its own way, according to its moods, in contempt of personal freedoms.<sup>131</sup>

Governments also reacted. "Hungary, the German Federal Republic and France denouncing together the tyranny which is destroying Romania..." and note is to be taken that this

---

<sup>126</sup> Deletant, Dennis and Ionescu Mihail. *Romania and the Warsaw Pact: 1955-1989* [online]. Vol. 43. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. April 2004, 2004. (Cold War International History Project). [cited 25 May 2008]. Portable Document Format Available from: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF368.pdf>>. Working Paper # 43.

<sup>127</sup> Diehl, Jackson. Romania Faces Eroding East, West Ties. *Herald Tribune*, 30 Oct. 1986.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. Un avertissement à M. Ceausescu (A warning to Mr. Ceausescu). *Le Monde*, 11 March 1989.

<sup>131</sup> Rovan, Joseph. Un "Khmer rouge" à Bucharest (A "Khmer Rouge" in Bucharest). Ibid., 4 Oct. 1988. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania and the International Context**

[w]arning is all the more serious for Nicolae Ceausescu, as the four include not only the USSR and the Ukraine, but also Bulgaria and East Germany. These two countries are not perceived to be the climax of the movement of democratization started in the East by the Gorbachev perestroika.<sup>132</sup>

We note that, in 1989, the international pressure, generated by the postponing of the negotiations with Bucharest by the Commission of Brussels for a cooperation agreement was real. Moreover, Paris called back home its ambassador, Le Breton Rene, for consultation "and the Quay of Orsay published a very severe official statement for the Romanian state".<sup>133</sup>

"In 1989, Ceausescu realized that unless he intensified his repressive policy, the whole edifice of what he called the 'multilaterally developed socialist society' would immediately and ingloriously crumble".<sup>134</sup> As it has been argued,

No other East European Leninist regime was overthrown by a violent popular uprising from below. In no other country of the region did the communist governments resort to ruthless forms of repression against peaceful demonstrators during the dramatic events of 1989.<sup>135</sup>

But when the world situation changed,

Romania's present and political policies are leading towards a form of self-imposed isolation which is affecting the country's relations not only with the West but also with Eastern Europe. [...] Mr. Ceausescu is determined, as one Eastern European journalist put it, 'to prove a point that Romania can go at it alone'.<sup>136</sup>

But the main point was that "virtually all governments in Europe would now admit that violations of human rights are a legitimate subject of concern even beyond the frontiers of the particular state where they occur"<sup>137</sup> and that "Ceausescu has come closer than anyone to provoking a war between Soviet satellites by

---

<sup>132</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Un avertissement à M. Ceausescu (A warning to Mr. Ceausescu). *Le Monde*, 11 March 1989. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>133</sup> Trean, Claire. Roumanie : les pressions internationales sur le régime de M. Ceausescu (Romania: international pressure on the regime of Ceausescu). *Ibid.*, 18 March 1989. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>134</sup> Tismăneanu, Vladimir. Romania. In Dawisha, Karen and Parrott Bruce (Eds.), *Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 415.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* In. p. 403.

<sup>136</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania pulls down the shutters on a critical world. *Financial Times*, 8 Dec. 1987.

<sup>137</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. A Romanian threat to the Warsaw Pact. *Financial Times*, 9 Aug. 1988.

hounding his Hungarian minority...".<sup>138</sup> Of all the Eastern European countries having reversed the communist mode after the fall of the Iron Curtain during the autumn and the winter of 1989-1990, Romania was the only one where this metamorphosis was done in blood.

### **II.2 The Post-Cold War International Situation**

The end of the Cold War did not bring the 'End of History'<sup>139</sup> but an important international change due to a change in paradigms. Francis Fukuyama, in his book, argues that the advent of Western liberal democracy may signal the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the final form of human government.

What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.<sup>140</sup>

#### **II.2.1 The End of the Cold War**

But,

After 1989, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union began to be reintegrated in the international system created by the West. They wanted both political integration, such as the membership of Western organizations, and economic integration, meaning more intensive links of economic interdependence with the advanced economies of Western Europe, North America and Japan.<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Europe's tyrant. *The Guardian*, 22 Sep. 1988.

<sup>139</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History? [online]. (Available from:). The National Interest, 2003, Summer 1989, 1989. [cited 11 Feb. 2008 10:31]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>>.

<sup>140</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992a.

<sup>141</sup> Jackson, Robert H. and Sørensen Georg. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. 3th ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. p. 181.

## **Romania and the International Context**

In the same time the created situation also brings some changes in view and several problems.

**First of all**, in the nineties, “[t]he end of the Cold War marks the end of the inter-state conflict that has dominated the world since 1945 and of the Soviet-US nuclear confrontation”<sup>142</sup>, but it is a coming back to the First War World situation, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and “we now see a situation of great fluidity in which no bloc of states seems likely to emerge to match the US, but where the US itself appears reluctant to play the unipolar ‘Roman’ role”.<sup>143</sup> At that time, there were also new threats to security, such as ethnic conflicts, nationalism, xenophobia, irredentism, religious fundamentalism and international terrorism, weapons proliferation, terrorism, political and financial instability, failed states, the impact of climate changes, infectious diseases, and poverty causing regional instability and conflicts, and casting a shadow over the initial optimism.

**Secondly**, we witnessed “the end of communism as political forces”<sup>144</sup> but not the end of communism and of the communist country. There still were some countries like Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam ... We saw the victory of democracy as political reference, called “the ultimate triumph of Western liberal democracy [...] an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism”<sup>145</sup> with the liberalism (capitalism) as economical morn. Sharing the view of Fukuyama Francis,<sup>146</sup> democracy is not an easygoing process that will be implemented in one night. The democratic process needs a period of transition to be implemented.

**Thirdly**, “the break-up of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) ... has created a situation in which, with the break-up of the pre-existing order, new regional alliances and several

---

<sup>142</sup> Halliday, Fred. *The End of the Cold War and International Relations: Some Analytic and Theoretical Conclusions*. In Booth, Ken and Smith Steve (Eds.), *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. p. 41.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. In. p. 42.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>145</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History?* [online]. (Available from:). *The National Interest*, 2003, Summer 1989, 1989. [cited 11 Feb. 2008 10:31]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>>.

<sup>146</sup> Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History. The Last Man*. New York: Free press, 1992b.

potential hegemonies have emerged".<sup>147</sup> This change, especially in Europe, brought us to the situation before the First World War, in 1914, with the problems of minority self-determination, especially in the Caucasus and the Balkans. The collapse also brought the dissolution of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), on June 30 and of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance on July 1<sup>st</sup>.

The change induced by the end of the Cold War as for result to put the "United States in an almost unprecedented position across all the dimensions by which power is typically measured: economic, military, technological, and cultural."<sup>148</sup> Likewise, the restraint capacities of international and regional organization propels, in the nineties, the United States "to undertake limited humanitarian interventions"<sup>149</sup> and to act as a 'World's policeman' in some international problems.

### **II.2.2 The Millennium Development Goals**

The United Nations (UN), under the leadership of the former UN Secretary General Kofi A. Annan, proposed for the new Millennium an opportunity of reflection and suggested that the globalization would become an opportunity for development, security and environment through the Millennium Development Goals, because "the central challenge we face today [2000] is to ensure that globalization

---

<sup>147</sup> Halliday, Fred. *The End of the Cold War and International Relations: Some Analytic and Theoretical Conclusions*. In Booth, Ken and Smith Steve (Eds.), *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. p. 43-44.

<sup>148</sup> Lieber, Robert J. *A New Era in U.S. Strategic Thinking* [online]. September 11: One Year Later. A Special Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, September 2002, 2002. [cited 15 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/0896/ijee/ijee0896.pdf>>. p. 6.

<sup>149</sup> Miller, Benjamin. *Explaining Changes in US Grand Strategy: The Rise of Offensive Liberalism and the War in Iraq* [online]. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association on August 30-Sep. 2, 2007. Chicago, IL: University of Colorado. p. 74. [cited 15 Oct. 2008]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[www.duke.edu/~gelpi/miller.doc](http://www.duke.edu/~gelpi/miller.doc)>. p. 3.

## **Romania and the International Context**

becomes a positive force for all the world's people, instead of leaving billions of them behind in squalor".<sup>150</sup>

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), based on a series of international conferences and summits that took place in the 1990s, are today the framework agreed upon at the international level to monitor progress in development. The MDGs developed out eight chapters stipulated in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, signed on September 2000 in New York at the Millennium Summit, during the fifty-fifth General Assembly.<sup>151</sup> The eight targeted goals are to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal education, promote gender equality, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development to be achieved by 2015.

The Millennium Summit was the largest gathering of world leaders in history that met to discuss the role of the United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>152</sup> The Millennium Project was commissioned by the UN Secretary General in 2002 for developing a concrete action plan for the world to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and to reverse the grinding poverty, hunger and disease affecting billions of people. In January 2005, a report was presented with final recommendations in a document named 'A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals'. In January 2007, the Millennium Project secretariat team was integrated into the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which assists countries in preparing and implementing MDG-based national development strategies in partnership with other organizations of the UN system. All countries took part - as well Romania - in the MDG program and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) played a crucial role in assisting countries in drafting the first Millennium Development Goals Country Report (MDGR), tailored to the realities of the country.

---

<sup>150</sup> Annan, Kofi A. New century, new challenges [online]. In Council, Security (Ed.), *We the Peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*. New York: United Nations, 2000. [cited 30 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/ch0.pdf>>.

<sup>151</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly at the Fitty-fifth Session* [online]. (United Nations). New York: United Nations, 2000c. [cited 6 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf>>.

<sup>152</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. The largest gathering of world leaders in history meets in New York to discuss the role of the United Nations in the 21st century. [online]. *BBC News online*, 7 September 2000 09:52 GMT. London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2000a. [cited 6 October 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/904903.stm>>.



### **II.2.3 September 11, 2001**

September 11, 2001 is the date of the terrorist attacks (often referred to as 9/11) against the United States of America, on the World Trade Center (Twin Towers) in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington D.C. These actions were a series of coordinated suicide attacks done by al-Qaeda upon the United States.

These attacks have an historical impact on the United States. First, the American soil was rarely touched by attacks. These attacks were the British offensive in 1812, the Pearl Harbor attack in 1942 and the 'Axis force' attacks on the American coast during the Second World War. Second, it is one of the rare terrorist attacks in the United States (World Trade Center in 1993, Oklahoma City in 1995, Olympic games in Atlanta in 1996), but the most murderous terrorist attack of the Contemporary History.

The United States reacted immediately, both at domestic and international level. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the Bush administration declared war on terrorism, with the stated goals of bringing Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda to justice and preventing the emergence of other terrorist networks. These goals would be accomplished by various means, including economic and military sanctions against states perceived as harboring terrorists and increasing global surveillance and intelligence sharing. The United States passed the USA PATRIOT Act<sup>153</sup>, an Act of Congress that United States President George W. Bush signed into law on October 26, 2001.<sup>154</sup> One month after, the United States led a broad coalition of international forces for harboring the Al-Qaeda organization, and removing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

In addition, there was a worldwide reaction to these terrorist attacks. The NATO council stated that the attacks on the United States were considered as an armed attack on all NATO members and, as such, NATO activated Article V of the charter of the North

---

<sup>153</sup> USA PATRIOT Act: the acronym stands for 'Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism' Act of 2001

<sup>154</sup> US Presidential Documents. Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001 [online]. (United States Congress). Vol. 147. Washington, DC: Legislative History, 2001. [cited 23 June 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107\\_cong\\_public\\_laws&docid=f:publ056.107](http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ056.107)>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

Atlantic Treaty of 1949.<sup>155</sup> This was the first time in NATO's history that the collective defense obligation in the treaty had been activated. These attacks were denounced by mainstream media and governments worldwide. Across the globe, nations offered pro-American support and solidarity.<sup>156</sup> Leaders in most Middle East countries, including Afghanistan, condemned the attacks.<sup>157</sup> For NATO, the fight against terrorism becomes "a permanent agenda item and priority",<sup>158</sup> confirmed by the North Atlantic Council, the Alliance's principal decision-making body.<sup>159</sup>

Likewise, the attack changed the United States alliances by strengthening relations with some other countries, such as Russia<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Article 5: The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

<sup>156</sup> To see Daley, Suzanne. *After the Attacks: The Alliance; Russia Condemns Attack on U.S. And Vows to Aid NATO Actions* [online]. The New York Times, September 14, 2001. [cited 23 March 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9903E5D91138F937A2575AC0A9679C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>. And Hertzberg, Handrik. *Lost Love* [online]. The New Yorker, September 11, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2006/09/11/060911ta\\_talk\\_hertzberg?printable=true](http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2006/09/11/060911ta_talk_hertzberg?printable=true)>.

<sup>157</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Attacks draw mixed response in Mideast* [online]. *CNN.com Edition*, September 12, 2001, [cited 23 June 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/12/mideast.reaction/index.html>>

<sup>158</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *NATO and the fight against terrorism*. 2008I, 01 Apr. 2008. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. [cited 23 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/issues/terrorism/index.html>>.

<sup>159</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Daley, Suzanne. *After the Attacks: The Alliance; Russia Condemns Attack on U.S. And Vows to Aid NATO Actions* [online]. The New York Times, September 14, 2001. [cited 23 March 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9903E5D91138F937A2575AC0A9679C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

because of this tragic event.<sup>161</sup> The council, which oversees relations between the two former cold war enemies, said NATO and Russia would intensify their cooperation to fight the scourge of terrorism. "NATO and Russia call on the entire international community to unite in the struggle against terrorism,"<sup>162</sup> the statement says.

Russia's support for the United States and the alliance as a whole was unusually forthright rooted in what Moscow perceived as a common cause: the fight against Islamic radicalism. Russia portrayed the war in Chechnya as a struggle against Islamic fanatics and blamed the same forces for the instability on its southern borders.

The End of the Cold War led the US global role to be involved in peacekeeping operations and humanitarian interventions, as well as in nation building. From 1989 to 2001, there was a series of dangers and conflicts, mentioned above, and the United States intervened in a number of local or regional conflicts<sup>163</sup>. During this period, the United States had a situation of primacy across multiple dimensions, and supported "ideas concerning a new world order, assertive multilateralism, and a strategy of engagement and enlargement to encourage the spread of democracies and market economies."<sup>164</sup> Also, the United States was acting in concert with other powers and with international organization and took the lead in supporting democratic peace. The President Bill Clinton's and its government "priorities were expanding democracy, free markets, and preparing the US for the challenges of globalization".<sup>165</sup> But George W. Bush adopted an "unilateralist approach during the first term in office"<sup>166</sup> and "the

---

<sup>161</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Countries around the world are sharing the grief of the U.S. as it becomes clear that hundreds of their citizens were caught in the terrorist attacks on New York [online]. *CNN.com WORLD*, September 14, 2001, [cited 23 June 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/13/world.response/index.html>>

<sup>162</sup> Daley, Suzanne. After the Attacks: The Alliance; Russia Condemns Attack on U.S. And Vows to Aid NATO Actions [online]. *The New York Times*, September 14, 2001. [cited 23 March 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9903E5D91138F937A2575AC0A9679C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>.

<sup>163</sup> Military intervention for the Iraq's invasion of Kuwait (1990-91), Somalia (1991-92), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), and Kosovo (1999).

<sup>164</sup> Lieber, Robert J. A New Era in U.S. Strategic Thinking [online]. September 11: One Year Later. A Special Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, September 2002, 2002. [cited 15 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/0896/ijee/ijee0896.pdf>>. p. 6.

<sup>165</sup> Fraser, Cameron. *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Global Hegemon or Reluctant Sheriff?* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2005. p. 14.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

## **Romania and the International Context**

September 2001 terrorist attacks led to a major change in US foreign policy".<sup>167</sup>

The United State's National Security Strategy<sup>168</sup> defined a new doctrine, known as the Bush Doctrine, with the right to aggressively secure itself from countries that harbor or give aid to terrorist groups. The new US grand strategy allowed the United States to depose foreign regimes that represented a potential or perceived threat to their security. Their foreign policy encourages democracy around the world, especially in the Middle East with a willingness to pursue U.S. military interests in a unilateral way. In summary, the Bush Doctrine is based on unilateralism, attacking countries that harbor terrorists, with preventive strikes and democratic regime change. This event (9/11) brought about a big change in the paradigm of international relations. The Cold War period, with the East-West separation and Communism-Capitalism separation – will be replaced by democracy and by the fight against terrorism.

### **II.3 The Paradigm's Change**

The change of paradigm in international relations, as well as in International Relations discipline, was done at the first round after the end of the Cold War and for the second round after the 9/11 attack and brings a new World order.

#### **II.3.1 The Human Rights as an International Issue**

The human rights field, as well as the protection of minorities, became more important in international politics and "has been an established subject of international relation for only half a century"<sup>169</sup>, representing an important point in the foreign policy of many states

---

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> White House. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [online]. (The White House). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>.

<sup>169</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs. March 2008, 2008k. [cited 7 Octobre 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308\\_humanrights.pdf](http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308_humanrights.pdf)>. (Bureau of International Information Programs). p. 6.

such as the United States in the mid-seventies, as well for Western European countries. The frozen situation induced by the Cold War through "an intense ideological struggle"<sup>170</sup> maintained a status quo on the question reinforced by geopolitical consideration until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. But the Helsinki Final Act, signed in 1975, "introduced human rights into the mainstream of U.S.-Soviet relations"<sup>171</sup> and brought a modification in the question between democratic and communist countries. The seventies "was also the decade in which nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with human rights emerged as a notable international political force"<sup>172</sup> and we saw the growing influence of international organization in this field.

At the end of the Cold War, the collapse of numerous states, due to interethnic conflicts such as the former Yugoslavia, has increasingly brings recognition for the protection of minorities as an important guarantee of political and social stability as well the territorial integrity of states. This situation increased the attention, at the international level, drawn to the protection of minorities, particularly since the early 1990s. The end of Cold War strengthened international human rights efforts. In 1992, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the 'Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities'.<sup>173</sup> The declaration defined the rights of members of minorities for the first time and guaranteed the right of persons belonging to ethnic minorities to practice their own language, culture and religion (article 27). This question is also a core issue of the Council of Europe which adopted the 'Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities'<sup>174</sup> in February 1995, entered in force in 1998, convention that set the principles of action for national minorities' protection. The protection of national minorities is one of the four priority areas in co-operation between the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

---

<sup>170</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* Ibid. p. 8.

<sup>171</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>172</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>173</sup> United Nations. Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities [online]. Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1992. [cited 7 Octobre 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d\\_minori.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_minori.htm)>.

<sup>174</sup> Council of Europe. Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Explanatory Report [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995. [cited 7 Octobre 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/e/human\\_rights/minorities/2.\\_framework\\_convention\\_%28monitoring%29/1.\\_texts/PDF\\_H\(1995\)010%20FCNM\\_ExplnatoryReport\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/minorities/2._framework_convention_%28monitoring%29/1._texts/PDF_H(1995)010%20FCNM_ExplnatoryReport_en.pdf)>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

The United States, along its history, "has played a special role in the development and support of human rights ideas and practices"<sup>175</sup>, values as underlined by the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable [inalienable] Rights that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. To secure these Rights, Governments is instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its Powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.<sup>176</sup>

But the special role played by the United States was limited and conditioned upon the national interest, such as during the Cold War period, when "the United States was [...] willing human rights lapses in "friendly" anti-Communist regimes"<sup>177</sup>, and "supported some brutal military dictatorships, providing them with financial and military support so long as they supported U.S. economic and geopolitical interests"<sup>178</sup>. In the recent period, the United States was also criticized about treatment of some suspected terrorists, as the prisoner abuse during the Iraqi War. In fact, "[t]he boundaries of rights in instances of conflicts involving terrorists - who, after all, are out to destroy everybody's rights - are still being debated in civilized societies."<sup>179</sup> But, on the contrary "the United States also has a long record of positive international actions on behalf of human rights. And, with the end of the Cold War, the United States has emerged as

---

<sup>175</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs. March 2008, 2008k. [cited 7 Octobre 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308\\_humanrights.pdf](http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308_humanrights.pdf)>. (Bureau of International Information Programs). p. 16.

<sup>176</sup> Jefferson, Thomas. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America [online]. *USHistory.org*. Philadelphia, PA: Independence Hall Association, 1776. [cited 7 October 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/index.htm>>.

<sup>177</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs. March 2008, 2008k. [cited 7 Octobre 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308\\_humanrights.pdf](http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308_humanrights.pdf)>. (Bureau of International Information Programs). p. 8.

<sup>178</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* Ibid. p. 23.

<sup>179</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Contributions by the United States. United States key role in development, support of human rights [online]. Washington, DC: America.gov, 2008f. [cited March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.america.gov/st/democracyhr-english/2008/March/20080325141735myleen0.5100214.html>>.

a leader in multilateral human rights and humanitarian initiatives in Somalia, Sudan, Haiti, Bosnia, and other countries."<sup>180</sup>

### **II.3.2 The Modern Globalization Phenomena**

The definitions of globalization abound in the scientific literature, and cause some confusion about the use of the term. There is a large amount of documents in this regard and it would be unrealistic to undertake a comprehensive review of the literature. We therefore chose to focus on recent writings (most of which were published after 1995) dealing with political and economic aspects of globalization as from Jean-luc Ferrandéry<sup>181</sup>, Antoine Ayoub<sup>182</sup>, Anthony McGrew<sup>183</sup>, Boukhalfa Kherdjemil<sup>184</sup>, Stepehn Krasner<sup>185</sup>, Jan Nederveen Pieterse<sup>186</sup>, Tom G. Palmer<sup>187</sup>, John Urry<sup>188</sup>, Thomas L. Freidman<sup>189</sup>, Noam Chomsky and Sum Woo Lee<sup>190</sup>.

Globalization can mean a various-border flow, interdependence or trans-nationalization of governance. Stephen Krasner explains that

---

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ferrandéry, Jean-luc. *Le point sur la mondialisation* (Point on Globalization). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996.

<sup>182</sup> Ayoub, Antoine. *La libéralisation des marchés de l'énergie : utopie, théories et pragmatisme* (The liberalization of energy markets: utopia, theories and pragmatism). *Revue de l'énergie*, Juillet-août-septembre 1998, 1998, vol. 499.

<sup>183</sup> McGrew, Anthony. *The Transformation of Democracy?: Globalization and Territorial Democracy*. Cambridge: Politiy Press & The Open University 1997.

<sup>184</sup> Kherdjemil, Boukhalfa. *Territoires, mondialisation et redéveloppement* (Territories, Globalization and Redevelopment). *Revue d'Economie Régionale et Urbaine* 1999, vol. 2.

<sup>185</sup> Krasner, Stephen D. *Globalization and sovereignty*. In Smith, David Alden, Solinger Dorothy J., Topik Steven, and al. (Eds.), *States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy*. London: Routledge, 1999.

<sup>186</sup> Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *Shaping Globalization* [online]. In Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (Ed.), *Global Futures: Shaping Globalization*. London, UK: Zed Books, 2000b. [cited 18 August 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP\\_Shaping.pdf](https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP_Shaping.pdf)>.

<sup>187</sup> Palmer, Tom G. *Globalization is Grrreat!* [online]. *Cato's Letter*, Fall 2002, 2002, vol. 1, no. 2. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/letters/palmer-catoletters.pdf>>.

<sup>188</sup> Urry, John. *Global Complexity*. Oxford, UK: Polity, 2003.

<sup>189</sup> Freidman, Thomas L. *The Dell Theory of Conflict Prevention* In Freidman, Thomas L. (Ed.), *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

<sup>190</sup> Chomsky, Noam and Lee Sun Woo. *Korea and International Affaires*. Noam Chomsky interviewed by Sun Woo Lee. *Z Net*. s.l.: Z Communication, 2006. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/4362>>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

globalization is “the increase in international flows of ideas, people, goods, and factors.”<sup>191</sup> Globalization is the transformational process of local or regional phenomena into a global one, and can be described as a process unifying into a single society and functioning together with people of the entire world. This process is a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces.<sup>192</sup> Globalization is often used to refer to economic globalization that is integration of national economies into the international, economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology.<sup>193</sup> Because the definition of globalization varies among theorists, we will provide some additional definitions. Tom Palmer, senior fellow at the Cato Institute, defines globalization as “the diminution or elimination of state-enforced restrictions on exchanges across borders and the increasingly integrated and complex global system of production and exchange that has emerged as a result.”<sup>194</sup> Thomas L. Friedman<sup>195</sup>, “examines the impact of the ‘flattening’ of the globe”, and argues that globalizes trade, outsourcing, supply-chaining, and political forces have changed the world permanently, for both better and worse. He also argues that the pace of globalization is quickening and will continue to have a growing impact on business organization and practice.<sup>196</sup> According to Noam Chomsky, the word globalization is also used in a doctrinal sense to describe the neo-liberal form of economic globalization.<sup>197</sup> From these definitions, every mainstream academic focuses on the dimension that seems most relevant. For example, some academics

---

<sup>191</sup> Krasner, Stephen D. Globalization and sovereignty. In Smith, David Alden, Solinger Dorothy J., Topik Steven, *and al.* (Eds.), *States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy*. London: Routledge, 1999. p. 36.

<sup>192</sup> Croucher, Sheila L. *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. p. 8.

<sup>193</sup> Bhagwati, Jagdish N. *In Defense of Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>194</sup> Palmer, Tom G. Globalization is Grrreat! [online]. Cato's Letter, Fall 2002, 2002, vol. 1, no. 2. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/letters/palmer-catoletters.pdf>>.

<sup>195</sup> Thomas L. Friedman is the ‘Foreign Affairs’ columnist at The New York Times.

<sup>196</sup> Friedman, Thomas L. *The Dell Theory of Conflict Prevention* In Friedman, Thomas L. (Ed.), *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

<sup>197</sup> Chomsky, Noam and Lee Sun Woo. *Korea and International Affairs*. Noam Chomsky interviewed by Sun Woo Lee. *Z Net*. s.l.: Z Communication, 2006. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/4362>>.



## **Romania and the International Context**

as Manuel Castells,<sup>198</sup> a sociologist, focus on the link between economic and social dimensions. Others, such as John Urry,<sup>199</sup> emphasize the increasing complexity that characterizes all human exchanges (economic, cultural and political). Also, the term and its popularity are related to development issues, as evidenced by Jan Nederveen Pieterse, professor in globalization at the University of Maastricht.<sup>200</sup> The controversy that affected the academics reflects the existence of a global debate, and also the terms globalization and 'mondialisation', with the meaning assigned to them being based on the views and current thinking by enunciators.

In addition, Herman E. Daly considers that the terms 'internationalization' and 'globalization' are used interchangeably and there is a slight formal difference. In his opinion, the term 'internationalization' refers to the importance of international trade, relations, treaties, etc and "international" means between or among nations. 'Globalization' supposes erasure of national boundaries for economic purposes; 'international trade' (governed by comparative advantage) becomes "inter-regional trade" (governed by absolute advantage).<sup>201</sup>

The most complete definition that can enclose all aspects of Globalization comes from David Held. He defines the word globalization as being

A process (or set of process) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transaction – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental

---

<sup>198</sup> To see: Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of the network society*. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. (The Information age : economy, society and culture). Castells, Manuel. *The Power of identity*. 3 vols. Vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997. (The Information age : economy, society and culture). And Castells, Manuel. *End of millennium*. 3 vols. Vol. 3. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998. (The Information age : economy, society and culture).

<sup>199</sup> Urry, John. *Global Complexity*. Oxford, UK: Polity, 2003.

<sup>200</sup> Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *Globalization: Consensus and Controversies* [online]. In D'Andrea, Luciano, Quaranta Giancarlo and Quinti Gabriele (Eds.), *II ritorno della città: la basa urbana della globalizzazione*. Roma: Officia Edizioni, 2000a. [cited 18 August 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP\\_Globalization.pdf](https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP_Globalization.pdf)>. And Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *Shaping Globalization* [online]. In Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (Ed.), *Global Futures: Shaping Globalization*. London, UK: Zed Books, 2000b. [cited 18 August 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP\\_Shaping.pdf](https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP_Shaping.pdf)>.

<sup>201</sup> Daly, Herman E. *Globalization versus internalization - some implications* [online]. *Ecological Economics*, 1999, vol. 31. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.uvm.edu/~jdericks/EEtheory/Daly\\_on\\_Globalization.pdf](http://www.uvm.edu/~jdericks/EEtheory/Daly_on_Globalization.pdf)>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.<sup>202</sup>

For us, globalization is a multifaceted process in need of a multi-dimensional conceptualization. To conclude, we can say that globalization "is not just an economic phenomenon, but a political, cultural, military, and environmental, [social] one as well"<sup>203</sup> and includes, "among other things, technology, culture, human rights and communication".<sup>204</sup> Globalization has socio-economic consequences and implications for state power and governance with impact on economy, social and politic field, as well international relations. It increases interdependence among states, society and non-states actors, "which by no means cancels out existing Nation-States or institutions and organizations, but which creates new challenges in managing and governing societies with new problems".<sup>205</sup>

### **II.3.3 Impact of the Globalization on International Relations**

In International Relations, globalization has transformed the nature of power itself, and "power today is distributed among countries in a pattern that resembles a complex three-dimensional chess game."<sup>206</sup> The three dimensions are represented by the military power, economy and the transnational relations, where power is widely dispersed and essentially beyond government control. This last dimension represented the nonstarter actors from multinational

---

<sup>202</sup> Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford University Press, 1999. p. 16.

<sup>203</sup> Daalder, Ivo H. and Loindsay James M. *The Globalization of Politics: America Foreign Policy for a New Century* [online]. *Brookings*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2003. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter\\_diplomacy\\_daalder.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter_diplomacy_daalder.aspx)>.

<sup>204</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Dialogue synthesis: Globalization, Identity and Diversity* [online]. Barcelona: Forum Barcelona 2004, 2004b. (Globalization, Identity and Diversity). [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco\\_del\\_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cf?IdDoc=1700](http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco_del_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cf?IdDoc=1700)>.

<sup>205</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.

companies, criminal organizations to NGOs and international media.<sup>207</sup> The last consequence of globalization is the nation-states' growing loss of power. In view of the increasing mobility of international capital, the globalization of markets, and the integration of economies, state governments are seeing their possibilities of macro-economic action diminishing in the blink of an eye.

Susan Strange believes that the authority of all states is diminished as a result of changes in technology, finance and the integration of national economies into a global world economy.<sup>208</sup> Also, she argues that "[t]he diffusion of authority away from national governments has left a yawning hole of no authority, ungovernance it might be called".<sup>209</sup> In fact

new forms of political borders are emerging, political communities are developing and multi-stratified governments are arising, such that there is a change in market governance characterized by de-territorialization of politics and the emergence of new forms of law (growth of international organizations) and new structures of power.<sup>210</sup>

The increase of non-state actor also has an impact on prosperity, security and threats.

### **II.4 The 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

The globalization of terrorism created a paradigm shift, after the 9/11 attacks, and highlighted the essential dimension of unpredictability in threat perceptions. This dimension brought a new foreign policy doctrine to international diplomacy, with the help of military terminology, called 'pre-emptive', or more widely known as the Bush doctrine. Realpolitik and security questions have become

---

<sup>207</sup> Daalder, Ivo H. and Loindsay James M. The Globalization of Politics: America Foreign Policy for a New Century [online]. *Brookings*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2003. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter\\_diplomacy\\_daalder.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter_diplomacy_daalder.aspx)>.

<sup>208</sup> Strange, Susan. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>210</sup> Held, David. *Globalization: An Empirical Assessment and an Analytical Interpretation* [online]. Paper presented at the Globalization, Identity and Diversity on July 26-29, 2004. Barcelona: Forum Barcelona 2004. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco\\_del\\_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1628](http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco_del_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1628)>.

## **Romania and the International Context**

an important factor in international relations. Muharrem Ekşi, a Caucasian and Central Asia Specialist at the Global Strategy Institute underlines that the 'pre-emptive' concept shows some similarities with international relations theories (realism and liberalism), which understands the world as anarchic, the main difference is the new dimension of international politics: chaotic conjuncture. This situation signifies the end of "ad-hoc" and "wait-and-see" politics in foreign policy making. The implication of this is not just the re-evaluation of foreign policies but also an increase of uncertainty in the international system, which in any case, did not reach a level of order after the Cold War.<sup>211</sup>

"With the dawn of the 21st century the world has entered a new stage of geopolitical struggle."<sup>212</sup> And for Richard Heinberg, a Senior Fellow of Post Carbon Institute, the twenty-first century ushered in an era of declines, in a number of crucial parameters: Global oil, natural gas, and coal extraction, yearly grain harvests, climate stability, population, economic growth, fresh water, minerals and ores, such as copper and platinum.<sup>213</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> century has created a geopolitical gap by moving geopolitical question to Europe and the Far East towards Asia, called by scholars Eurasia.

Eurasia refers to the combined land mass of Europe and Asia, and is alternatively considered to be a continent, or a super continent composed of the two continents above. Due to the cultural differences between Asia and Europe, the historical tradition is to consider them separate continents. This is controversial, as many historians perceive much of South and West Asia as historically closer to Europe than to East Asia. The earth sciences, with a more precise definition of continent, more frequently consider Eurasia to be a continent in and itself. The Silk Road symbolizes trade and cultural exchange linking Eurasian cultures through history within the civilizations in China, India, and Mediterranean as the principal civilizations in Eurasia in early CE times. Over recent decades the idea of a greater Eurasian history has developed with the aim of

---

<sup>211</sup> Ekşi, Muharrem. NATO's Global Transformation and Quest for Absolute Hegemony: Missile Defence and Energy Security [online]. EurasiaCritic. London, UK: Eurasia Critic NewsAgency Ltd., 2008. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.eurasiacritic.com/june/june\\_eksi.html](http://www.eurasiacritic.com/june/june_eksi.html)>.

<sup>212</sup> Heinberg, Richard. The US and Eurasia: End Game for the Industrial Era? *MuseLetter*, 132. Sebastopol, CA: Post Carbon Institute, 2003. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.richardheinberg.com/museletter/132>>.

<sup>213</sup> Heinberg, Richard. Peak Everything: Waking Up to the Century of Declines. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2007.

## ***Romania and the International Context***

investigating the genetic, cultural and linguistic relationships between European and Asian cultures of antiquity. But, Eurasia is also sometimes used in geopolitics as a neutral way to refer to organizations or affairs concerning the post-Soviet states, in fact known as Central Eurasian. A prominent example of this usage is in the name of Eurasian Economic Community, the organization including Kazakhstan, Russia, and some of their neighbors, with headquartered in Moscow and Astana. We will retain in our study that Eurasia refers to the combined land mass of Europe and Asia.

If in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, United States was the main power, today for scholar, as Richard Heinberg, the power is moving to Far East. For some scholars, Eurasia will provide a solution to the acute energy needs of developing economies. For others, it will remedy the instability created by an unipolar world. In our days, some regions become prominent, especially in Asiatic and Oceanic regions. Eurasia sustains mutation and changes and provides energy resources; Europe is in construction and in a mutation process; Russia is moving towards re-establishing itself as a 'pole'; China is an undisputed candidate for superpower; India, a large democracy, is a nuclear power with a productive population. We can say that Eurasia will probably become a determining factor for balance of power in the future.

### **III Change into Continuity**

In politics, before of all, let be  
Romanians!

Ion C. Brătianu<sup>214</sup>

In this part, we will study the evolution of Romania's international relations and foreign policy throughout several presidential mandates, from the first elections in 1990 until the new presidential campaign.

Aside the international political situation, at the end of 1989, there are changes on the international scene. Thus, Romania has to face foreign policy changes and difficult domestic questions. In this section, we will explain how Romania's international relations change in the continuity of the traditional and historical Romanian international relations. We will demonstrate that, given the fact that the different presidential mandates offer alternation in the political system, Romania's foreign policy follows the same aim all along this period. The domestic policy changes with each presidential mandate applying their program, but we will see that there is a strong link, for Romania, between the international relations of the state and its domestic politics. Even if it is outside our study theme, we will nevertheless underline the scope of domestic policy, because domestic and international politics often affect each other; domestic politics affect international politics, and vice-versa, as Robert Putman

---

<sup>214</sup> 'În politică, înainte de toate, să fim români!' expression used by Ion C. Brătianu (August 20, 1864—November 24, 1927), a Romanian politician, leader of the National Liberal Party (PNL), the Prime Minister of Romania for five terms, and Foreign Minister on several occasions, on the 6 of July 1870 in an Romanian Parliamentary session. This expression was cited by Adrian Năstase in his declaration on the occasion of the new government's swearing-in on 28 of December 2000, in the speech delivered at the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate for trust granting with respect to the government's program and list.

argued in his paper '*the logic of two-level games*' written in 1998.<sup>215</sup> The study of Romania's international relations between 1990 and 2009 will show four different periods corresponding to four different presidencies.

With the first mandate of Ion Iliescu (1990-1992), the domestic situation will be viewed as authoritarian and communist and as damaging to the country's image on the international scene. The main political actions will be criticized and will slow down Romania's recognition as a western country. We will see that government leaders will have to deal with pressures and constraints from domestic political sources, and from the international political system, as argued by Joe Hagan.<sup>216</sup> As far as the foreign policy question is concerned, we can underline the fact that Romania will hesitate to reconsider the direction of its international situation and its relations with neighbors, and the questions about the country's border will be difficult. The period of Iliescu's mandates will be viewed as a controversial period (1990-1996).

In the 1996 elections, the electorate, eager for change, decided a Necessary Rupture by the election of Emil Constantinescu (1996-2000). This new government will be seen by other state leaders and by the European Union as an important step to anchor democracy in Romania. Even if the Emil Constantinescu's presidency brings Romania to the doors of the EU and NATO, the challenge in the economic and military fields and the cost associated to the reforms displeased the population. The Comeback of Ion Iliescu, at the 2000 elections, was the sanction of the cost due to reforms implementation and the delay in Romania's accession to NATO.

Under the presidency of Ion Iliescu (2000-2004), the adhesion to NATO and to the EU will be finalized. The government has to face the 2001 international change and the Iraqi War Crisis in 2003. The dissatisfaction of the electorate and the opposition of the ultra-nationalist faction bring a Wind of Change, materialized by the election of Traian Băsescu in 2004.

---

<sup>215</sup> Putnam, Robert D. *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games* [online]. International Organization, Summer 1988, 1988, vol. 42, no. 3. [cited 16 May 2008 08:50]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2706785>>. p. 427.

<sup>216</sup> Hagan, Joe D. *Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign policy*. In Neack, Laura, Hey Jeanne A. K. and Hanney Patrick J. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall College Div., 1995. p. 117.

## ***Change into Continuity***

The new president (2004-2009) will bring domestic policy change and, following the development on the international scene, an international recognition of Romania as a crossroads for the EU and NATO.

It is important to write a few lines about the decision-making process in the Romanian foreign policy to draft all the landscape. Even if the constitutional process imposes the validation thru Parliament and the Senate, International Organizations insisted for larger collaboration with the civil society in the decision process. The foreign policy decision has been made by the institutional triangle of the President, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs depending on their personality and their interest in Foreign Policy. This idea has been demonstrated by Ruxandra Ivan in her work '*Romanian Foreign Policy. 1992-2006*'.<sup>217</sup> But the institutions as well the civil society started to be more or less involved, pushing to comply with the EU and NATO requirements and in the same way influencing foreign policy decisions. However, when they tried to do so, the institutional triangles were so powerful that the others parties involved could not act as decision makers.

This is why this triangle has, with regard to the weight in the catch of the decisions of foreign politics, a variable architecture. It is governed by the personality of the occupants of the functions and by other contextual determinations, such as the political color, and the structure of the government coalition. [...] The political parties represented in Parliament, when in the opposition, do not succeed in modifying the decisions taken by the executive branch of. The treaties concluded by the government were always ratified, [...]. From this point of view, Romanian Parliament always expressed a vocation to get involved in the foreign policy. That can be explained, on the one hand, by the concentration of the decision-making power in the hands of the executive branch, and on the other hand, by the consensus which the Romanian political parties found with regard to the main trends of the foreign politics.<sup>218</sup>

Moreover, the report on '*Public Perceptions on Foreign Affairs in Romania*', a public survey carried out in 2005 by the Institute for Public Policies (IPP) with the support of the German Marshal Fund of the United States (GMF) concluded that the political elite, as well as the public opinion "acknowledges the fact that the President of

---

<sup>217</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultats (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007. p. 73.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid. p. 238. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



Romania is the most influential factor in the country's foreign policy."<sup>219</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> Voinescu, Sever and Dobre Gabriela. *Public Perceptions on Foreign Affairs in Romania* [online]. Bucharest: INstitute for Public Policy, 2005. (Political Analyses and Commentaries). [cited 16 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003382/01/foreign\\_policy\\_in\\_romania.pdf](http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003382/01/foreign_policy_in_romania.pdf)>. p. 20.

### **III.1 A Controversial Period**

The first priority of Iliescu's presidency was to open Romania to the world as stipulated in Articles 9 and 10 of the CNSF statement, published immediately after the Revolution. The Romanian leader will seek to find a solution to get out the country of its isolation thru all possible ways. Due to foreign policy makers, educated within the Marxist-Leninist style, Romanian leaders will hesitate to state a clear position regarding the relation with Russia and the orthodoxy versus the nationalism of Latinity, giving a political mix between isolationist attitudes versus a large opening and reformation as a Western country. With instrumental actions and discourses, Romania will seek to be viewed as a European country. Romania will be in-between during a large part of this period and will seek to adhere to the European Union (EU) for mainly economic purposes, to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for a security purpose likewise to solve the conflicts with the neighboring countries, due to the constraints of the two organizations above. The domestic policy will have a large impact on Romania's accession process, as the accession process will have an important impact on Romania's domestic policy. In 1990, Romania had two important political problems: domestic and international linked with a catastrophic internal economic situation. Nevertheless, as we will see, hereafter, Romania's bad international image will leech off the international relations development of the country and will put its foreign policy in difficult situations. The Romanian foreign policy will be manhandled by Romania's position and most of all because the Romanian's will is to get closer the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Romania's bad image results from the domestic problems on the one side, and from the Romanian foreign policy on the other side.

Regarding the domestic problems, the way in which democracy is implemented, the control of the government by former communists and the strong government reaction in different domains such as minorities and civil society contestation, create the Romanian undemocratic image toward the international community. Moreover, the will of a slow implementation of economic reforms strengthen the communist image of Romania.

The foreign policy attitude towards the Soviet Union - Russia after 1991 - and the Yugoslav Republic, in the period of the Yugoslav 'banishment' from the international community put Romania in an ambiguous situation and brought the international community to

reject Romania and to classify the country more as a 'Balkan country' rather than a Central and Eastern European Country (CEEC). Romania was isolated, during the Cold War, from other Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) by its own inactive participation in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO). The Romanian attitude toward the issue of minorities, before and after 1989, reinforced the rejection of Romania by the other Eastern European countries. The refusal to accept Romania in the Visegrád group<sup>220</sup> in spite of the Romanians demand in 1991 is a perfect example of the situation.

In 1990, the new president Ion Iliescu delivered his speech during the swearing-in ceremony, stating the will of the democratization process and Romania's integration into a 'United Europe'. In the same year, President Ion Iliescu delivered a speech at the Paris meeting of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). This speech is an interesting statement of foreign policy goals and gives some indications about what the Romanian leaders think. Ion Iliescu states:

The new Romania that resulted after the Revolution of December 1989 adopted a policy oriented towards re-establishing historical and traditional relations with the other countries of Europe and North America, as well as towards developing relations with states sharing the same Latin culture and civilization, within the circumstances of its opening to all states. The Romanian foreign policy is focused on inalterable axioms: cooperation, understanding and mutual respect, and adhesion to international law principles.<sup>221</sup>

In the same way, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adrian Năstase, stipulated at the Warsaw Pact meeting in Budapest in February 1991 that:

Within this context, a priority direction of action for Romania after 1989 is to promote wide partnership relations with the North-Atlantic Alliance and the Western European Union, to associate with the European

---

<sup>220</sup> The Visegrád group is composed by Czechoslovakia, and after the Czech Republic and Slovakia (which were formally created on January 1, 1993), Hungary and Poland.

<sup>221</sup> Tinu, Dumitru. Discursul preșezinelui României la reunuinea la nivel înalt de la Paris a C.S.C.E. (Speech of the Romanian president at the high level meeting of the CSCE in Paris). *Adevărul*, 21 noiembrie 1990, no. I-239. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

## **Change into Continuity**

Economic Community and to participate in the other remaining European structures.<sup>222</sup>

We can see that, with any occasion - summit, conferences, meetings - Romanian officials will emphasize the goal of Romania's access to both the EU and NATO, which consists in

*the continuance of efforts for integration in the Western-European and North-Atlantic structures and, within this context, for harmonization of Romanian policy strategy and actions to basic orientations of Romania, of protecting territorial security and integrity. The government will promote a policy of consolidation of the relations with NATO and WEU [Western European Union], until the full integration of our country into the above organisms (as it is in original text).*<sup>223</sup>

The main problem with the Iliescu's presidency, despite the fact that the beginning of the Romanian democratic life was chaotic and damaged Romania's image, hereafter explained, it that the president is shaped by the Marxist-Leninist school, as well his collaborators. He did not know how to implement democracy in domestic policy and followed the same foreign policy way of Ceausescu's foreign policy. Certainly, it was difficult for the new president to have another way of action, different from his behavior and from how he was used to do things, especially after the severe isolation of the country from the international community. After 1989, the country is in a disastrous economical situation and needs goods, money, investments. One of the ways to get these is to rely on the country's relations network and to apply the old proven methods that functioned and brought success to Romania in the past. In 1990, Romania chooses "a gradual path of reform, from the centrally-planned economy to a market economy. But gradualism is not an excuse for delaying reform".<sup>224</sup> During this period, "the economic policy of transition in Romania may be best characterized as a 'stop and go' policy and partial reforms."<sup>225</sup> Many decisions were not taken in the first presidential years after the Revolution because of the unpopular feeling linked with the measures.

---

<sup>222</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO* (White Book: Romania - NATO). București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a. p. 81. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>223</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid. p. 56. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>224</sup> Stolojan, Theodor. *Policy-Making in Romania*. Bucharest: Romanian Centre for Economic Policies, 2000. (Policy Analyses). [cited 16 Jan. 2001]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00001088/01.7.pdf>>. RCEP/WP no.18/October, 2002.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

## **Change into Continuity**

Only from 1993, the government started to take some measures under the pressure of International Organizations in order to meet the International Monetary Fund (IMF) criteria and to implement the transition program to market economy. Until 1992, a decline of investments, a considerable reduction of exports and the opening to the internal market with large imports dramatically damaged the economy. The fall of internal resources due to a bad efficiency of the productive system, and the increase of large import products worsened the budget deficit, the balance of payment and the whole economy. The will to buy the social stability by the Iliescu's government and the lack of implementation of the necessary reforms such as the privatization of state companies, and the restructuring of the economical system put Romania in a difficult situation. However, in this wrong start, Romania had the opportunity to use the International Organizations (IOs), and especially its status in the United Nations, to promote a different image. Thru historical links, especially with France associated to the idea of Latinity, sharing the same culture and civilization, Romania strengthens its relations and succeeds in being co-opted in the Francophone Organization as a first step toward the democracy club and later the European Union, because "the French language has an undeniable role to play at the cultural but also economic and geopolitical levels."<sup>226</sup>

In all speeches, in all kinds of manifestations - meetings, inaugurations, colloquia, summits, and assemblies - on all occasions - state visits, Council of Europe, NATO and UN -, Romanian officials - President, Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government representatives... - affirm and re-affirm the will to integrate Romania in the European Union as well in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well as any other linked organizations. They want to present their country as a democratic one, sharing the universal values as the other democratic states, a country shaped by its European history. This principle of repeating the same discourse, over and over, looks like a propaganda method from the Romanian side. They wanted to be sure that with time these ideas will become so normal and natural, and will be accepted as it is by foreign political leaders. Nevertheless, if on paper the Romanian officials presented Romania as a democratic country with a functioning market economy, sharing the same value as other Western European Countries; if in their mind the Romanian leaders think that the will is equal to facts, for the international actors the country is far from democracy and a

---

<sup>226</sup> To see : Barrat, Jacques and Moisei Claudia. *Géopolitique de la Francophonie - Un nouvea souffle ?* Paris: La documentation Française, 2004. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

functioning market economy. As usual, we will always note a strong shift between speeches and practice in the Romanian case. At the beginning of this new area, the state and the government need domestic and international recognition due to a revolutionary question.

### **III.1.1 State and Government Recognition**

The '89 Revolution toward democracy in Romania was the last one in the Eastern European countries' process accepted for the Soviet countries. The change was accomplished in all Eastern Europe Countries in a democratic way, and only in Romania, we witnessed a revolutionary situation that ended in blood. Why may the Revolutionary situation in Romania be a problem for the new provisory Romanian government?

Many names are given to the Romanian revolution: the Stolen Revolution (Revoluția Furată),<sup>227</sup> the Impossible Revolution (Revoluția imposibilă),<sup>228</sup> the Obscure Revolution (Revoluția încâlcită), High-level Betrayal (Trădare la nivel înalt),<sup>229</sup> and Romanian Revolution Live (Revoluția română în direct), and many theories appeared about the revolution. For some, the Revolution did not exist! It was a 'Coup d'état' or a conspiracy: December '89 and the conspiracy theory.<sup>230</sup> One cannot forget, therefore, to ask oneself about the role played by foreigners in the Romanian Revolution, explain later in the third part of this thesis. We must write some words about the Romania Revolution, which continue to create debate: has the revolution taken place with popular uprising or/and with a 'coup d'état' orchestrated with the support of foreign interest? Nobody has an interest to hold at its borders a dictatorial country with a lot of misery and with a dictator speaking about having the atomic bomb!

The beginning of the new democracy faces a few important questions, for which some will never find a clear answer. The first

---

<sup>227</sup> Mazilu, Dumitru. *Revoluția furată : memorii pentru țară mea* (Stolen Revolution: Memory from my Country). București: Ed. Cozia, 1990.

<sup>228</sup> Frunză, Victor. *Revoluția imposibilă* (Impossible Revolution). București: Ed. Victor Frunză, 1994.

<sup>229</sup> Cocan, Aurel Ioan Laurențiu and Ioan Laurențiu. *Trădare la nivel înalt. Revoluția din decembrie 1989, Cluj-Napoca la zece ani* (High Level Trahison. Revolution of December '89 at Romania. Cluj-Napoca Ten Years). Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Napoca Star, 1999.

<sup>230</sup> Decembrie '89 și teoria conspiratiei.

important debate of the new democracy is the revolutionary question. This large debate brings an important problem vis-à-vis the new government recognition on the internal level as well as on the international level. If the internal and international recognition found a positive end, the revolutionary question would be debated until nowadays.

### **III.1.1.1 The Revolutionary Question**

As Richard Hall wrote, “[a]ny history is in fact two histories: the history being told and the history of the period in which it is being told”.<sup>231</sup> Despite, the discussion between the two factions, the one for the ‘coup d’état’ with the assistance of external aids – CIA or KGB -, and the other that it was a spontaneous popular revolution, it is clear that many questions arise. This is not the scope of our thesis, but it is important to underline this aspect in several words. It is significant to answer the question because this topic will haunt the civil society relations and the political life.

Catherine Durandin affirms that “it would seem that there was, if not a direct intervention by the United States, at least an agreement between Washington and Moscow on the issue of the Romanian events”.<sup>232</sup> Radu Portocala, a Romanian journalist, has written in his book *An Autopsy of the Romanian Coup*<sup>233</sup> that he saw the direct intervention of the Russian Committee for State Security (KGB) in the Romanian events of December 1989 and mentions the cooperation of part of the Romanian army, the KGB, and a group of associates close to Ion Iliescu. Canadian historian, Jacques Levesque, published a work where he tries to define the exact role and participation of the Soviets in Romania in 1989. The Russian persons

---

<sup>231</sup> Hall, Richard Andrew. The 1989 Romanian Revolution as Geopolitical Parlor Game: Brandstatter's "Checkmate" Documentary and the Latest Wave in a Sea of Revisionism [online]. s.n.: Richard Andrew Hall, 2005. [cited 13 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://homepage.mac.com/khallbobo/RichardHall/pubs/checkmate040405.pdf>>. p. 1.

<sup>232</sup> Durandin, Catherine. First part - Romania: the "revolution" of 1989, by Dr. Catherine Durandin, writer and historian. Interview by Pierre Verluise [online]. 2002. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/english/romania/durandin1.htm>>.

<sup>233</sup> Portocală, Radu. Autopsie du coup d'Etat roumain : au pays du mensonge triomphant (An Autopsy of the Romanian Coup). Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1990. (Histoire contemporaine).

## ***Change into Continuity***

with whom he spoke said that they were not involved but they gave their agreement to overthrow Ceausescu.<sup>234</sup> Finally, as Michel Castex, journalist of the Agence France Press puts it:

to conclude that the Romanian Revolution was a concerted company of destabilization, then from liquidation from the Ceausescu mode by Moscow, which was dissimulated behind the folding screens of the East. With for the first time on this level the recourse to a generalize media intoxication, which did us, Westerners, actors of a page of History whom we contributed to accelerate, therefore to write.<sup>235</sup>

But in the Tismăneanu Report, one can read that

[w]ithout denying conspiracies against Ceausescu, woven in the Party apparatus, in the Army, in the 'Securitate' and in the Secrets Services, one cannot accept the hypothesis of those who claim that the fall of the regime was only the result of this kind of actions or a 'Coup d'état'.<sup>236</sup>

We will bear in mind that this event is, for us, the mix of different versions; it was a spontaneous uprising, stolen by the communist nomenclature by a coup d'état done with the participation or/and the help and the compliance of foreign interests to overthrow Ceausescu. However, if the bloody revolution made by the former communist member was highly questionable, demonstrated here before, there is still an open question regarding the domestic and international recognition. This problem of recognition was in the mind of the new political leaders in order to secure their political situation.

### **III.1.1.2 Domestic Recognition**

In the domestic policy, the new government did not have the support of the entire population. The new government called the National Salvation Front (NSF), was created officially on December

---

<sup>234</sup> Lévesque, Jacques. 1989, *la fin d'un empire : L'URSS et la libération de l'Europe de l'Est* (1989, *The end of an Empire: USSR and the Freedom of Eastern Europe*). Paris: Presse de la Foundation Nationales des Sciences Politiques, 1995.

<sup>235</sup> Castex, Michel. *Un mensonge gros comme le siècle : Roumanie histoire d'une manipulation* (A large lie like the century: Romania, history of a handling). Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1990. p. 158. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>236</sup> Tismăneanu, Vladimir (Pres.). *Raport final - Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România* [online]. (Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania). București: Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România, 2006. [cited 11 June 2008]. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT\\_FINAL\\_CPADCR.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT_FINAL_CPADCR.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



22, 1989 after the overthrow of Ceausescu, and took the power from the Communist authorities with the leadership of Ion Iliescu. Ion Iliescu named Petre Roman as an interim Prime Minister with some members of the "Letter of the six" at the NSF leadership. The group was made up of Silviu Brucan, Gheorghe Apostol (former RCP first secretary), Alexandru Barladeanu (former deputy prime minister), Corneliu Manescu (former chairman of the UN General Assembly), Constantin Pirvulescu (former Politburo member), and Grigore Răceanu<sup>237</sup> prominent member of the Communist Party. The group wrote an open letter in March 1989 to Romanian Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu to denounce his abuses of power and his economic policies. The letter circulated in the Western media and was read on Radio Free Europe, where it was described as the manifesto of an underground organization, the National Salvation Front (NSF).

The NSF decreed the abolishment of the one-party system and the convocation of future elections. The NSF is mostly made up of former second and third-rank Communist Party members and Silviu Brucan launched the concept of the big party<sup>238</sup> to support the transformation of NSF into a political party on February 6, 1990, in order to be able to run in the upcoming elections. The National Salvation Front (NSF) was virtually in control of the country, showing that Communism was far from being ousted from Romania. Silviu Brucan claims that "the Romanian revolution was directed against Ceausescu, not against communism"<sup>239</sup>. As a former French Ambassador in Bucharest during the Revolutionary period, Jean-Marie Le Breton wrote:

the capacity was going to be taken in hands by people who admirably knew all the wheels of the mechanism of the [communist] state, those of the Party and, can be also, those of the services of Safety. And which, in any case, was going to endeavor to canalize the revolutionary movement, to

---

<sup>237</sup> Binder, Davis. Romanian Diplomat Pushed Into Exile in U.S. [online]. The New York Times, October 9, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE1DB1239F93AA35753C1A966958260&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>.

<sup>238</sup> Tismăneanu, Vladimir (Pres.). Raport final - Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România [online]. (Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania). București: Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România, 2006. [cited 11 June 2008]. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT\\_FINAL\\_CPADCR.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT_FINAL_CPADCR.pdf)>.

<sup>239</sup> Traynor, Ian. Crisis in the National Salvation Front [online]. The Guardian, 18 June 1990, no. 1. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factiva.com/grdn000020011128dm6i005vf>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

direct the army and, probably, to arrive at an agreement with the services of national safety.<sup>240</sup>

The opposition parties – the Christian-Democratic National Peasants' Party (PNȚCD) and National Liberal Party (PNL) – held several demonstrations in January and February 1990 against the new government. The most important demonstration was the University Square protest in Bucharest in April 1990, called 'the Golaniad'<sup>241</sup>, initiated before the first elections, to demand that former members of the Communist Party ('nomenklatura') and the former member of the 'Securitate' (security service) should be banned from elections. The protesters also disagreed with the official doctrine of the NSF. They supported faster reforms, a true market economy and a Western-type democracy. They protested against Ilescu's NSF victory mostly because the opposition had no chance to mount an effective campaign due to the control of media and institutions by the former communist.

The government reaction to the opposition manifestation was sudden and immediate. Ion Ilescu called the 'working class' to support the NSF against what he called the forces training to destabilize the country. This resulted in what were named the first and second Minerriads.<sup>242</sup> However, the more drastic counter-manifestation was the third Mineriad, in June 1990, meant as Ion Ilescu put it, to save the 'besieged democratic regime' and restore order and democracy in Bucharest. The NSF and its candidate, Ion Ilescu, won comfortably the legislative and the presidential elections on May 20, 1990, with a majority in the Deputies' Chamber and the Senate. Petre Roman remained Prime Minister, and its government started cautious economic reforms. We would like to underline the uncertainty of the institution in place, because "Ilescu could appeal neither to the police nor the army. So he had to call on his troops [the miners],' a Romanian political analyst said".<sup>243</sup> Ilescu is not sure about the institution loyalty especially in the police and the Army. The lack of domestic recognition involves a problem with international recognition.

---

<sup>240</sup> Le Breton, Jean-Marie. *L'Europe centrale et orientale de 1917 à 1990* (Central and Oriental Europe from 1917 until 1990). Paris: Nathan Université, 2005 [1994]. (Fac). p. 231. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>241</sup> The word Golaniad (Golaniada) is build from the word golan meaning hoodlum.

<sup>242</sup> A Mineriad (Mineriadă in Romanian) is the parody term used to name the successive violent interventions of miners in Bucharest;

<sup>243</sup> Traynor, Ian. *Revolution 'not against communism'* [online]. The Guardian, 19 May 1990. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factiva.com> Document grdn000020011128dm5j0053u>.

### **III.1.1.3 International Recognition**

Normally, the recognition of the new government has to be done automatically, because in international law, the state remained the same and the "recognition will only really be relevant where the change in government is unconstitutional"<sup>244</sup> and normally "these changes [changes affecting the state government] have no impact on international relations"<sup>245</sup>. We can say that the government generally acknowledged as being in control of a nation and deserving formal recognition, the act by which other nations acknowledges that a foreign government is a legitimate government,<sup>246</sup> to acknowledge the legitimacy of a particular ruler or governing structure. As explain Cate Malek<sup>247</sup> and Heidi Burgess<sup>248</sup>, "for a long time, the U.S. refused to recognize Mao as the leader of China, insisting that the legitimate leader was Chang Kai Chek."<sup>249</sup> This example indicate that "a relationship between parties, be they individuals, groups, or nations, that is important for effective cooperation and/or negotiation."<sup>250</sup>

And "when there is a change in the revolutionary form of the government",<sup>251</sup> and the

---

<sup>244</sup> Shaw, Malcom N. *International Law*. 5th ed. Cambirdge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 377.

<sup>245</sup> Guilhaudis, Jean-François. *Relations internationales contemporaines (Contemporary International Relations)*. 2nd ed. Paris: LexisNexis SA, 2005. p. 71. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>246</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. Recognition [online]. *The American Heritage® New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*. 3th ed. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/recognition>>.>.

<sup>247</sup> Cate Malek is a freelance journalist, having graduated with a degree in Journalism and Ethnic Studies from the University of Colorado. She is currently also working as a writer and research assistant for the Conflict Research Consortium.

<sup>248</sup> Heidi Burgess is a Founder and Co-Director of the University of Colorado Conflict Research Consortium. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology and has been working in the conflict resolution field, as a scholar and a practitioner, since 1979. She is also one of the primary authors and creators of online conflict resolution courses, and has edited and authored a number of books, journals, and articles on intractable conflicts, and conflict resolution.

<sup>249</sup> Malek, Cate and Burgess Heidi Recognition [online]. *Beyond Intractability*. Boulder, CO: Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, 2005. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/recognition/>>.>.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Guilhaudis, Jean-François. *Relations internationales contemporaines (Contemporary International Relations)*. 2nd ed. Paris: LexisNexis SA, 2005. p. 72. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Change into Continuity**

desire to break away from the revolutionary government can question the engagements taken before on behalf of the state. In these circumstances, the question of recognition arises again by various manners, especially about the government.<sup>252</sup>

"The revolutionary government must, then, respect the bond taken by the former authorities".<sup>253</sup> Normally "[e]ven in the event of revolution, the change does not affect the continuity and the personality of the state and it does not recognize the state. It is not necessary to recognize the new government."<sup>254</sup> On the international scene, "there is a strong tendency [to do so] that translates the Wilson<sup>255</sup>, Tobar<sup>256</sup> or Hallstein<sup>257</sup> doctrines, and which consists of the attempt to make prevail a certain legitimacy and because the political considerations have an essential place on the matter".<sup>258</sup> In the Romanian case, the 'coup d'état' had to be recognized inside and outside the country in reciprocal recognition for the stability of the country. The international recognition will give legitimacy to the new government vis-à-vis the internal situation and the population. The "recognition can be de jure, i.e. full and definitive, or de facto, i.e. limited and temporary. [...] The Recognition is a juridical act, but also a political act".<sup>259</sup> *De facto* or *de jure*, the government recognition implies an important effect on the juridical and political aspect. It is a political foreign policy tool for the government to determine, in case of contestation, its legitimacy on the international scene regarding the viability of international representation of state attributes (Embassies, Romania's representation within International Organizations ...).

---

<sup>252</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>253</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>254</sup> Ibid. p. 73. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>255</sup> Wilson, Woodrow. President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" [online]. Charlottesville, VA: Brigham Young University Library, 1918. [cited 11 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President\\_Wilson%27s\\_Fourteen\\_Points](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points)>.

<sup>256</sup> Stansifer, Charles L. Application of the Tobar Doctrine to Central America [online]. The Americas, 1967, vol. 23, no. 3. [cited 11 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/980469.pdf>>.

<sup>257</sup> Tesson, Sandrine. La doctrine Hallstein, entre rigueur et pragmatisme (1955-1969) (Hallstein's doctrine, a theory between rigour and pragmatism (1955-1969)). Relations Internationales, 2002, vol. 110.

<sup>258</sup> Guilhaudis, Jean-François. Relations internationales contemporaines (Contemporary International Relations). 2nd ed. Paris: LexisNexis SA, 2005. p. 73. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>259</sup> Arend, Sylvie, Angrand Jean and Rabier Christiane. *Le processus politique: Environnements, Prise de Decision et Pouvoir* (The political process). Ottawa, CA: University of Ottawa Press, 2000. p. 417. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Normally, many international treaties guarantee the principle of non-intervention<sup>260</sup>, but the right to interfere appears at the end of the eighties and was used in certain ways during the Ceausescu regime thru the isolation of the country by the international community. The new government will be recognized by foreign states, even if it was a high, "foreign criticism ... [about] the way the Front has conducted its election campaign, particularly Washington's decision to recall its ambassador".<sup>261</sup> However, the international recognition was important for the new government, also to secure the domestic situation. The Romanian leaders will use all the possible links and all possible triggers to get support from foreign political leaders. For this purpose, the new political representative will use the trigger of history and cultural proximity with France thru Latinity and with Germany thru minorities and economy. In the same way, the government will try to get support from Russia as well from the United States, by the use of balancing power. However, the contestable situation – Romania's undemocratic behavior – has an impact on the image of Romania.

### **III.1.2 Romania's Image**

After several years of isolation, Romania showed up again on the international scene, but not necessarily on the way that Romania was expected. During the first half of 1990, the state of affairs showed that Romania made a wrong start into transition, especially as compared to the way things were going on in former communist countries and that

Romania seems [...] to have cumulate[d] all the handicaps which one found here and there in the other old satellite countries of the USSR: a political vacuum which will be long to fill, an economic serious attack and risks of nationalist explosion primarily aiming the Gypsies and the Magyars.<sup>262</sup>

---

<sup>260</sup> The article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter, and the article 3 of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Charter.

<sup>261</sup> Traynor, Ian. Revolution 'not against communism' [online]. The Guardian, 19 May 1990. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factiva.com> Document grdn000020011128dm5j0053u>.

<sup>262</sup> Soulé, Véronique. Roumanie 1990 : une transition cahotique [online]. (Romania 1990: a cahotic transition). L'état des Balkans. Paris: La Découverte, 1990a. [cited 12 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.afebalk.org/edm/print.php3?id\\_article=87](http://www.afebalk.org/edm/print.php3?id_article=87)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

## ***Change into Continuity***

At the end of the Millennium, the image of Romania is not only a political question, but also a question raised by intellectuals. The question is "the way in which Romania and the Romanians are seen 'in the West' by the intellectuals, the politicians, NGOs and various assistance organizations, and the image which the country has, or would have, to project abroad".<sup>263</sup> The controversial image of Romania will be issued from domestic situation generated by a problem of government legitimacy, the controversial miners' riots interventions and the resolution of minorities' questions. Likewise, the behavior in foreign policy will question the Romanian democratic and liberal orientation.

### **III.1.2.1 Domestic Problems**

#### ***III.1.2.1.1 Government Legitimacy***

The new President Ion Iliescu was elected on May 20, 1990 by Parliament, despite opposition accusations of electoral irregularities. "Iliescu was indeed popular, especially in the provinces, even if there were to be some doubts about the extent to which the massive 85 per cent of the votes which he received at the presidential election was truly fair".<sup>264</sup>

The legitimacy of the government is contested by the opposition and questioned by the foreign press. Journalist Veronique Soulé arises several questions trying to alert the public opinion as:

how not to see that an election of which the winner obtains more than 85% of the votes, is, basically, suspect? How not to admit that an election campaign during which Iliescu and its 'camarilla' had a scandalously preferential access to the media (in particular on television) is a bird catching campaign? How can one not say that, while believing to elect

---

<sup>263</sup> Livezeanu, Irina. Les guerres culturelles en Roumanie post-communiste : débats intellectuels sur le passé récent (Cultural War in Romania post-Communist: Intellectual Débat on the Recent Past). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârne Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. p. 14. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>264</sup> Blondel, Jean and Müller-Rommel Ferdinand. *Cabinets in Eatsern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. p. 109.

followers of the democracy, those being only disguised Communists, the Romanian people weren't swindling?<sup>265</sup>

One question arises at that time: is it the real evolution towards democracy or only the confiscation of the power by a communist nomenclature, which wanted power instead of Ceausescu? Did the past dolphin, Ion Iliescu, took the place of the Leader as in a third world's dictatorship with the confiscation of the power in place by force? Undoubtedly not! However, the fact in the period of time can bring questions. The power in place changed toward democracy in the other Eastern European countries, while in Romania, the former apparatus and the value system remained in place. It looks that colour and demon changed, but the whole system, including the institutions, persons, and chiefs remained the same. Several years should pass before the government would change. Nevertheless, "[a]s a result of the 1990 election, Romania had ceased to be a full single-party system, but it appeared to be dominated by a 'charismatic', yet also rather ruthless leader supported by a dominant party".<sup>266</sup>

Radu Portocala, a Romanian dissident located in France since 1982, says, "[n]either the communist party, neither the political police forces nor the army changed their nature. The NSF in power is nothing else than the old communist party made up in a hasty and shallow way"<sup>267</sup> and the new constitution (1991)

'does not stipulate the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers' and that 'thus the judicial power capacity is subordinated to the executive.' It also underlined that 'the heritage of Communism proves extremely heavy. Why? Because the stench of the former regime marked mentalities very often. The mass was assisted during decades, economically, socially and psychologically. It intends to continue to be so'.<sup>268</sup>

Even if Petre Roman, thru of a very controversial speech ensured that the country wanted to go towards democracy,<sup>269</sup> one

---

<sup>265</sup> Soulé, Véronique. La tache indélébile de l'épisode des mineurs (The indelible mission of the minors episode). Liberation, 18 Apr. 1990. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>266</sup> Blondel, Jean and Müller-Rommel Ferdinand. *Cabinets in Eatsern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. p. 109.

<sup>267</sup> Verluise, Pierre. Roumanie : l'espérance trahie, propos receuillis de Radu Portocala (Romania: hope betrayed, statements obtained by Radu Portocala). Le Quotidien de Paris, 21 Jan. 1992. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>268</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>269</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Mineriada din 1990.....Street fight at revolution...iliescu* [online]. 1990a. Bucharest: Youtube. [cited 10 June 2008]. Video Clip. Available from: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cbe3V5IAOTI>>.

## **Change into Continuity**

has the impression that the speech is in opposition to the reality. The visit of French president François Mitterrand in April 1991 is used by the government in place, but also by the opposition for a domestic fight. For the newspaper "Today" (Azi) and "Morning" (Dimineața), close to the government, this is a recognition and confidence in the Romanian young democracy.<sup>270</sup> But,

Romania remained – in the eyes of Westerners – the guilty's country, when its president called, in June 1990, workers-miners of the Jiu valley in Bucharest to settle their accounts with the opponents, the students, the intellectuals who remained attached to the values of freedom and a basic anti-communism background in place of faith.<sup>271</sup>

### **III.1.2.1.2 Mineriads**

The main problem was different miners' interventions, called 'Mineriads', in January, June and September 1990, used as 'a new political instrument' for the government in place. In Horia Roman Patapievici's opinion, the miners' riot was "an instrument of pressure and intimidation designed to coerce and punish forces which were felt to be threatening the security and welfare of Romania and its people".<sup>272</sup> On January 25-29, the first violent miners' riot "in Bucharest was the decision of NSF to run for the general elections that were to be held in May, despite previous declarations that NSF would act only as a provisional government and not run for elections".<sup>273</sup> "The miners came to Bucharest and physically attacked all the peaceful protesters".<sup>274</sup> The second Jiu valley miners' riot intervention – Mineriad - under the call of Ion Iliescu, took place in June 1990, after the election result and the contested winning of the

---

<sup>270</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. La France bienvenue [online]. (France welcome). *L'Humanité*, 19 April 1991. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.humanite.fr/1991-04-19\\_Articles\\_-LA-FRANCE-BIENVENUE](http://www.humanite.fr/1991-04-19_Articles_-LA-FRANCE-BIENVENUE)>.

<sup>271</sup> Préface de Catherine Durandin in Pélissier, Nicolas (dir.), Marrié Alice (dir.) and Despres François (dir.). *La Roumanie contemporaine : approches de la "transition"* (Contemporary Romania: Approach of the 'Transition'). Paris: Éd. l'Harmattan, 1996. p. 7. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>272</sup> Patapievici, Horia Roman[online]. *Revista 22*, 2 February - 8 February 1999, 1999, no. 681.

<sup>273</sup> Angelescu, Irina. Romania and the European Union. A Missed Opportunity for Modernization? Paper presented at the 7th Annual Conference of UACES Student Forum on 20-21 April 2006. Oxford, UK: University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). [cited 11 April 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu\\_I.pdf](http://www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu_I.pdf)>. p. 8.

<sup>274</sup> Gallagher, Tom. *Theft of a Nation: Romania since Communism*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2005b. p. 96.



new government. The indignation of western televisions<sup>275</sup> and newspapers in France, Germany, United States, but also governments from Europe and United States for the events orchestrated in Bucharest was real. The downstream of the Romanian government for the fight against the opposition, was so important that not only the American government announced the stop of all assistance other than humanitarian, but also the European Economical Community (EEC) stopped all programs.<sup>276</sup> We could read in the press at that time the following comment:

Would Ceausescu have a twin? Judging it by the brutality of the repression which has just poured, in Bucharest, on the Romanian protestors, one would be tempted to believe it... Less than 180 minutes away from Paris by flight, a people is deprived by its revolution and its hopes. [...] The international community reacted quite firmly: from Brussels to Vienna, passing through Washington, authorized voices rose to condemn these attacks of another era.<sup>277</sup>

We can conclude that "the sympathy and solidarity shown towards Romania in the West in December 1989 gave way to stupefaction and an intense wariness [...] Romania became a strange country in Western eyes".<sup>278</sup> This first semester situation, with the three miners' riots damaged the Romanian image granted to the country and its government after the '89 Revolution. Not only the first semester of 1990 damages the Romanian 'democracy', but also the 4<sup>th</sup> miners' riot, in September 1991. This riot leads to the fall of the Romanian Government. On the October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1991, the ministers of the European Community made a declaration to condemn the riot violence in Romania. This action damages Romania's prestige abroad, affects all political and international relations with other states and economical-financial programs with international organizations as IMF, EBRD... and conditioning the international help to the setup of economic and political reforms. Except in the Czech Republic and Latvia, where the legislation barred former communist apparatchiks

---

<sup>275</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Ion Iliescu - Mineriada din 1990* [online]. (Ion Iliescu - 'Mineriada' in 1990). 2007a. Romania: YouTube. Politica si Istorie. [cited 9 June 2008]. Video Clip. Available from: <[http://www.filme-youtube.ro/games/Ion\\_Iliescu\\_-\\_Mineriada\\_din\\_1990.html](http://www.filme-youtube.ro/games/Ion_Iliescu_-_Mineriada_din_1990.html)>.

<sup>276</sup> To read the press of this period and in particular \_\_\_\_\_. *La CEE suspend sa coopération économique* (ECE suspends its economic cooperation). *Le Monde*, 16 Jun. 1990. and Wajsman, Patrick. *Le jumeau de Ceausescu* (The twin of Ceausescu). *Le Figaro*, 22 Jun. 1990. and Reuters. *La CEE divisée sur l'aide à Bucarest* (EEC divided on aid to Bucharest). *Le Monde*, 18 Jun. 1990.

<sup>277</sup> Wajsman, Patrick. *Le jumeau de Ceausescu* (The twin of Ceausescu). *Le Figaro*, 22 Jun. 1990. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>278</sup> Gallagher, Tom. *Theft of a Nation: Romania since Communism*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2005b. p. 96.

## ***Change into Continuity***

from politics and public positions, a vast majority of former ruling elites was not accountable, in all other CEECs, for what they have done during the communist period. No legal barrier was instituted to forbid them to continue to take part in the political system. On the contrary, a large part of the former communist civil servants was able to convert their political influence into economic power.<sup>279</sup> In fact, "they managed to capture enough of the denationalized state assets that, with their skills and contacts [...] they were able to re-create the same corporatist-clienteles support base they enjoyed under the old order".<sup>280</sup> The former communists benefited from all resources they had during the entire communist period, such as resources, networks and experiences, which the new political opposition does not have. As Thomas Baylis noted, the "widespread view of ordinary East Europeans [is] [...] that there is little real difference between the new elites and the old ones".<sup>281</sup>

### ***III.1.2.1.3 Minorities Problems***

After 1989, the situation in Eastern Europe came back to the period of the inter-war, where, after the First World War and the dislocation of the Russian Empire and Habsburg Empire created many different countries, border changes, let new, and old countries remain with minority's questions. It was the concern with Romania and its minorities, representing 28 percent of the population in 1930 – Armenian, Bulgarian, Gagauze, German, Greek, Hungarian, Jewish, Polish, Turkish, Ukrainian – (table 1).

But, with the fall of the system, the old question came back to the surface and became a crucial problem for all Eastern European countries. Romania is not outside the problem and two minorities represented a potential big problem in Romania, the Magyar and the Gipsy minorities. Despite the signing of the Helsinki Act in 1975, Romania discriminated toward minorities and in particular the Magyars and Gypsies, especially with the old problem between Hungarians and Romanians in the Transylvania region. One group says to the other: I was the first here, on this land! "From this

---

<sup>279</sup> Kolankiewicz, George. *Elites in Search of Political Formula*. Daedalus, Summer 1994, 1994, vol. 123, no. 3.

<sup>280</sup> Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. *The Unfloding Transition and Consolidation*. In Braun, Aurel and Bárány Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. p. 326.

<sup>281</sup> Baylis, A. Thomas. *Plus Ça Change? Transformation and Continuity among East European Elites*. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, September 1994, 1994, vol. 27, no. 3.

moment there, all means are good to legitimate the thesis of the first.”<sup>282</sup> We will explore this concept in the chapter ‘Neighborliness’ of the second party.

Minority	Population	Percent of the total population	Area
Hungarians (incl. Szeklers)	1,431,807	6.6%	Transylvania, Bucharest
Roma	535,140	2.46%	
Ukrainians	61,098	0.28%	Bukovina, Maramureş
Transylvanian Saxons, Swabians	59,764	0.28%	Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa, Timiş, Caraş Severin
Russians/Lipovans	35,791	0.17%	Tulcea County
Turks	32,098	0.15%	Dobrogea
Crimean Tatars	23,935	0.11%	Dobrogea
Serbs	22,561	0.10%	Timiş, Arad, Caraş-Severin, Mehedinţi
Slovaks	17,226	0.08%	
Bulgarians	8,025	0.04%	Banat
Croats	6,807	0.03%	Caraş-Severin
Greeks	6,472	0.03%	Dobrogea
Jews	5,785	0.03%	Bucovina, Bucharest
Czechs	3,938	0.02%	Caraş-Severin County
Poles	3,559	0.02%	Suceava County
Italians	3,288	0.02%	Bucharest, Timiş County
Chinese	2,243	0.01%	Bucharest
Armenians	1,780	0.01%	Gherla
Csángó	1,266	0.01%	Western Moldova

**Table 1: Minorities in Romania in 1930.**

As D.E.M. Mihas writes, “[t]he international community, and particular the EU and the USA have urged post-communist authorities to accommodate some of the most basic demands of minorities, especially when directly related to human rights.”<sup>283</sup> We have to remember that Romania’s lost of the Most-Favoured-Nation (MFN) statute with the United States as well Romania’s isolation from the international community was a consequence of the Romania’s Human Right abuse.

<sup>282</sup> Lorot, Pascal and Thual François. *La géopolitique*. Paris: Montchrestein, 1997. p. 127. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>283</sup> Mihas, D. E. M. Romania Between Balkan Nationalism and Democratic Transition [online]. *Politics*, September 1997, 1997, vol. 17, no. 3. [cited 19 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9256.00050>>. p. 177.

## ***Change into Continuity***

The minority question will be a big lagging factor in the Romanian foreign policy, and towards the accession in the European Union and NATO. Valentin Stan explained in his article, '*Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration*',<sup>284</sup> that Romania cannot qualify for Euro-Atlantic integration at that time because if Romanian officials considered Romania as "an 'island of stability' " surrounded by chaos (Yugoslavia and former USSR), they were far from it even if they saw themselves respecting the Western values on minorities treatment. He quotes Ion Iliescu's words from an interview with an Italian journalist, Giuseppe Leuzzi, in April 1993. The President specified during this interview that

you will find in Romania, in the legislative field, in the political and cultural practice, the most comprehensive rights for minorities (emphasis added). I think there are not many states in Europe in which national minorities have representatives in the country's Parliament. Not to mention their representation in the local administration and the education in their mother tongue. At least the Magyars have it from primary up to university education. There is a real network of schools in the areas where they live. The Magyar population has its own cultural institutions, magazines, newspapers, radio and television programs. Thus, from this point of view, there are no restrictions.<sup>285</sup>

In the mind of the Romanian official and 'on the paper', it can be true. However, as Valentin Stan argued, the Western analysts' perception was different and for them the inter-ethnic tensions cannot allow the Romanian integration in Euro-Atlantic structures and neither in the European structures, we should add. For his demonstration, Valentin Stan went back in 1990 until early 1994 and quoted different writers such as John Mearsheimer<sup>286</sup>, Huberte Hanquet and Javier Ruperez<sup>287</sup>, SIPRI Report nr.5,<sup>288</sup> UNIDIR Report

---

<sup>284</sup> Stan, Valentin. *Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration* [online]. International Studies. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.org.ro/nato.htm#2>>.

<sup>285</sup> Iliescu interview with Giuseppe Leuzzi, Italian journalist (La Stampa, Il Tempo) on 5 April 1993 cited in Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Mearsheimer, John. *Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War* [online]. *International Security*, Summer 1990, 1990, vol. 15, no. 1. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199022%2915%3A1%3C5%3ABTTFII%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>>.

<sup>287</sup> Hanquet, Huberte and Ruperez Javier. *The process of democratization in Romania*. Brussels: NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Civilian Affairs Committee, 1992. (Reports). (Civilian Affairs Committee) NAA, AJ237.

nr.21,<sup>289</sup> Michael E. Brown,<sup>290</sup> Lothar Ruehl.<sup>291</sup> He explains that, in 1990, John Mearsheimer underlines the 'serious tensions' between Romania and Hungary due to the "Romanian treatment of the Hungarian minorities". For Mearsheimer, "this conflict could have brought Romania and Hungary to war by now [1990], and it may bring them to war in the future".<sup>292</sup>

In 1994, Stan reports about the rapporteurs König and Jansson for the Council of Europe, who notified that

minority matters were frequently raised during our discussions and we held a special meeting with the members of the National Council for Minorities. As far as those of Hungarian ethnic origin were concerned, we were told that their situation had not improved but, on the contrary, the Prefect in Cluj had taken new discriminatory measures and that Parliament had not yet adopted a law on minorities.<sup>293</sup>

It is not important if the perception is true or not, but it is important to consider that the expert reports will influence any decision taken toward the country. We may underline that the experts have no particular interest if the country is inside or outside the Alliance or the European Union. In our point of view, they certainly do not have particular obsession about Romania, but they notified what in their opinion is not compatible with the Western values. As Valentin Stan points out, it is "the perception of important European bodies and Western scientific circles that indicates Romania as a stage for possible inter-ethnic conflicts. No matter what the real situation might be, this perception is of a nature to bar our country's

---

<sup>288</sup> Griffiths, Stephen Iwan. Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Threats to European Security [online]. New York: Oxford University Press for Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1993. (Research Report). [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://books.sipri.org/files/RR/SIPRIRR05.pdf>>.

<sup>289</sup> Rosemberg, Dominique. Les minorités nationales et le défi de la sécurité en Europe (National minorities and the Security challenge in Europe). New York: United Nations Intitute for Disarmament Research, 1993. (Research report).

<sup>290</sup> Brown, Michael Edward. Ethnic Conflict and International Security. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

<sup>291</sup> Ruehl, Lothar European Security and NATO's Eastward Expansion. Aussenpolitik, 1994, vol. 2.

<sup>292</sup> Mearsheimer, John. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War [online]. International Security, Summer 1990, 1990, vol. 15, no. 1. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199022%2915%3A1%3C5%3ABTTFII%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>>. p. 33.

<sup>293</sup> Quoted in Stan, Valentin. Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration [online]. International Studies. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.org.ro/nato.htm#2>>.

## **Change into Continuity**

[Romania] Euro-Atlantic integration".<sup>294</sup> This point amongst others will be a brake restraint for Romania's accession to the Alliance and to the European Union. The other question on the issue is the Hungarian minority's possible will of independence, as after the War World II, in 1952, when a Hungarian Autonomous Province was created in Romania by the communist authorities until 1968. We want to announce here the risk with minority that as Bruce Parrott, Professor of Russian & East European Studies at Johns Hopkins University states: "the break-up of states severely complicates efforts to achieve democratization. The process frequently triggers incendiary controversies over the national identity [...], contested borders, and rival groups' competing claims to be the only indigenous inhabitants of their [...] country."<sup>295</sup> He also explains: "Democratization stands a greater chance of success when internal ethnic Diasporas are small or are willing to be incorporated into successor states outside their 'homeland,' and when nationalist movements in the ethnic homelands are moderate rather than extremist."<sup>296</sup>

### **III.1.2.2 The Political Problems**

During the Iliescu's presidency, Romania faces three problems. The first one was the Ultra-Nationalist party associated in the government during all the governance period. The second was the 'Westernization' of the political scene and the 'Occidentalisation' of the political elite. The third one was the President and political elite behavior shaped by their participation at a political level in the Ceausescu's system.

During the first part of Iliescu's presidency (1990-1992), Romania will hesitate to take a clear position toward its foreign policy: to go to the West, to be neutral or to turn to the East. The international situation during this period, 1990-1993, makes Romania hesitate to decide on the foreign policy orientation, because of the Russian power threat until 1992, of the Romanian dream about the 'Greater Romania' (România Mare) and of the hesitation to make the necessary sacrifices in order to achieve change in the political system, toward democracy and economy. The Romanian Government

---

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Parrott, Bruce. Perspectives on postcommunist democratization. In Dawisha, Karen and Parrott Bruce (Eds.), *Authoritarianism and Democratization in Postcommunist Societies: The consolidation of democracy in East-Central Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 1 vols. Vol. 4. p. 9.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid. In. p. 10.

was constituted with some parties considered as Nationalist and Ultra-Nationalist<sup>297</sup> and which influenced the Romanian policy toward a native orientation. Nationalism has been defined by John Mearsheimer as "a set of political beliefs which holds that a nation - a body of individuals with characteristics that purportedly distinguish them from other individuals - should have its own state".<sup>298</sup> He added that "[a]lthough nationalists often believe that their nation is unique or special, this conclusion does not necessarily mean that they think they are superior to other peoples, but merely that they take pride in their own nation."<sup>299</sup> But especially for Mearsheimer "hyper-nationalism was caused in large part by security competition among the European states, which compelled European elites to mobilize publics to support national defence efforts" and "[d]omestic factors - most notably hyper-nationalism - [...] also helped cause the wars of the pre-1945 era".<sup>300</sup>

We can add that Iliescu's government influenced by nationalist has the tendency to follow Ceausescu's nationalist policy. David Turnock<sup>301</sup> notified very well this fact in his articles as follows:

[w]ith Western-style liberalism and pluralism resented as alien to Romanian 'indigenous' traditions, the communist leadership under Ceausescu extolled a 'pure' life divorced from Western materialism and not entirely at odds with the calls of the Orthodox Church for fortitude in the face of economic stress. Since 1989, the same thinking has emerged through the politics of the national parties like 'Romania Mare' and the conservative wing of the Salvation Front, articulating the view that the country cannot withstand radical economic reform and must be protected by an interventionist system to support a centralized economy (through

---

<sup>297</sup> The parties in question were: the Party of Social Democracy of Romania (Romanian acronym (PDSR), the Romanian National Unity Party (Romanian acronym PUNR), the Great Romania Party (Romanian acronym PRM) and the Socialist Labour Party (Romanian acronym PSM).

<sup>298</sup> John Mearsheimer drafts this definition from Ernest Gellner books. Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

<sup>299</sup> Mearsheimer, John. *Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War*. In Lynn-Jones, Sean M. and Miller Steven E. (Eds.), *The Cold War and After: Prospects for peace*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1993. p. 157.

<sup>300</sup> Mearsheimer, John. *Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War* [online]. *International Security*, Summer 1990, 1990, vol. 15, no. 1. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199022%2915%3A1%3C5%3ABTTFII%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>>. p. 12.

<sup>301</sup> Turnock David is Professor Emeritus of Human Geography in post-socialist countries, especially those in Eastern Europe at the University of Leicester in England.

## **Change into Continuity**

subsidies and social benefits) and counter perceived risk of subversion on the part of some ethnic minorities and neighboring governments.<sup>302</sup>

Gabriel Andreescu and Renate Weber reinforced it by saying that

Romania is the only European country where an extremist party participates in the governance. This status held by the Romanian National Unity Party [...], as member of the ruling coalition, engenders a situation which cannot be compared, in terms of its practical and symbolic impact, to any other internal factor of instability.<sup>303</sup>

Valentin Stan's thesis is that, until the Romanian Government - at that time led by the Party of Social-Democracy in Romania (Romanian acronym PDSR) - will associate parties considered in the "West as extremists", Romania will have no opportunity to adhere to the Alliance and to the European Union. The problem was that Ion Iliescu did not consider this party as extremist, but just as nationalist. On the other side, the country claims the belonging to the European family by tradition, history and geography, as it was during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where "[t]he West [was] perceived [...] as 'the world of civilization' by the political intellectuals and extra-Westerners actors that favoured this vast movement of export [of democracy]" "[...] in Europe with the advent of the principle of nationalities which involved a bursting of the great empires (Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian)".<sup>304</sup> For Bertrand Badie, French political economist specialized in International Relations, Romania continues to live an "occidentalization of the political order".<sup>305</sup> "[T]he European model

---

<sup>302</sup> Turnock, David. Romania: Contemporary Geopolitical Perspectives [online]. Geopolitics, Summer 2001, 2001, vol. 6, no. 1. [cited 29 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=6871357&site=ehost-live>>. p. 123.

<sup>303</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel and Weber Renate. Nationalism and its Impact Upon the Rule of Law in Romania [online]. *International Studies*. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/national.htm>>.

<sup>304</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *La diffusion de l'Etat-nation: Bertrand Badie - L'Etat importé* [online]. (The dissemination of the nation-state: Bertrand Badie - The State imported). Paris: Université Paris 1 - Panthéon - Sorbonne, 2006k. [cited 13 November 2006]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf](http://scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>305</sup> Badie, Bertrand. *L'Etat importé. Essai sur l'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique* (The imported State. The Westernization of the Political Order). Paris: Fayard, 1995. (L'espace du politique).



became the reference of the public life in Romania".<sup>306</sup> According to Bertrand Babie, the occidentalization of the country by the top leaders leads to a 'conservative modernization', and this occidentalization is considered as a pragmatic choice of the political elite to preserve power by adopting an ideal of modernity which brings new richness to them, as well a surplus of legitimacy. This attitude aims to establish an unsteady power and to answer to the domestic problems by taking the successful recipes of the West. Adrian Severin, one of the Romanian deputies at the time, described the government of this period as "a battle between partisans of 'the new' and partisans of the 'later on' " and recalls that he told Iliescu on one occasion: "Unfortunately, Mr. President, you still believe that Stalinism and Ceausescuism were errors made in applying Marxism-Leninism. We are of the opinion that the only ones who correctly applied the theses of Marx and Lenin are Stalin and Ceausescu".<sup>307</sup>

### **III.1.2.3 International Positioning**

Regarding the foreign policy, Romanian decision makers hesitated to choose a position between the East and the West. An agreement was signed between the Soviet Union and Romania, during a visit of president Ion Iliescu in April 1991, despite the collapse of the communism in Eastern Europe and the diminishing Soviet Union. None of the other CEECs and Balkan countries signed such a treaty with the Soviet Union. We have to remember that in the period – 1989 to 1991 -, the Soviet Union still had an active foreign diplomacy and do not necessary allowed everything to be done in Eastern Europe as we saw during the Baltic states independence and in particular with the Soviet intervention in Vilnius (Lithuanian) during the 1991's revolution for independence. Also during the period, the war began in Yugoslavia in 1991, on June 26, after the proclamation of Slovenia's and Croatia's independence. The war with Slovenia ended ten days later, but continued with Croatia, with Bosnia-Herzegovina until the signing of the Dayton Peace agreement in 1995. In 1992, the Security Council sent UNPROFOR to Yugoslavia to provide protection and aid supply for the civilians. In 1992, NATO provided 6,000 soldiers. A general and complete arms embargo had

---

<sup>306</sup> Kalinowski, Wojtek and Pech Thierry. La Roumanie entre Europe et Amérique - Entretien avec Cristian Preda. *La Vie de Idées*, Décembre 2005/Janvier 2006, 2006, no. 8. p. 70. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>307</sup> Severin, Adrian. *Lacrimale Dimineții : Slăbiciunile Guvernului Roman* (Tears of the morning : Weakness of the Romanian political system). București: România Azi, 1995. p. 205.

## ***Change into Continuity***

been voted and put in place under Council resolution 713, on September 25, 1991.<sup>308</sup> However, the Romanian image was grazed by the situation in Yugoslavia. From May 1991 to February 1992, the war period, Romania officially applied the embargo towards Serbia, but the porous border allowed supplies for the Serbian population and the country to pass with everything needed such as food, gas... The Romania population supported the Yugoslavian one. As we can read in French newspapers from journalists in the field,

[t]he population of the area does not hesitate to express its indignation for what happens to the Serbian neighbors. They do not forget that thanks to them they had been able 'to soften' their living conditions during the long years of dictatorship... 'they have been our neighbors for centuries' says an old lady... a Serb old man quotes Churchill for the occasion: 'Friendship cannot be subjected to embargo'.<sup>309</sup>

In fact, Romania's attitude was discussed in European foreign chanceries as well by the observatories-on-place. Therefore, Romania tried to be positioned as an Eastern European country and not to be associated with the Balkan countries, viewed as a threat to Romania's integration into Europe. Romania tried to access the visegárd group, but the demand was rejected by the group constituted by Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in 1991. We can understand that, even if Poland has sympathy for Romania, the conflicting relations between Romania and Hungary remained an obstacle to the accession. Another argument is that Romania was not classified as a Central European country.

Nevertheless, how can be defined Central Europe? Central Europe, in German 'Mitteleuropa', is a historical idea, a geographical space and a cultural tradition. Central Europe is under the label of 'Eastern Europe' within Eastern Central and Southeastern Europe, suggested by Western Europe after 1945, qualifying the European part under Soviet domination. We can say that "[l]ike Europe itself, no one can quite agree where Central Europe begins and ends".<sup>310</sup> We can conclude by citing Timothy Ash that "Central Europe is not a

---

<sup>308</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Resolution 713 : Socialist Federal Rep. of Yugoslavia*. Vol. 713. New York: United Nations, 1991c. [cited 30 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/596/49/IMG/NR059649.pdf?OpenElement>>.

<sup>309</sup> Enescu, Tania. *Sur le Danube, l'embargo prend toujours l'eau* (On the Danube, the embargo still takes water). *Libération*, 10 Nov. 1992. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>310</sup> Ash, Timothy Garton. Does Central Europe Exist? In schöpflin, George and Wood Nancy (Eds.), *In Search of Central Europe*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1989. p. 191-198.

region whose boundaries you can trace on the map – like say, Central America. It is a kingdom of the spirit”.<sup>311</sup> If, for the Visegárd group, Romania is not a Central European country, we do not share this point of view. As Predag Matvejević<sup>312</sup> wrote: “Bucharest in some respects is likewise connected to Central Europe and beyond Central Europe, to Paris”.<sup>313</sup> As well, Essayist Claudio Magris<sup>314</sup> presents in his study entitled ‘Danube’ (Danubio) that Central Europe “follows the course of the Danube perhaps even to its mouth”<sup>315</sup>. Matvejević reinforces the idea saying that from the Baltic Sea in the North to the Adriatic in the South, “[i]t is difficult to pinpoint the border separating Central Europe from the Mediterranean...”<sup>316</sup> From this demonstration, Romania can be easily classified as a Central European Country rather than a Balkan one, according to the definition we used. However, we have to remember that Romania is in-between from several points of view, as we will explain in the third part of this thesis.

The Romanian image is degrading vis-à-vis the European States Union. As states by Catherine Durandin:

The image of Romania in France is very partial and information crystallizes around some realities: the fate of the children imported and dedicated to begging or prostitution in the streets of large French cities, the fate and the status of the Roma minority. The report within Romania was reduced to a security approach.<sup>317</sup>

---

<sup>311</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>312</sup> Matvejević, Predag is an essayist and literary critic, a Professor of French Literature at the University of Zagreb.

<sup>313</sup> Matvejević, Predag. Central Europe Seen from the East of Europe. In schöpflin, George and Wood Nancy (Eds.), *In Search of Central Europe*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1989. p. 187.

<sup>314</sup> Magris, Claudio is an Italian scholar, translator and writer, Germanist, and has been professor of Modern German Literature at the University of Trieste since 1978.

<sup>315</sup> Magris, Claudio. *Danube: A Sentimental Journey from the Source to the Black Sea*. Trans. Danubio by Creagh, Patrick: Random House, 2001.

<sup>316</sup> Matvejević, Predag. Central Europe Seen from the East of Europe. In schöpflin, George and Wood Nancy (Eds.), *In Search of Central Europe*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1989. p. 187.

<sup>317</sup> Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârnci Magda (Col.). *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne* (Romanian Perspective: from Postcommunism to the European integration). Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. p. 8. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

### **III.1.3 Latinity**

The way to rebuild Romania's image will be thru Latinity. As we will demonstrate hereafter, Latinity allows Romanians to assert themselves as compared the others. The Latinity will be used as a tool arguing for a Romanian common culture and civilization with the ancient Roman Empire.

#### **III.1.3.1 Latine Origin**

The question of the origins of Romania is a recurrent one in the Romanian history. Romanians are linked with Latinity by their origin, which was an element always and very much discussed in the Romanian history. The idea was developed and studied by Adolf Armbruster in his thesis in 1977, i.e. Romania had existed for centuries, from 275 B.C. until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only by the name that neighbors or conquerors gave to it and by the origin and cultural difference vis-à-vis the Slavic, the Byzantine, the Hungarian, etc. This difference comes from their Latin origin.<sup>318</sup> In short, different foreign sources – the Vatican, Hungarian, French, Slavic, and Byzantine - spoke about Romania or, more precisely 'Wallachia' as a homogeneous shepherd people with a Latin origin. They were named by the notary of King Bela 'pascua Romanorum' (the pastors of the Romans).<sup>319</sup> The Latinity of the Romanians is not under discussion and has been admitted by Romania and the others, and becomes a political weapon each time it is necessary to construct the identity or unity vis-à-vis the others. This political weapon – Romania's membership of the Latin community - was used by different foreign states in their political interests in relation to the Romanian people.<sup>320</sup>

Latinity allows Romanians to assert themselves versus the others. This point is an important one, because it is a way for Romania to be identified as a Latin country, and by extension not a Far East or Balkan country, but an old and historical member of the European civilization and then a European country. This assertion towards one origin versus the other - Slavic - is a way to renew with Romania's European past. One usually says that 'Romania is a Latin

---

<sup>318</sup> Armbruster, Adolf. *Romanitatea romanilor : istoria unei idei* (Romanity of the Roumanians - History of an Idea). Trans. La romanité des Roumains - Histoire d'une idée by Grecescu, Cireaşa Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977. (Bibliotheca Historica).

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid. p. 31-32.

isle in a slave ocean'.<sup>321</sup> We can see, during Iliescu's mandate, many contacts with Latin countries in Europe, as well as in Latin America.<sup>322</sup> Romania became a member of the Latin Union in 1975, and a member of the group of the 77 with the support of Latin American countries. The group of the 77 formulated the political point of view of the Third World situation at that moment, in the seventies, thru the speeches address by his Excellency Mwalima Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, to the Fourth Ministerial Meeting in Arusha, on February 12-16, 1979. He claimed the following:

What we have in common is that we are all, in relation to the developed world, dependent – not interdependent – nations. Each of our economies has developed as a by-product and a subsidiary of development in the industrialized North, and it is externally oriented. We are not the prime movers of our own destiny. We are ashamed to admit it, but economically we are dependencies – semi-colonies at best – not sovereign States.<sup>323</sup>

The objective was "to complete the liberation of the Third World countries from external domination".<sup>324</sup> This point resumes the Romanian foreign policy in the seventies and the eighties from external domination. The Latin origin and the cultural affinities allow Romania to aim, in 1991, at being a member of the International Francophone Organization (OIF). Romania became a Full member in 1993 after being an observer during two years.

### **III.1.3.2 Francophony**

Francophony is a normal way to seek integration on the international scene, a normal consequence of resuming ties with French values and ideology from the nineteenth century and a step toward Europe. For Eastern European countries, Francophony has its roots in the 1848 French revolution and the emergence of the nationalism identity, called 'Principe des nationalités' or 'Droit des peuples', being equally a political and economical question in this new world situation of the nineties. It is an alternative to mark down from other historical powers or new hegemonies and it is a way to renew

---

<sup>321</sup> 'Romania is a Latin isle in a slave ocean' is an expression used by a lot of people and enter in the Romanian history as a saying, and no one can says today the first time it was used.

<sup>322</sup> To see at the end the appendix on foreign diplomacy.

<sup>323</sup> Sauvart, Karl P. *The Group of 77: Evolution, Structure, Organization*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1981. p. 133.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.* p. 134.

## ***Change into Continuity***

with economical contacts thru a large community dedicated to diversity and tolerance. Following a happy coincidence, at the Francophony Summit of Dakar in May 1989, it was decided to undergo a deep change of the organization, especially concerning its political projects, which made possible to enlarge the organization, to welcome new countries among its members. This opening permits their access to new processes of integration and globalization, which developed countries due to the opportunities that open the end of the Cold War. Independently from the reasons mentioned above, the accession to Francophony was an opportunity for Romania, in the context of the period of nineties, to diversify partners on a well-known basis. We can underline, here, that

Ceausescu has visited Africa more often than any other Warsaw Pact leader. [...] Romania's African connection generally reflects what has been described as a multilaterally developed foreign policy, representing efforts to gain access to raw materials and markets and also perhaps an effort to boost Romania's influence in the world political system.<sup>325</sup>

The Francophony was also for Romania a way to resume its international relations, and to take a step back in Europe. It was also a way to balance with Central Europe states and the new Central European power strategy of Germany.

Beyond these general features, however, the reasons of the choice of the Francophony are related to national stories. The accession of [Romania] [...] falls under this perspective since they claim to come from 'Français en partage' failing to have it as official language.<sup>326</sup>

Thru Latinity and Francophony, and with the link with France, Romania was seeking an economical and political support on the international scene, and anchored the country within the idea of different value from Marxist-Leninist's one. The danger for Romania in this period was to be classified as a Balkan country and to be associated with the situation declared in the Balkan area. By becoming the first Eastern European states admitted in the

---

<sup>325</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 141.

<sup>326</sup> Parmentier, Florent. *Un avenir méconnu pour la francosphère : la francophonie chez les Latins orientaux* [online]. (A future ignored for the francosphère: francophonie among Eastern Latin). *Francophonie : Le dialogue de Cultures*, 9 October 2006, 2. s.l.: Lianes, 2006. [cited 23 April 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.lianes.org/Un-avenir-meconnu-pour-la-francosphere-la-francophonie-chez-les-Latins-orientaux\\_a116.html?PHPSESSID=7d1e769975e2b3f652821c9d53fe0603](http://www.lianes.org/Un-avenir-meconnu-pour-la-francosphere-la-francophonie-chez-les-Latins-orientaux_a116.html?PHPSESSID=7d1e769975e2b3f652821c9d53fe0603)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Francophony club, Romania along with Bulgaria have opened the way to the 'Europeanization' of the OIF.

### **III.1.4 Romania's Foreign Policy**

After the erosion, decline, and decay of Romania in the international community (1976-1989),<sup>327</sup> the president, the prime minister or the foreign minister and/or other ministers travelled all around the world to ensure that Romania exists, to reinforce ties and sign treaties and contracts of co-operation,<sup>328</sup> and put emphasis on International Organizations (IO), regional organizations and direct contact with countries. Romania was involved in all cooperation organizations in South-Eastern Europe, such as the Council of Europe (1993), the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, the association agreement with the EU in 1994... But in fact, we can conclude, as Robert Weiner wrote in 1984, that for the new Romanian state,

International Organizations are an important component of Romania's foreign policy. They are an important asset that can be used by Romania to influence other small and medium-sized nations, to project its image of national independence, and to try to protect the national security of the nation. [...] Moreover, Bucharest supports international organizations like the United Nations, which it argues exist to protect the national sovereignty of its members.<sup>329</sup>

In 1995, Romania celebrated not only the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the United Nations, but also 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary since the country in the World Organization. In order to have a good analysis of the Romanians' activity at the United Nations, we have to understand the historical tradition built by the country for generations. As the stage of the League of Nations was Romania's, through the famous diplomat Nicolae Titulescu<sup>330</sup>, the United Nations in Ceausescu period was the scene where part of the Romanian foreign policy was very

---

<sup>327</sup> To see : Malitza, Mircea. Romania at the United Nations, 1956-1993. In Knight, Andy W. and Krause Keith (Eds.), *State, Society, and UN Systems; Changing perspective on multilateralism*. New York: United Nations University Press, 1995.

<sup>328</sup> To see in Annexe – Foreign Diplomacy, the list of travels, exchanges between Romanian and the World during this period.

<sup>329</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 18.

<sup>330</sup> Nicolae Titulescu (1882-1941), was the president of the International Diplomatic Academy, and from 1927 to 1936 several times Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was chosen twice (in 1930 and 1931) to be the President of the League of Nations in Geneva.

## ***Change into Continuity***

active, where Romania brought good initiatives and where it actively promotes a relations network to achieve power. In this 'jungle' Romanian official learned to discuss, negotiate, act and pressure to obtain success for them or the others.

We must underline that Romania believed in multilateralism and in the idea and concepts of peace and security, good neighborliness, regional cooperation and the strong belief in the international law. As Mircea Malitza, Romanian academician, wrote

Romania did not simply enter the United Nations with a historical or blank slate. It had historical memories, largely shared by the population, of a visible and active role in the League of Nations. During that time, Romania followed a well-designed philosophy that generally adhered to a 'legalistic approach' and that allowed it to make a mark on the world system.<sup>331</sup>

From January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1990, Romania gained the seat of non-permanent member of the Security Council for two years (1990-1992), during a period with high political tensions, such as the election of the new Secretary-General and the Second Gulf War between Iraq and Kuwait. It was not the first time that Romania, with its positive credit, got a seat at the Security Council (1962, 1976-77, 1990-91) and The United Nations presidency - presidency of the 22nd General Assembly with H.E. Mr. Corneliu Manescu. During the outbreak of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti War, Romania, represented by Aurel-Drăgoș Munteanu<sup>332</sup>, Ambassador at the UN, held the Presidency of the Security Council from August 1<sup>st</sup> to August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1990. He saw the necessity for the United Nations to take action considering the respect of international law and the protection of a small state against a violation of its sovereignty - annexation - from a great power. Romania's representative also believed that situation could create a precedent by the possible unilateral action of the United States to protect their Middle-East interest and ally and could lead to the possibility that Russia would act in a similar way in the future. As stated the Romanian Ambassador to the United Nations: "the best

---

<sup>331</sup> Malitza, Mircea. Romania at the United Nations, 1956-1993. In Knight, Andy W. and Krause Keith (Eds.), *State, Society, and UN Systems; Changing perspective on multilateralism*. New York: United Nations University Press, 1995. p. 132-133.

<sup>332</sup> Aurel-Drăgoș Munteanu (1942-2005) was the first president of the free Romanian TV and Radio (1989-1990), Ambassador of Romania to the United Nations (1990-1991) and to the United States (1992-1994). The 41th president of the United States, Georges W. Bush described him as "true patriot, a very effective ambassador and a warm human being".



shield for Romania is full respect for international law".<sup>333</sup> Romania supported all the United Nations' sanctions and resolutions against Iraq, including the authorization for the coalition (United States and other nations) to carry out military action against Iraq. Romania did it despite the potential loss for Romania up to \$3 billion in oil refining revenues and defaulted Iraqi loans.<sup>334</sup> Romania also took part in the Gulf War on behalf of the coalition, with 180 chemical warfare experts. However, "[t]he decision affects the economic interests of the country (the losses are extremely high; Iraq's debts to Romania alone, blocked now, amount to over USD one billion)".<sup>335</sup>

In 1992, during the Yugoslavian war, Romania agreed to cooperate and to endorse the UN decision for embargo toward Serbia. By this decision, Romania suffered a loss of an estimated USD 7-8 billion due to the sanctions,<sup>336</sup> while an increase in corruption and black market economy flourished among Romanians benefiting from the embargo. Moreover, Romania was worried because of the flood of refugees from Yugoslavia, especially from the North of Serbia (Vojvodina).<sup>337</sup>

One sees in this situation that Romania did not hesitate to make a choice against its immediate interest instead of acting for its international recognition. It would be unthinkable for Romania, as president of the Security Council, to be against the decision, on the one hand and support the violation of the UN charter, on the other hand. This situation gave Romania the opportunity to assert itself as a normal international actor with the same value as other democratic countries. Romania seemed to be back in some way to the seventies, when the Romanian foreign policy used the United Nations as a platform to promote its foreign policy. It is not a surprise that

---

<sup>333</sup> Coted in Harrington, Joseph F., Karns Edward and Karns Scott. American-Romanian Relations, 1989-1994. *East European Quarterly*, Summer 1995, 1995, vol. 29, no. 2. p. 208.

<sup>334</sup> To see : Ibid.

<sup>335</sup> Stoica, Stan. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica*. București: Editura Meronia, 2005b. p. 28.

<sup>336</sup><sup>336</sup> Nikolaos, Tzifakis. The Yugoslavs Wars' Implications on Romanian Security [online]. *Southeast European Politics*, 2001, vol. 2, no. 1. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=701901>>. p. 51. and Pascu, Ioan Mircea. Romania and the Yugoslav Conflict [online]. *European Security*, 1994, vol. 3, no. 1. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.informaworld.com/10.1080/09662839408407157>>. p. 157.

<sup>337</sup> Nikolaos, Tzifakis. The Yugoslavs Wars' Implications on Romanian Security [online]. *Southeast European Politics*, 2001, vol. 2, no. 1. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=701901>>. p. 50.

## ***Change into Continuity***

Romania had a strong support within the international organization. After a long period of recognition and opening policy by Romania since the sixties on the international scene, especially through the Organization of the United Nations, "a central element in Ceausescu's activist foreign policy"<sup>338</sup> and by a development plan on the economic and political level in all directions, we can say that Romania's foreign policy is directed in a maximum manoeuvre within economic, defence and ideological fields and an increasing economic cooperation.

The post Revolution period is in light of the Past and we will see history repeated again. Romania used the United Nations as a platform for the country's foreign policy, and was actively involved in the United Nations Organization and the organization's debates. For example, in the 49<sup>th</sup> session (1994), Romanian president Ion Iliescu delivered a speech on the necessity to reform and modernize the United Nations, and he addressed to the Assembly by saying that,

[t]he dynamics of the world has changed. This creates many questions for the international community, governments, politicians and political forces. So far the answers have been few and inadequate, and life does not wait. States and peoples have concrete needs as well as hopes and ideals. Their natural tendency is to act in order to fulfill them, whether or not there is an organized international framework to harmonize divergent interests. This is where the international organizations and the United Nations, in particular, have a role to play. [...] In this framework, we believe that there is a need to rethink the entire machinery and to adapt the structures of the United Nations to contemporary requirements.<sup>339</sup>

We want to underline that Romanian leaders used the UN platform to promote the way of legitimacy and law at the international level, and to explain that the UN have to reshape itself because of the international change. However, Romania did not make such effort in its situation. We can see here a large gap between Romania's international speech and the domestic situation. It is exactly like the discourse of Ceausescu at the United Nations platform. During his visit to the United Nations as a guest at the UN General Assembly opening, in September 1994, Iliescu took

---

<sup>338</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 5.

<sup>339</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Discursul, Președintelui României, domnul Ion Iliescu, în plenare Adunării Generale a Organizației Națiunilor la cea de-a 49-a sesiune a acesteia- New York, 26 septembrie 1994 [online]. (Speech, the President of Romania, Mr. Ion Iliescu, during the session of the General Assembly of the UN at the 49-session in New-York, 26 September 1994). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994b. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/339\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/339_ro.pdf)>.

advantage in order to meet Bill Clinton and get support toward the economic situation.

It is interesting to analyze the speech of Romanian president Ion Iliescu, to understand the goals of Romania's foreign policy. We will proceed in this direction, hereafter, in the first part of this chapter. This speech is a good summary of the Romanian foreign policy in this period and reminds us of an already played situation. He says that "[Romania] presence at the United Nations General Assembly and at the Parliamentary Assembly represented an opportunity to reiterate Romania's fundamental foreign policy options and to state ... country's standing on current international issues, both European and international".<sup>340</sup>

We can conclude, if Romania used the platform of the United Nations to promote its multilateralism foreign policy and a certain image of Romania, Romanian officials brought valued initiatives and reflections to the United Nations, and acted as an intermediary or initiator of many decisions. We can mention here the admission of the People's Republic of China (PRC), in 1978, within the United Nations, due to the Romanian effort. Romania took part in many international operations within the United Nations, e.g. in 1996, the Romanian Infantry Battalion "Neagoe Basarab" took over peacekeeping missions in Angola.

Romania was not only a member of the UN but also of all UN Specialized Agencies, and a signatory of many important UN conventions and some other international organizations, such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Romania also renewed the contact with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) "about the state of the economy and the need to start economic reforms, showing willingness in granting technical assistance in the banking, financial and budget sectors".<sup>341</sup> Member of the IMF since 1972, as the first and only 'communist' country, Romania benefited from the fund's support and international credit until the eighties. In the eighties, Ceausescu's policies and country

---

<sup>340</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- București, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică) [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>341</sup> Stoica, Stan. *Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History*. Trans. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* by Barbu, Ileana and Dolgu Daniela. București: Editura Meronia, 2005a. p. 27.

## ***Change into Continuity***

debts put a temporary end to the Romanian-IMF collaboration. In 1991, the IMF agreed to help Romania by a stand-by arrangement in exchange for a pledge to initiate reforms in economical and financial sectors, even if the institution's report underlines the difficult economical situation. Moreover, Romania became member of the WTO on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1995, while before Romania was a member of the GATT. In addition, Romania collaborated and participated in regional organizations.

In 1993, Ion Iliescu as President addresses a letter of application to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In this letter, Ion Iliescu stipulates the high importance of NATO for Romania and "that the final goal of Romania's cooperation with NATO is its integration in the structures of the Alliance, as full member".<sup>342</sup> He reminds that the Alliance is crucial for Romania and other Eastern states in order to guarantee their security in this unstable and threatening environment. In addition, he underlines Romania's efforts concerning "its good relations with the countries in this region [neighbors]" and "the continuation and strengthening of the process of internal democracy and the implementation of economic reforms".<sup>343</sup> His emphasis was on Romania's geo-strategic position in Europe and on Romania's economical, political, military and human potentials. However, he also warns about "the drawing of demarcation lines" and the risk of postponing the integration "depending on the good will of the 'former allies in the Warsaw Pact' ".<sup>344</sup> Here, considering the political and history contact of Romania with the WTO members, the President is afraid about a potential boycott by 'former allies'. He insists many times on the fact that it will be better for the Alliance to "consider the Central and South-East of Europe as a unitary region".<sup>345</sup>

In an interview carried out in 1993 by Jean-Baptiste Naudet, 'Le Monde's correspondent in Bucharest, one can note the following remarks of Teodor Melescanu, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Among my objectives, the integration of Romania in the European structures remains a priority. [...] The objective of European integration remains. This is why my most important objective is the normalization of Romania's relations with the neighboring countries, which becomes an element of stability in the area. Romania's integration in European structures

---

<sup>342</sup> Iliescu, Ion. Letter of Application on NATO Membership from the President of Romania to the Secretary General of NATO. Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 1997, 1993, vol. III, no. 2.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid.

also offers new laws to us for our relations with the neighboring states. With the European standards, we can regulate our problems with them.<sup>346</sup>

Compared to the problems of borders with neighboring countries such as Bulgaria – for Dobroudja –, Hungary – for Transylvania and Hungarian minorities –, the Ukraine – for the Romanian territory annexation following the signature of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact in 1940 –, the minister will answer “[w]ith Bulgaria, Romania already signed a basic treaty [...]. Since the Second World War no official standpoint of Romania claiming anything on Drobroudja, there was not territorial claims.”<sup>347</sup> However, he outlines that “[o]n this side (Ukrainian and Hungarian), the situation is a little more complicated.”<sup>348</sup> Furthermore, he says: “[t]his is why, in our relations with Hungary, we are interested in a clear and plainly obligation (of border recognition - journalist’s note)”,<sup>349</sup> and to specify, “it is impossible to solve the question of the minorities by borders change. There are no compact groups of minorities living at the border of a nearby country”,<sup>350</sup> and to mention that “[t]here are two aspects” to take into account, “first the legal aspect [...] and, in the event of conflict between the national legislation and the international one, it is the latter which prevails. [...] The second aspect, it is the practical application (material and financial problems) of this excellent system”.<sup>351</sup> He adds, “the question (of the Cluj University) belongs to the Hungarians of Romania.”<sup>352</sup> Compared with Ukraine, he notes, “the appearance of this state [Ukrainian] raises the question of the borders and of the minorities, which are the two fundamental questions”<sup>353</sup>, like in the relations with Hungary. In addition, he concludes:

[w]e must find the juridical language to say very clearly that Romania respects the borders which exist, that any argument must be solved by exclusively peaceful means... We hope, by the negotiation, to find means to repair the damage caused to Romania, but that does not necessarily mean a change of borders. Many other solutions can be considered for the statute and the rights of the Romanian minority in these areas [Hungary, Bulgaria,

---

<sup>346</sup> Naudet, Jean-Baptiste. Un entretien avec M. Teodor Melescanu (An interview with Mr. Teodor Melescanu). *Le Monde*, 16 Jan. 1993. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>347</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>348</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>349</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>350</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>351</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>352</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>353</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

and Ukraine]. One cannot demolish what was made. There is no dream of the Large Romania [România Mare].<sup>354</sup>

The Romanian Foreign Minister declares that

for the first time, Romania is not the neighbor of an Empire anymore. It has completely normal borders instead of having borders with three Empires; it is no longer crushed and sometimes quartered between the Russian Empire in the East, the Austrian Empire in the West, the Ottoman Empire in the South. Romania does not have imperial neighbors anymore  
...<sup>355</sup>

For the first time, Romania follows its own way, in theory, and has the possibility to build its own independent foreign policy. However, as we will see by the will to integrate the alliance and the European Union, hereafter explained, it will not be the case.

The position of the Minister reflects the difficulty with the Republic of Moldova, recognized at the same time as an independent country, but also as a continuity of Romania – ex-Basarabia – as we can find in the remarks underlined here: “Romania was one of the first countries to recognize its independence (Moldova)”, but

[w]e think that the integration of the Republic of Moldova in a community of this type (CIS journalist’s note) is a negation of the Romanian foreign policy because we have always tried to promote the idea of the existence of two Romanian independent states. If Moldova is integrated in the Community, one of two disappears.<sup>356</sup>

Here, in the remarks of the Foreign Minister, we can understand that it is a problem for the Republic of Moldova to remain under the umbrella of Russia in the CIS. The foreign policy idea of the Romanian state will be the integration of the Moldovan Republic within the Romanian territory in one way or the other. At that time, in 1991, the independence of the Soviet Republic of Moldova created the opportunity for Romania to make an ‘Operation Per Acquisition’ (OPA) in the same style of the German reunification. The Minister underlines: “[w]e think that the line of demarcation between the Communities of the independent States must also pass by Moldova. We think that the only solution is a status of observer for Moldova in the CSI.”<sup>357</sup> As the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty was denounced by the Romanian Parliament on June, 24<sup>th</sup> 1991 just before the CMEA session dissolution and after the Warsaw Organization Treaty, “[t]he

---

<sup>354</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>355</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>356</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>357</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

reunification of these territories to Romania was an unexpressed goal for many Romanians..."<sup>358</sup> It was an extraordinary possibility for the reunification option. "This was why some political circles in Romania assumed that the collapse of communism in [the] country, the breaking up of the USSR and the proclamation of Moldova's independence could constitute the premises of the reunification."<sup>359</sup>

In a way, the Romanian politics was not strongly focused on this option, but more on the idea of the EU and NATO integration. We would say that they did not want, at that time, to disappoint the future EU and NATO partners by a border modification within the international law obstacle; they did not want to create a precedent vis-à-vis the Hungarian minority, even if it was all about a historical land retrocession. Despite the fact that Romania denounced the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the country leaders have been attach by the borders established by international treaties, and the alteration of any borders would be counter the stability and security of the European continent. The fear of the Russian interest and reaction, likewise the presence of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian army in the transnistrian part of the Republic of Moldova blocked the process on the Romanian re-appropriation of this old territory. We will detail suggestion and answer of this question hereafter in the second part in the '*Neighboring relations*' chapter.

Due to the Black Sea economical importance for Romania and its will to reintegrate the International Community, the country takes part in the foundation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, in 1992, led by the Turkish initiative. However, we will see, hereafter, that Romania will try to turn from a follower into a leader.

President Ion Iliescu presents, at a press conference in October 1994, the Romanian foreign policy. He continues to say that Romania's foreign policy is in continuity of what was defined in 1989 in the framework of the '*Romanian revolutionary program*', as he quotes in his speech. In short, the development of the Romanian foreign policy is the exit from isolation, by confronting with the international problems within the framework of the international community. According to Ion Iliescu, the Romania's "presence at the United Nations General Assembly and at the Parliamentary Assembly

---

<sup>358</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

## ***Change into Continuity***

represented an opportunity to reiterate Romania's fundamental foreign policy options and to state our country's [Romania] standing on current international issues, both European and international".<sup>360</sup> He emphasizes that "[o]n this occasion, we've reiterated our openness to the world in general, and to the European and Euro-Atlantic space in particular, as a constant element of Romania's foreign policy..."<sup>361</sup> He also reminds about Romania's active participation in the General Assembly of the Council of Europe as a full member<sup>362</sup> on the one side, and some positive developments in the Romanian-American relations on the other side. He outlines the "evolution of the Romanian society toward democracy and the free-market economy, vis-à-vis the stabilization process of [...] the domestic policy and vis-à-vis a more sensible role, as Romania's stability factor in this fragmented zone [Balkan zone]".<sup>363</sup> According to Ion Iliescu, the country needs to develop at the economic level and he does not want to leave any unexploited track. Romania will develop all the necessary contacts for its economic development.

Following Petre Mihai Bacanu's question during a press conference on 11 October 1994, about the relations with Russia, he answers that United States and Japan gave attention to Russia, and Russia is a big player, which represented some influence in the equilibrium of the zone, and if the democratic process stops, they can reaffirm their pro-imperial vocation. He considers that any economic relation is good for Romania, and Russia represents the first partner in the area and "is the first partner of Hungary".<sup>364</sup> In his opinion, Romanians do not want to be "the slaves or subordinates of any other economic power" and "[f]rom this point of view, [t]here has been considerable interest in the development of economic relations, both

---

<sup>360</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- Bucuresti, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică) [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>361</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>362</sup> Romania becomes member of the Council of Europe in October 1993.

<sup>363</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- Bucuresti, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică) [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>364</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman



at the government level and within business communities".<sup>365</sup> "[W]e don't want to have any pro-East or pro-West policy, pro-Russian or pro-German or pro-American policy or whatever"<sup>366</sup>, he states. We can underline, following Iliescu's statement, that Romania's foreign policy wants to be independent as it was during Ceausescu's time, a crossroads between the East and the West, the North and the South, between democracy and undemocratic countries, between developed and undeveloped economies.

President Ion Iliescu explains that his visits to China and Russia as well to other countries in the Far East were an opportunity to develop the relations with both governments, Chinese and Russian, to discuss about the development of economic relations.<sup>367</sup> He argues:

How can one not be interested in developing relations with a country with such economic potential, with such power of absorption as a future market – one of the largest and most interesting promising markets? Being in their vicinity, we have traditions, how can we not be considering this?<sup>368</sup>

He adds that the international relations of the countries need to be an intelligence balance between different sources of collaboration and "not to be unilaterally dependent on a particular source or market".<sup>369</sup> It will be the main "economic strategy in [...] [Romania's] future economic relations"<sup>370</sup>. For Ion Iliescu "Europe stands a chance to come back, [...] spectacularly, in several years"<sup>371</sup> considering the natural, material and human potentials as well the intellectual potential of the countries vis-à-vis the Central and Eastern European space. However, for the President, the potential of economic development will be in traditional collaboration with the Middle East and Latin America, as well in the Southeastern and Pacific area, because it is "the hub of today's world economic activity".<sup>372</sup>

In conclusion, the President says that he will be faithful to the NSF statement made on December 22 to renew with the international community and to provide economic success for the country by trading with all potential partners with a balance toward future economic leaders (Asia and Pacific). He reaffirms that the priority of the Romanian foreign policy on the political, security and economical

---

<sup>365</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>366</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>367</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>368</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>369</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>370</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>371</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>372</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

## ***Change into Continuity***

plans is the European, Euro-Atlantic and United States space because it is "a constant and a necessity, in this period".<sup>373</sup> In June 1994, NATO and Russia agreed to set the stage for the development of a far-reaching, cooperative NATO-Russia relationship, aimed at enhancing mutual confidence and openness.

### **III.1.5 The Change of Strategy**

After 1993, the Romanian government, under the pressure of International Organizations such as the IMF, changed its strategy and started reforms. After 1995, it cared less about extremist parties at the government. Without ambiguity in 1996, Foreign Minister, Teodor Melescanu reaffirms that Romania's accession to the European Union is a 'genuine' goal for the Romanian society "which corresponds to the national interest".<sup>374</sup> It is interesting to note that, in his speeches, the Foreign Minister qualifies Romania as a Central European country, and nothing else. This is an indication to see how Romanian official tried to avoid the amalgam with Balkan countries and to emphasize all the time their European quality. He agrees that "as a Central European country [...] [on] an intrinsic part of the Western European democracy, Romania's desire to become member of EU".<sup>375</sup> In brief, Romania's goal is to be a member of the European Union as a European country as soon as possible, possibly in 2000 (the foreign minister's words) and all the Romanian effort will be directed toward this goal as the state strategy. In this strategy, "the relations with Central European countries are a top priority for the Romanian foreign policy"<sup>376</sup> thru the signing of good neighborly relations and trade treaties. Romania understood that the relation with other East European countries would be a key of the European integration, and not only by the good relations and by good trade with the Western European Union states. For Romania, it will be an important point to become a member of the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA) as soon as possible, because it will reinforce the idea that Romania is an Eastern European country and increase the economic strength of the country. The statute was denied to Romania years before and the country's officials have to make pressure on the CEFTA board thru the European Union states.

---

<sup>373</sup> Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman

<sup>374</sup> Meleşcanu, Teodor. The Accession to the European Union: The Fundamental Option of Romania's Foreign Policy. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, vol. II, no. 4.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid. p. 27.

It appears, here in 1995, that Romania understood the basic principle of the European Union accession, built as a national priority supported by all the Romanian political class confirmed by the signing of the 'Declaration of Snagov'.<sup>377</sup> As a national priority, the European accession as well the integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures will become a foreign policy priority, which will be followed not only by Iliescu's government, but also by the next elected government. Secretary of state, Gheorghiu Prisăcaru, Head of the Department for European Integration, stipulates that "[i]ntegration within the European and Euro-Atlantic structures represents the main priority in our foreign policy."<sup>378</sup> In the mind of the government, February 11<sup>th</sup> 1995 meant for Romania the starting point in the competition for reform and restructuring in order to become eligible for membership with the European Union.<sup>379</sup>

It is interesting to note that, towards the end of the Iliescu's presidency, Gheorghiu Prisăcaru wrote: "European Commissioner Hans van der Broek confirms that Romania is currently making great efforts to prepare itself for the future membership..."<sup>380</sup> and in his opinion, "the declaration made in some Romanian and foreign policy analysis circles assuming that Romania's chances for European Integration are lower than those of other Central European countries, ignore the steps already made by Romania towards the consolidation of democracy, a state of law and an operational market economy."<sup>381</sup>

We would like to underline, here, the paradox of the Romanian officials that clearly still behave as the leaders of the Ceausescu period, when the rhetoric and the wishes were viewed as an incontestable fact and the real situation was not taken into account. If, during the Iliescu's presidency, the government made efforts to change behavior, acting more as a democratic country, there is still a long way in order to reach the Western democracy style and to reach an operational market economy, granted only ten years later, in 2004.

---

<sup>377</sup> 'Declaration of Snagov' was signed on June 1995, by the President of Romania and all party leaders, both in the government and in opposition in the city of Snagov (Ilfov County, Romania).

<sup>378</sup> Prisăcaru, Gheorghiu. The National Strategy Preparing Romania's Accesion to the European Union. Romanian Journal of International Affairs, 1996, vol. II, no. 4. p. 33.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

### **III.2 A Necessary Rupture**

President Emil Constantinescu took his position after the 1996 November election. He promises to the Romanian people during the election that he will bring democratic stability, economic prosperity, European and Euro-Atlantic integration. These promises will be set up at the main goal of Constantinescu's mandate. This election is won by the opposition and turns to the right political side, enjoying the western organizations that view this alternation as a proof of democracy implementation in Romania.

Foreign chancellery saw the government's foreign policy as a strong point. Immediately, it adopted a pro-Western stance, and early in its mandate launched a diplomatic offensive to improve the image of Romania abroad. Joining NATO and the European Union were proclaimed Romania's top foreign policy priorities. With these objectives in mind, Romania sought to improve relations with its neighbors and signed many treaties and develops collaboration. Romania did not forget to increase visibility in International and Regional Organizations. President Constantinescu received senior foreign officials, including French President Jacques Chirac (February 1997) and U.S. President Bill Clinton (July 1997), as well the visit of Pope John Paul II (May 7-9, 1999), the first time in 1,000 years...

President Emil Constantinescu says in the speech to the North Atlantic Council on 4 February 1997, that "[t]he essential message that [he wishes] to convey is the firm option of the Romanian people to integrate into the Euro-Atlantic structure, as soon as the gates of the organization open to receive new Member States";<sup>382</sup> For the President, the only way to guarantee democracy, to make reforms and to develop the Romanian country, is the European as well the Euro-Atlantic integration. As he states, "[t]he only big remedy for Romania is integration."<sup>383</sup> As the previous presidency, he underlines that both will benefit from Romania's integration, because "Romania brings to it [- NATO, in this case -] an experience that is at the same time complex."<sup>384</sup> We can notice in

---

<sup>382</sup> Constantinescu, Emil. Speech by H.E. Mr. Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania, to the North Atlantic Council. *Ibid.*, Spring 1997, 1997, vol. III, no. 2. p. 3.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3.

his statement the reality of interdependence of the international community, as it will be explained in the second part of the thesis.

Likewise, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adrian Severin, emphasizes that, during the Cold War, the security, stability, prosperity and democracy were maintained in the Western part of Europe because the "framework that has secured these basic conditions" were "the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union" which "have proved to be the only viable and effective structure to this extent".<sup>385</sup> Romania makes all the necessary efforts to set up good neighborhood relations with Hungary and Ukraine<sup>386</sup>.

However, the frequent changes in the government and governmental structures, the delays in the process of institutions democratization, the absence or failure of a long-term government development strategy, and the vacillating steps made by Romania in the implementation of reforms did not help Romania, and pushed the country to the second rank of the accession candidates.

### **III.2.1 Romania at the Crossroad**

Very active in the field of NATO and the EU accession, President Emil Constantinescu launched the initiative 'Romania, at the crossroad' (România la răscruce) on June 1997, in order to value the Romanian geopolitical position as an economical crossroad from North to South and from East to West<sup>387</sup> within the geopolitical oil context. Romania intended to be the road link between Europe and the Caucasus thru the Black Sea. The program was debated in the Romanian Parliament in 1998, and parliamentarian Dimitru Popescu underlined that "in October 1997, Mr. President Emil Constantinescu announced that: 'Romania has managed to be included in the TRACECA<sup>388</sup>, and the port of Constanta will become an up rotating transport energy from the

---

<sup>385</sup> Severin, Adrian. Romania: A Factor of Equilibrium and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>386</sup> To see more details in the Neighborliness chapter of the Thesis.

<sup>387</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005 (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. p. 146. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>388</sup> TRACECA is the Transport Corridor Europe - Caucasus - Asia.

## ***Change into Continuity***

Caspian Sea to Western Europe' ".<sup>389</sup> However "[a] month later, at a meeting [...] in Washington [...] there was no reference, and from the expression, Romania was not even listed on the map".<sup>390</sup> Actually, "[t]he project on the transit of oil to Western Europe thru Romania is of great importance for the future of [Romanian] [...] economy".<sup>391</sup> In fact, this strategic initiative in the end of nineties, with the "forum 'Romanian, at the crossroad' [...] was a lamentable failure".<sup>392</sup> It was also a political failure for the government in place. To reinforce the idea during this period, Romania has constantly improved the bilateral relations with neighbors – Hungaria, Republic of Moldova, Bulgaria - and developed trilateral co-operation – Romania-Bulgaria-Greece, Romania-Bulgaria-Turkey, Romania-Hungary-Austria, Romania-Poland-Ukraine, Romania-Republic of Moldova-Ukraine - for political consultation, economic and development programmes with neighboring and regional actors in the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe Countries. To assure their role Romania develops a strategic partnership with the United States in the fields of economic, politic, regional security as well military. On the economical plan, the United States will increase collaboration and FDI in Romania.

The idea comes back thru foreign investment, as we can notice in the statement from one of the U.S. companies. "Because of its geostrategic position, Romania is one of the most interesting countries of the world. For this reason Romania is the perfect place for Bell', writes the American company."<sup>393</sup> However, this idea set up by Romania in order to value its position for NATO accession was not perceived immediately as valuable. "Yet at the time, President Bill Clinton had not been allured by this reasoning and had vetoed the Romanian candidature, in July in Madrid, when

---

<sup>389</sup> Popescu, Dumitru Dezbateri Parlamentare. Ședința Camerei Deputaților din 17 februarie 1998 [online]. (Parliamentary Debate. 17 February 1998). București: Camera Deputaților, 1998. [cited 26 May 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from:

<<http://www.cdep.ro/pls/steno/steno.stenograma?ids=11&idm=1,02&idl=1>>.

Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>390</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>391</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>392</sup> Badin, Andrei. Venitul național pierde circa 5 miliarde de dolari anual [online]. (The National Budget loses around...). Adevărul, 6 iunie 2006. [cited 26 June 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/venitul-na-x163-ional-pierde-circa-5-miliarde-de-dolari-anual/187112>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>393</sup> Neacsu, Andrei. La rigueur budgétaire en Roumanie menace un important contrat militaire américain (Fiscal tightening in Romania threatens a major American military contract). Le Monde, 26 Aug. 1995.

NATO opened to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.”<sup>394</sup> We will see, hereafter in the NATO chapter, the reason for denying Romania’s accession in NATO, on the one hand by the Russian’s attitude, and on the other hand by Romania’s lack of readiness for integration.

### **III.2.2 The Challenge**

Romania has to implement political, structural and economic reforms. After more than 7 years of political and structural status quo, and the ‘stop-and-go’ of economical reforms, Constantinescu’s presidency implements the reforms in the economic field with the blessing of International Organizations, such as the IMF and World Bank.

#### **III.2.2.1 The Economic Field**

The government implemented several National Programs for Romania’s accession to the EU. In 1999, we can read in newspapers that:

Since October, we have perceived a qualitative change in the approach and the frame of mind of the authorities with respect to the need for reforms [...] The government decided in particular on the closing of a score of government enterprises and of about thirty mines which recorded large losses, and made a success of several great privatizations, among which that of the telecommunications operator Romtelecom and the Romanian Bank for Restructuration (BRD). We have the feeling that this beginning will continue in a substantial and accelerated way in the months to come, which will constitute a strong foundation to lead to an agreement with the IMF and the World Bank, underlined Mr. Etori.<sup>395</sup>

But, following the strong reforms and reorganization toward government enterprises and mining, the population become unhappy and “[t]hen thousand Romanian miners [...] decided to carry to

---

<sup>394</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>395</sup> Rodina, Mihaela. La Roumanie réforme pour gagner la faveur du FMI et de la BM (Romania reforms to win the support of IMF and WB). *Le Quotidien Suisse des Affaires et de la Finance (AGEFI)*, 14 Jan. 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

Bucharest their anger vis-à-vis the threats of closing of wells and their salary demands."<sup>396</sup> This fourth Mineriads brings clashes between the police and miners.<sup>397</sup> But the EU underlines the need to pursue reforms, even painful<sup>398</sup> and

reaffirms that it [EU] is determined to support Romania in the difficult process of transformation which it currently knows. The European Union recognizes that this process supposes the adoption of painful measurements for the Romanian people. The will of the EU to see Romania adhering to the European Union remains whole. The economic reforms in particular, and in particular the proposed measures by the international institutions, are of major importance to make it possible for Romania to progress on the way which must lead it to EU accession.<sup>399</sup>

However, the international situation did not help the Romanian economy. Even if the foreign direct investment (FDI) started to flood Romania from 1998, mainly from France, Italy, and the United States... The Romanian government "considers that bringing two large US industrial companies into the country would boost flagging efforts to encourage foreign investment, preserve jobs and help cement economic and military ties with the US."<sup>400</sup>

### **III.2.2.2 The Military Field**

The government drafted the change by designing

'Romania's National Security Strategy' [June 1997], [and 'Romania's Military Strategy'] with the slogan 'Euro-Atlantic stability and integration', emphasizing the principle of Romania's national security with own resources and means and by cooperating with states and security organisms from the European, Euro-Atlantic and international space.<sup>401</sup>

---

<sup>396</sup> Popeski, Ron. Des milliers de mineurs du Jiu marchent sur Bucarest (Thousands minors of Jiu walk toward Bucharest). s.n., 20 Jan. 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>397</sup> Reuters. Roumanie - Affrontements entre policiers et mineurs (Romania - Clashes between police and minors). Ibid., 21Jan. 1999.

<sup>398</sup> A.E.F. L'UE souligne la necessite de poursuivre les reformes, même douloureuses (The EU underlines the need to pursue reforms, even painful). Ibid., 23 Jan. 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>399</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>400</sup> Wagstyl, Stefan and Marsh Virginia. Romania in bid to alter deal terms. *Financial Times*, 2 Sep. 1998.

<sup>401</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 176.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched the White Book: Romania-NATO<sup>402</sup> in April 1997. This book describes Romania's offer to the Alliance in the South-Eastern European space with the political cost of not being in the Alliance and the steps for NATO accession. Romania also launched the '*Romania-NATO Individualized Dialogue*'. In November 1999, the Parliament approved the '*White Paper of the Government Armed Forces of Romania 2010: Reform and Europe-Atlantic Integration*'.<sup>403</sup>

Romanian President Emil Constantinescu will seek support towards the accession to NATO and to the EU. France will be a strong supporter for Romania's accession in NATO for 1999, and for the European Union as soon as possible. Romania also had the encouragement of Turkey (June 1997), Germany (December 1997), as well as of Great Britain (January 2000). Canada will advocate Romanian accession to NATO in the first wave (April 1997), as well as Italy (May 1997). In fact, "[t]he file nevertheless is supported by the majority of the countries of Europe of the South - of which Turkey and Greece - and initially by France."<sup>404</sup> To lobbying the Romania's accession decision, Romania held in the year 1997 before the Madrid Summit a number of conferences and seminars on political and military fields about NATO integration, as also in 1999, before the Washington Summit. In Rome, on February 1997, took place the conference on '*Romania and NATO-The place of Romania within the New Security Architecture of Europe*'. In Bucharest, the workshop on '*Security Dimensions Regional Infrastructure*' for the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), took place on May; The seminars '*Romania and NATO - alternatives for the future*' and '*American Interest in the Central and South-Eastern European Geo-politics*' were organized by 'Manfred Wörner' Association on May. The Professor Seth Cropsey, - at the here before named seminars - from the 'George c. Marshall' Centre for Security Studies of Germany considers that "for the stability of Balkans, Romania remains an essential factor".<sup>405</sup> In 1999, the seminar '*Romania and European Security*' took place in Bucharest,

---

<sup>402</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO* (White Book: Romania - NATO). București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a.

<sup>403</sup> Guvernul României. *Carte Albă a Guvernului. Armata României 2010: reformă și integrare euro-atlantică* (Government White Book. Romanian Army in 2010: Reforms and Euro-Atlantic Integration). București: Editura Militară, 2000a.

<sup>404</sup> Semo, Marc. *L'Otan, idée fixe des Roumains* (The NATO, the fixed idea of Romanians). *Libération*, 4 Nov. 1996. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>405</sup> Coted in Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 170.

## ***Change into Continuity***

and in 2000, the round table '*Romania and the Future Enlargement of NATO*'. On the top of that, on the Romanian television begins a TV show on the PRO-TV channel, '*Pro NATO Operation: Mission Possible*'.

In 1996, Marc Semo, a journalist with the French newspaper '*Liberation*' reports that

The only real guarantee of security vis-à-vis Russia goes through integration into NATO. For the first time since the war we can again freely choose our alliances and return to the West, but we have never been as isolated as now on the diplomatic side, adds historian Zoé Petre, presidential adviser of Constantinescu, the leader of the Democratic Convention (right liberal). The abandonment of Romania to the Soviet sphere of influence, agreed at Yalta, remains an open wound in the national imaginary.<sup>406</sup>

After the Madrid Summit, where the Alliance accepted only three countries from Central and Eastern Europe, United States' President Bill Clinton came to Romania, in July 1997, for a brief visit after visiting Poland and Slovenia. He encouraged the Romanian effort for NATO accession. On this occasion, the United States President launched a strategic partnership with Romania for collaboration in the areas of economy, politics, regional security and defense. But all Romanians were strongly disappointed. The officials remained optimistic for the future: "[b]eing in NATO is our main target," said Colonel Mihail Ionescu, chief of the Defense Ministry's Directorate for European and North Atlantic Integration. 'It was before Madrid, and it is even more so now.'<sup>407</sup> Romania drafted up the '*Post-Madrid Acting Strategy of the Ministry of National Defense for NATO Integration*' to describe the strategy and action in order to access to the Alliance at the next Summit and the '*2000 Armed Forces*' about the restructuring of the Romanian Armed Forces, as well the management of human resources.

President Emil Constantinescu declares, at the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, that

Romania's option for NATO is a strategic and irreversible one. I have firmly showed that in Romania there is the political will to accelerate the Armed Forces reform and restructuring process. I have underlined that such

---

<sup>406</sup> Semo, Marc. *L'Otan, idée fixe des Roumains* (The NATO, the fixed idea of Romanians). *Libération*, 4 Nov. 1996. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>407</sup> Cody, Edward. *Snubbed, a Determined Romania Makes NATO Entry 'Our Main Target'*. *The Washington Post*, 27 Aug. 1997.

reforms occur with people's painful sacrifices and that the Romanian people ought to be respected for that.<sup>408</sup>

### **III.2.2.3 The Kosovo War**

The Kosovo war began in 1999 by the NATO launch of the air attack on Yugoslavia, on March 24, in order to settle the crisis in Kosovo. On April 22, the Parliament authorizes the use of Romania's air space by the allied planes during the military operation with Yugoslavia, even if Romania broke the friendship, good neighborhood and cooperation treaty between both countries signed in 1996<sup>409</sup> and handicapped the good Romanian-Serbian relations. Romanian president Emil Constantinescu specifies, "Romania would not take part in any operation against its Yugoslav neighbor."<sup>410</sup> Against the threat of Yugoslavian reaction, NATO stipulates that they will protect the Yugoslavian neighbor countries involved with the Alliance.

The ambassadors of Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Macedonia were convoked at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to receive a note underlining the

possible political and military consequences of an aggression of NATO. [...] The general secretary of NATO, Javier Solana, wrote to the persons in charge of the five countries to ensure them that the Alliance would protect them in the event of an attack from Yugoslavia, one learned Atlantic Wednesday of authorized source.<sup>411</sup>

---

<sup>408</sup> Luca, Ioan (Col.). Președintele Emil Constantinescu a pledat cauza integrării României în NATO (The President Emil Constantinescu pledged the cause of Romania's integration in NATO). *Observatorul Militar*, 1-8 decembrie 1998, no. 48 (467). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>409</sup> Năstase, Adrian. *Dimensiunile politicii externe în tratatele României. Evidență cronologică și clasificare pe domenii. 1990-2005* (Foreign Political Dimension in Romanian Treaties). București: Regia Autonomă Monitorul Oficial, 2005. p. 213.

<sup>410</sup> Reuters. Roumanie-Le parlement réclame la fin de la répression yougoslave (Romania-Parliament calls for the end of the Yugoslav repression). s.n., 30 March 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>411</sup> Reuters. Belgrade met en garde ses voisins, l'Otan promet de les protéger (Belgrade warns its neighbours, NATO promises to protect them). s.n., 24 March 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

However “[t]he country is torn between its Serb friendships and its candidatures for the EU and NATO.”<sup>412</sup> Emil Constantinescu president’s adviser, Zoé Petre, stipulates that “[i]t should be known if we are friend of Milosevic or of Yugoslavia, but the two things are, since years ago, increasingly different”<sup>413</sup>. But

[t]he majority of the opposition deputies, like the ex-Communists, preferred to abstain rather than vote, at the end of April, against the opening of the airspace to NATO. But they denounced at least ‘the servility of the power’ vis-à-vis Washington. [...] ‘NATO one day will change its position on Yugoslavia, but we will not be able to change the geographical position’, insists Adrian Nastase, vice-president of the PDSR (ex-Communist), stressing that Romania did not obtain anything in exchange of its ‘engagement’, ‘nothing but promises’. At the last NATO Summit, Romania was placed on the top of the list of the countries likely to adhere, in the second wave, but nothing really precise. [...] ... one cannot help remember that Romania had lost some 7 billion dollars during the first embargo against Belgrade, from 1992 to 1995, without being compensated.<sup>414</sup>

The situation becomes difficult and unpopular for the government. Romania wants to integrate into NATO and the European Union and to support the allies’ actions against the Yugoslavian neighbor, but its heart beats for Serbia...<sup>415</sup> Romania is increasingly uncomfortable with the widening gap between the official rhetoric, strongly pro-Western, and its population, composed of 87% Orthodox, expresses solidarity with its fellow Serbs. The citizens disapprove and one of them says that

‘they are our neighbors since centuries. At the time of Ceausescu, they sold the goods which missed in Romania; now, it is the opposite’, explains one of these ‘ants’ of the gasoline smuggling, which, as many inhabitants of the area, lives sparsely of this traffic readily presented like an act of ‘solidarity’.<sup>416</sup>

---

<sup>412</sup> Semo, Marc. Guerre au Kosovo. Les pays voisins face au conflit. Le déchirement roumain [online]. (War in Kosovo. Neighbouring countries in the conflict. The Romanian tearing). Libération, 27 Mai 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/Document/lbrt000020010907dv5r00ie5>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>413</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>414</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>415</sup> Chikoff, Irina de. Aux frontières du monde slave : La Roumanie veut intégrer l’Europe, Mais son cœur bat pour la Serbie... (At the boundaries of slave World: Romania wants to integrate into Europe, but his heart beats for Serbia...). Le Figaro, 14 Apr. 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>416</sup> Semo, Marc. Guerre au Kosovo. Les pays voisins face au conflit. Le déchirement roumain [online]. (War in Kosovo. Neighbouring countries in the conflict. The Romanian tearing). Libération, 27 Mai 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/Document/lbrt000020010907dv5r00ie5>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

As the Romanian official position vis-à-vis Serbia was not supported by the population, several demonstrations were held against NATO in Bucharest especially from Romanians of Serbian origin.<sup>417</sup> As confirms Mirel Bran, Romanian journalist at 'Le Monde',

[t]he majority of the Romanians are solidier with Serbia. [...] The goods old day of the smuggling with gasoline ended two years ago, following the coming to power of President [...] Emil Constantinescu. The complicity of the regime of its predecessor, Ion Iliescu, had allowed the villagers of this poor mine field at the edge of bankruptcy an amazing enrichment. Thousands of tons of gasoline were transported to Serbia in spite of the embargo issued by the UN, in 1992.<sup>418</sup>

Not parts of the pan-Slavism, Romania are strongly linked by the religion and the Mount Athos, the spiritual center for Serbs and Romanians. Back in history, we know as Mirel Bran underlines that "[t]he solidarity of the Romanians and Serbs does not go back to today. The absence of conflicts between the two countries throughout history and the membership to the same religion made their cordial contact in spite of different origins, respectively Latin and Slavic."<sup>419</sup> Moreover, we can conclude we the citation of the philosopher Horia Patapievici, that "[i]t is initially a collective fear which crystallizes in solidarity with the Serb people: that a sovereign state can be attacked because a minority said there are, wrongly or rightly, persecuted' ".<sup>420</sup>

At the same time, the Romanian economy suffered from the Serbian boycott by the slowdown of the trade between Romania and Serbia. As we know "[b]efore the burst of Yugoslavia, Romania was its third partner for economic exchanges, after Russia and

---

<sup>417</sup> Reuters. Manifestation anti-Otan à Bucarest [online]. (Anti-NATO manifestations in Bucharest). s.n., 17 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document reutfr0020010908dv4h014it>>.

<sup>418</sup> Bran, Mirel. A la frontière serbo-roumaine, la contrebande refléurit (At the Serbian-Romanian border, smuggling blossoms). *Le Monde*, 16 Apr. 1999. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>419</sup> Bran, Mirel. Solidarité orthodoxe en Roumanie [online]. (Othodox Solidarity in Romania). *Le Monde*, 14 avril 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document Lemond0020010907dv4e00sbp>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>420</sup> Cited in Semo, Marc. Guerre au Kosovo. Les pays voisins face au conflit. Le déchirement roumain [online]. (War in Kosovo. Neighbouring countries in the conflict. The Romanian tearing). *Libération*, 27 Mai 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document lbrt000020010907dv5r00ie5>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

Hungary."<sup>421</sup> The incertitude and instability slowed down the investment for all the South-Eastern European countries within Romania.<sup>422</sup> The countries asked for help from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD),<sup>423</sup> and the European Union promised a financial aid for the compensation of the loss. The IMF is mobilized to avert the stagnation, which threatens the Balkans and made a first concrete gesture in favor of Romania for "a loan of 500 million dollars (468, 9 million Euros)."<sup>424</sup>

During the Kosovo conflict, Romanian leaders did not manage their effort making certain 'uninterrupted diplomatic efforts' in order to help to find a solution for the resolution of the conflict. But "Romania managed to cope with internal turbulence in the form of strikes and the external crisis in the Western Balkans without departing from democratic practice and respect for the rule of law".<sup>425</sup> Romania reaffirms the will to access to the European Union with a letter from the Romanian Parliament addressed to the European Parliament and to Parliaments of EU members.

---

<sup>421</sup> Bran, Mirel. Solidarité orthodoxe en Roumanie [online]. (Othodox Solidarity in Romania). *Le Monde*, 14 avril 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document Lemond0020010907dv4e00sbbp>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>422</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Un impact économique sur l'Europe du Sud-Est [online]. (An economic impact on South-Eastern Europe). *Les Echos*, 21 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document echos00020011213dv4l02h6f>>.

<sup>423</sup> de Gasquet, Pierre. Les pays voisins de la Yougoslavie réclament une aide d'urgence de la BERD Ibid. (Neighbouring countries of Yugoslavia calling for urgent assistance from the EBRD). 19 Apr. 1999. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document echos00020011213dv4j02h2k>>.

<sup>424</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Le FMI se mobilise pour conjurer le marasme qui guette les Balkans [online]. (The IMF is mobilized to ward off the slump that threatens the Balkans). *La Tribune*, 22 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document trds000020010911dv4m00rlo>>.

<sup>425</sup> European Commission. *Composite Paper* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/composite_en.pdf)>. p. 15.

### **III.2.3 NATO and the EU**

The NATO and EU integration was the two main pillars of the Constantinescu's foreign policy, as well the neighborliness just as ex-Yugoslavia. We will give a precious insight regarding NATO and EU topics in the second part of this thesis called '*From Isolation to Interdependence*'. In the present chapter, we will develop the NATO and EU accession acts during Emil Constantinescu's presidential mandate. For integration purposes, Romanian leaders built a strategy to promote the Romanian crossroad position (România la răscruce) by enlightening the potential of Romania in South-Eastern Europe. For the first time thru discourse and attitudes, Romania builds a foreign policy toward NATO, turning from a country in need of security to a security provider in South-Eastern Europe. Romania's strategy, elaborated by the President was to build regional collaboration with neighbors and a collaboration axis with important countries.

The Romanian President, in his speech at the North Atlantic Alliance Summit in Washington, underlines that "[m]y country [Romania], the first to sign the Partnership for Peace, succeeded in transforming the essence of the initial NATO partnership in a coherent open system of partnership with neighboring countries, in the political, diplomatic and human relations fields."<sup>426</sup> He specifies that Romania, as security provider,

develop[s] a whole of preferential relation with Hungary in the West, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova in the East; [...] built[s] a system of tripartite agreements – with Ukraine and Poland, with Bulgaria and Turkey, with Bulgaria and Greece, with Ukraine and Austria – these agreements are done to consolidate our regional stability.<sup>427</sup>

Romania takes several initiatives, such as the writing of the working document, '*South-Eastern Europe Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities*'

---

<sup>426</sup> Constantinescu, Emil. Presedintele României, Emil Constantinescu, la Sesiunea plenara a Consiliului Parteneriatului Euro-Atlantic - Washington, 25 aprilie 1999 - [online]. (Romanian President, Emil Constantinescu, at the Planary Session at the Euro-Atlantic Parliamentary Council - Washington, 25 April 1999 -). București: Departamentul comunicării publice, 1999. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/6315\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/6315_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>427</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

(SEECAP),<sup>428</sup> approved at the reunion of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of NATO member countries. In July 1998, he took advantage of a nine-day visit in the U.S. to argue before a joint session of Congress that his country played a key role in Balkan stability and should therefore be admitted to NATO. In October, Romania agreed to allow limited access to its air space in the event of NATO military intervention in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

At the edge of the presidential mandate, the European Union estimated Romania incapable to face the EU requirement in terms of administrative capability to implement *acquis communautaires* as well the lack of reform to be granted 'free-market economy'. The president Emil Constantinescu, along his period, looked for support from European states in order to advance in the EU integration process. Romania got support from France, Italy, Germany ... For example, with France Romanian leaders initiate several high levels meeting in France and in Romania. The French president, Jacques Chirac, declares supporting Romania in the accession process indifferently for NATO and EU.

In March 1998, President Constantinescu attended the London conference of European Union member states and candidates. To advance the Romanian case, the government put in place in 1998 and updated in 1999, the first '*National Program for Accession of Romania to the European Union*' (PNAR). In addition, Romanian officials denounced the 'unacceptable discrimination' between states candidates, and ask for equal treatment in the integration processes. The negotiation with the European Union started officially on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2000 with the goal to conclude all chapters before 2007. But the slow reforms, the delay in economic reforms and the political shift between factions resulted in the division of the political spectrum with on one side between partisan to the Romania's integration in EU and other side nationalist criticizing the interference in Romania's domestic affairs by international organizations or/and foreign powers.

Both NATO and the EU nonetheless passed over the country in the first wave of expansion. The refusal of NATO to integrate Romania in the first wave and the EU postponement of the

---

<sup>428</sup> NATO. *South-Eastern Europe Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities (SEECAP)* [online]. Budapest: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. May 2001, 2001d. (NATO Documents). [cited 8 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2001/0105-bdp/d010530b.htm>>.



## ***Change into Continuity***

accession process will bring an ultra-nationalist reaction and bring Ion Iliescu back as president.

### **III.3 The Comeback**

Ion Iliescu was elected for the third time as President of Romania, as a manifestation of the disappointment of the population towards the policy of Constantinescu's presidency and in order to bar the election of Vadim Tudor<sup>429</sup> election at the second ballot. In his speech, '*New stage in Romania's History*', delivered in front of the Romanian parliament during the swearing-in ceremony on December 20, 2000, Ion Iliescu presented the government program based on the country's major issues, related to the accession to the European Union and NATO. The government program corresponded exactly to the point that Romania had to achieve in order to integrate the European Union and NATO. The president also wanted to reinforce the authority of the State and of its institutions.

Iliescu's party comes into power with his own program. However, in fact, the new government was forced to apply the previous government program instead of its own electoral program. In fact, they had more success by implementing Constantinescu's agenda as well his foreign policy, which aimed to integrate Romania into NATO and into the European Union, to follow the IMF and World Bank recommendations on macro-economic policies, to continue the privatization program, increase productivity and to reorganize the industrial field.

This presidential mandate started by an important international challenge for the Romanian diplomacy, i.e. the chairmanship of the OSCE for one year, in 2001. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mircea Geoana, exercises the function of the Chairperson-in-Office (CIO).

In 2003, citizens overwhelmingly endorsed a redesigned constitution thru a referendum, in order to align it to the European Union legislation. The new constitution defines Romania as a semi-presidential democratic republic with the executive functions shared between the president and the prime minister. The president is elected by popular vote for a maximum of two five-year terms. Once elected, the president appoints the prime minister, who in turn appoints the cabinet.

---

<sup>429</sup> Cormeliu Vladim Tudor is the President of the Greater Romania Party (Romanian acronym PRM) an ultra-nationalist and extremist party.

Given that it was the first mandate after the '89 Revolution, the president stated that the country must act to "regain the international credibility and respect for Romania and its people"<sup>430</sup>. It was the same discourse as in 1990, because for Ion Iliescu the country was banned from international scene. The country did not have enough presence on the international scene or enough power in this respect.

### **III.3.1 The 2001-2004 Government's Program**

The government, under the leadership of new Prime Minister, Adrian Nastase, builds a program with such priorities as re-launching the economic growth, fighting poverty and unemployment, restoring the authority of the State and of its institutions, reducing bureaucracy, fighting corruption and criminality; the program was adopted by the Romanian Parliament in a joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, held on December 28, 2000. In his statement, the foreign policy goals are presented as fundamental and aiming at the acceleration of "Romania's integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic political, economical and strategic structures".<sup>431</sup> We would like to study 'chapter XI' of the Government program 2001-2004<sup>432</sup> adopted by the parliament on December 28, 2000. 'Chapter XI' is about the Foreign Policy and the promotion of the real Romanian image. This nineteen-page statement is interesting because it defines the Romanian foreign policy for the upcoming presidential mandate.

---

<sup>430</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>431</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Discursul domnului Adrian Năstase la ședința comună a Camerei Deputaților și Senatului pentru acordarea încrederii asupra Programului și listei Guvernului - București, 28 decembrie 2000 [online]. (Speech of Mr. Adrian Năstase during the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate for trust granting with respect to the government's program and list). București: Cabinet Prim-Ministru, 2000. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=21&idrubricapresa=2&idrubricaprimm=&idtema=&tip=2&pag=1&dr=>>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>432</sup> Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gouvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2.

## ***Change into Continuity***

First, we would like to underline that the statement stipulates if “[t]he Romanian foreign policy naturally contains elements of continuity”,<sup>433</sup> it is the “consequence of the consensus existing at the political and popular level on ... [the] priorities at the international level”.<sup>434</sup> This consensus is about the

European and Euro-Atlantic integration, developing good-natured relations with our neighbors, underlining Romania's role within the regional and international institutions, the consolidation of the national security, establishing the democracy and the state in its right, observing the democratic values and the human rights, developing the market economy, the international commerce and the investments.<sup>435</sup>

We can see here that Romania’s foreign policy adopted a major line with the European Union and NATO integration, applied not only during the previous mandate of the president Emil Constantinescu, but also defined by the first and second Ion Iliescu’s mandates from 1990 to 1996. The European and NATO integration were the goals of the previous government, in addition to the good neighborhood partnership and others. We can say that Romania has a consensus about the foreign policy goals. The basic question asked in this chapter refers to the differences between the other presidential mandates.

### **III.3.1.1 The Foreign Policy New Lines**

At the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the country leaders feel the need to change and adapt Romania’s foreign policy to the new challenge concerning the international situation and the international institution goals, such as the UN’s Millenium Development Goals. They decided to establish “some modern strategies and solutions for globalization, integration and regionalization of the contemporary world.”<sup>436</sup>

The government will launch the reforms of the Diplomatic Services, which was started by the previous government and resulted

---

<sup>433</sup> Romanian Government Ibid. p. 326. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>434</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>435</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

in failure and “[t]he administrative reform of the diplomatic service will continue”<sup>437</sup> as we can read in the government program. In order to achieve the European integration, as well the performance of the diplomatic goals, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) will be reorganized to meet the standard of the European Union acquis. It will reorganize the education and training system of diplomatic civil servants through the creation of a new *Romanian Institute of International Studies "Nicolae Titulescu"* (IRSI),<sup>438</sup> and the Diplomatic Academy<sup>439</sup> that will be transformed later (2005) into the Romanian Diplomatic Institute.<sup>440</sup> In yet another move to enter the new century, the government will implement the modernization of the ministry with an Informational Communication and Technology (TIC) system<sup>441</sup> in the framework of the e-government implementation program. As stated under the recommendation of the RAND Corporation study financing by the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (TDA)<sup>442</sup>, “[t]he

---

<sup>437</sup> Ibid.

<sup>438</sup> Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 1073 din 25/10/2001 (Hotărâre 1073/2001) privind organizarea și funcționarea Institutului Român de Studii Internaționale "Nicolae Titulescu"* [online]. (Decision No. 1073 of 25/10/2001 (Decision 1073/2001) on the organization and functioning of the Romanian Institute of International Studies "Nicolae Titulescu"). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1073-din-2001-\(MjA1MDY-\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1073-din-2001-(MjA1MDY-).htm)>.

<sup>439</sup> Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 99 din 07/02/2002 (Hotărâre 99/2002) privind organizarea și funcționarea Academiei Diplomatice* [online]. (Decision No. 99 of 07/02/2002 (Decision 99/2002) on the organization and operation Diplomatic Academy). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2002. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id\\_act=20505](http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id_act=20505)>.

<sup>440</sup> Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 880 din 28/07/2005 (Hotărâre 880/2005) privind organizarea și funcționarea Institutului Diplomatic Român* [online]. (Decision No. 99 of 07/02/2002 (Decision 99/2002) on the organization and operation of the Romanian Diplomatic Institut). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2005b. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-880-din-2005-\(MTU0NTYx\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-880-din-2005-(MTU0NTYx).htm)>.

<sup>441</sup> Bikson, Tora K., Anderson Robert and Hunter Robert. *Tools for 21st Century. An Approach to Improved Information and Communication Technology for Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry - Executive Summary* [online]. Leiden, The Netherlands: RAND Europe, 2002b. [cited 23 Spet. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2007/MR1567.1.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/2007/MR1567.1.pdf)>.

<sup>442</sup> Bikson, Tora K., Anderson Robert and Hunter Robert. *Tools for 21st Century. An Approach to Improved Information and Communication Technology for Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry* [online]. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2002a. [cited 23 Spet. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2006/MR1567.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/2006/MR1567.pdf)>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

Government will try to develop the use of informational technologies, as a needed tool for supporting the diplomatic activities and promoting Romania's interests".<sup>443</sup>

The Romanian foreign policy will also introduce other notions, such as the 'Civil Society', the 'Economic Diplomacy' and the 'Cultural Diplomacy'<sup>444</sup>, in addition to promoting Romania's real image, later known (2005) under the program 'Branding Romania'. These innovative approaches will be introduced from 2001, gradually, because the government (2001-2004) will not name immediately these themes as they are. It will be done only in 2005 as it can be found on the MFA's website: 'Economic diplomacy' and 'Cultural diplomacy' topics well identified and described. The reforms started during Constantinescu's presidential mandate and will continue during the Traian Basescu administration.

### ***III.3.1.1.1 Civil Society***

For the first time, the program stipulates that the government will encourage, under the pressure of the international community, the civil society, the NGOs and Romanian private institutions to take active part in the promotion of the Romanian goals. It is interesting to underline that the government will use the civil society and NGOs as a tool in its foreign policy. The government understood the weight of the civil society and the NGOs in the evaluation of Romania's image and readiness for its NATO and EU accession. Because as it states it, "[i]n order to reach it [European Union accession], there is need of joint efforts of government institutions, civil society, business

---

<sup>443</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>444</sup> To see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Economic Diplomacy [online]. s.d-b, 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=10538&idlnk=1&cat=3>>. And also Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cultural Diplomacy [online]. s.d-a, 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5011&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

environment and every citizen".<sup>445</sup> Moreover, "[t]he Government will encourage an active implication of the international relations in Romania, of the college people and the civil society in supporting Romania's candidature for NATO integration".<sup>446</sup> This is the recognition of the civil society and NGOs role in the foreign policy definition and of their diplomatic role toward achieving the country's goals. It added that

[d]uring the process of elaboration of strategies and taking action in the field of foreign policy, Romanian Government and Foreign Affairs Ministry will be very careful in consulting on elaborate stages with the Romanian Parliament, with the civic society, with the business, media and academically representatives, with the representatives of Romanians abroad.<sup>447</sup>

If in governmental statements, Romanian officials speak about the Civil Society, only in 2004 will the Ministry of Foreign Affairs create an office for relations with NGOs in its organizational structure.<sup>448</sup> However, as usual the government triangle decision is so powerful and loneliness that the decision will be done mainly without the Civil Society.

### **III.3.1.1.2 Economic Diplomacy**

The economic diplomacy is the use of foreign policy instruments and of the state International Network, as well as the presence within international organizations, to promote the economic interest of the country. For this purpose, the country will carry out the "[a]ctive

---

<sup>445</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GUVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid.

<sup>447</sup> Ibid.

<sup>448</sup> To see : Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 1765 din 21/10/2004 (Hotărâre 1765/2004) pentru modificarea anexei nr. 1 la Hotărârea Guvernului nr. 100/2004 privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Afacerilor Externe [online]. (Decision No. 1765 of 21/10/2004 (Decision 1765/2004) to amend Annex no. 1 to Government Decision no. 100/2004 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2004. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1765-din-2004-\(MTMwODM5\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1765-din-2004-(MTMwODM5).htm)>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

promotion of economic diplomacy<sup>449</sup> for the period 2001-2004. The Economic Diplomacy Directorate will be created within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but only in 2005<sup>450</sup>, within the next government. Before that, the government will use more the definition of foreign trade and economic promotion.<sup>451</sup> This is the link built between Romania's diplomatic missions abroad, the business environment and all institutions with economical responsibility, in order to help Romanian trade exportation and to attract more FDI, because "[t]he skills of a nation's work force and the quality of its infrastructure are what makes it unique, and uniquely attractive, in the world economy."<sup>452</sup> For this purpose, the government states that

[o]ne of the essential components of the Romanian foreign policy will be the developing of the economic relations with other states and the promoting of the national economic interests, especially the exports and the success of Romanian companies and products, the enticing of investments and international capital, the consolidations, enlarging and regaining our foreign markets. Insuring unlimited access on these markets and obtaining the facilities for stimulating Romanian export, along with the promoting and favoring the national capital's commercial interests. The economic,

---

<sup>449</sup> Government of Romania. Action Plan For the Governing Programme 2001-2004 - Recovery of the national economy [online]. Bucharet: Government of Romania, 2001. [cited 10 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.gov.ro/engleza/obiective/planactiuni/planact-engleza.pdf>>. p. 280.

<sup>450</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 425 din 12/05/2005 (Hotărâre 425/2005) pentru modificarea și completarea Hotărârii Guvernului nr. 100/2004 privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Afacerilor Externe [online]. (Decision No. 425 of 12/05/2005 (Decision 425/2005) amending and completing Government Decision No. 100/2004 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2005a. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-425-din-2005-\(MTQ1NDE0\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-425-din-2005-(MTQ1NDE0).htm)>.

<sup>451</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 21 din 04/01/2001 (Hotărâre 21/2001) privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Afacerilor Externe [online]. (Decision No. 21 of 04/01/2001 (Decision 21/2001) on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-21-din-2001-\(NDc0NjA-\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-21-din-2001-(NDc0NjA-).htm)>.

<sup>452</sup> Reich, Robert B. *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*. New York: Knopf, 1991. (A Borzoi book). p. 264.



commercial and investment dimension will be used as a consistent criterion in establishing [...] foreign policy priorities.<sup>453</sup>

The economic diplomacy is not a new phenomenon. It started at the end of the twentieth century and grew to be an accelerated phenomenon in the framework of increasing globalization and informational economy, forcing the traditional diplomacy to face new challenges, with a redistribution of actors and opportunities on the international scene. In this context of globalization, "the economic diplomacy represents an efficient instrument for a national external action, not only as a simple set of practices regarding the support of the foreign trade."<sup>454</sup> This new notion was introduced because

[t]he economic diplomacy represents a major issue for the Romanian external affairs, mainly regarding the external investments for different sectors of national economy and also other activities, such as: promoting export products, providing information to the commercial operators regarding the competitive market etc.<sup>455</sup>

Also the future "[...] Romanian integration in the European Union consolidates the role of companies and public administration institutions in the business environment and mainly influences the diplomatic activity in general and the economic activity in particular."<sup>456</sup>

### **III.3.1.1.3 Cultural Diplomacy**

The cultural diplomacy is viewed as a political action and the promotion of Romania's image and citizens abroad. The Romanian culture, minorities and Diaspora will be supported through the new foreign policy of the government, which is stated in the Government

---

<sup>453</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>454</sup> Ursăcescu, Minodora. The Economic Diplomacy in the Context of Globalization and Informational Economy [online]. The Annals of University of Oradea - Economic Science, 2007, vol. XVI, no. 1. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://steconomice.uoradea.ro/anale/volume/2007/v1-economics-and-business-administration/157.pdf>>. p. 697.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid. p. 696.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

## ***Change into Continuity***

program - Chapter XI ('*Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania*'),

[t]he Government will encourage the cultural exchanges and the cultural relations with all the countries of the world, for promoting the Romanian culture values, giving them back their place in the universal values circuit, acknowledgement of other nations' cultural values and promoting environment of respect and tolerance, based on the dialogue between cultures and civilizations. By wise use of the resources, the Government promote in other countries events, celebrations and commemorations dedicated to Romania's culture and national history.<sup>457</sup>

The Romanian government will assist and support the Romanian Diaspora wherever they are. As stated in the government program, "[t]he Government will support the preservation of the cultural and linguistic identity of the Romanian communities in neighboring countries, as well as the creation of the conditions to express this identity in the countries whose citizens they are."<sup>458</sup> In a similar manner, "[t]he Government will enhance the links of the Romanian communities with persons and organizations in Romania" and "special attention will be given to the preservation of the Romanian language Romania's borders by editing books, newspapers, magazines and audio-video productions."<sup>459</sup> We will see that this last point will have a big influence on Romania's foreign policy, especially with the Republic of Moldova. The cultural diplomacy was done until 2003 by the Romanian Cultural Foundation<sup>460</sup>, which then created the Romanian Cultural Institute (ICR), "official organization which promotes Romanian culture and civilization worldwide" as "a complementary way to achieve Romania's strategic objectives, along with the initiatives related to foreign and economic policies"<sup>461</sup>

---

<sup>457</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GUVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid.

<sup>460</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 354 din 02/04/1990 (Hotărâre 354/1990) privind înființarea Fundației Culturale Române [online]. (Decision No. 354 of 02/04/1990 (Decision 354/1990) establishing the Romanian Cultural Foundation). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 1990. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: [http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id\\_act=83826](http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id_act=83826).

<sup>461</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Despre noi - Misiune* [online]. (About us - Our Mission). s.d.-g, s.d. Institutul Cultural Român. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: [http://www.icr.ro/icr/despre\\_noi/misiune](http://www.icr.ro/icr/despre_noi/misiune).

Cultural Diplomacy has emerged as a new tool that can be defined as 'soft power'. 'Soft power' has been described by Joseph S. Nye as "the influence and attractiveness a nation acquires when others are drawn to its culture and ideas".<sup>462</sup> A recent study described the cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding".<sup>463</sup> This situation recalls the United States strategy in the '30s, vis-à-vis Latin America, when the "goal of the United States Department of State was clear: it hoped that the exchange would promote better relations with other nations and the improvement of America's image abroad."<sup>464</sup>

### **III.3.1.2 The National Interest**

One can remark the traditional 'attacks' against the previous government, which must be responsible for the poor results of Romania's integration process and the erosion of Romania's international status. We would like to say that these are only some words, which do not match with the exact reality. In fact, the balance of the previous government is good enough in the Romanian context and to some points – NATO and European Union – Romania advanced a lot. For example, the OSCE Romanian Presidency for 2001 based itself on the work of the previous government. In addition, we can underline that, if all different governments have the same consensus on foreign policy, the difference is behind the mind of the 'national interest'. As Adrian Nastase's government declares: "[t]he definition and the promotion of the priorities of the Romanian foreign policies will be constantly direct and reported to the national interest..."<sup>465</sup>

The different understanding of the 'national interest' between the different governments can be crucial and can block the Romanian foreign policy in their negotiations and results. We saw it during the Ion Iliescu's 1990-1996 Presidency with the negotiation of the

---

<sup>462</sup> Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

<sup>463</sup> Cummings, Milton C. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey* [online]. Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003. (Commission five research pieces). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/MCCpaper.pdf>>.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey*. p. 2.

<sup>465</sup> Guvernul României. *Programme de (sic) Gouvernement 2001-2004* (Government Program 2001-2004). *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

Hungarian and Ukrainian agreement and thru the relation with the Republic of Moldova. Ultra-nationalist political factions can influence the national interest. This influence damages Romania's international image vis-à-vis international community. Romania will emphasize the cultural dimension of the foreign policy by supporting the Romanian communities abroad politically and financially. This is the first time that Romania includes a cultural dimension in its foreign policy. The cultural dimension is different from the interference and the fight for the support of minorities abroad.

When we read the general objectives of Nastase's government foreign policy, we notice that the program does not differ from that of earlier governments (Emil Constantinescu presidency), and they are exactly the same as Ion Iliescu's 1994 press conference held on October, 11.<sup>466</sup> The only important different point is in Ion Iliescu's statements, which stipulated: "we don't want to have any pro-East or pro-West policy, pro-Russian or pro-German or pro-American policy or whatever".<sup>467</sup> Because, if in 1994 Romania wanted to be non-aligned with particular alliance, the country strategy in 2000 is to be integrated to the West (NATO and EU). The new government will re-install the previous diplomatic attitude 'to be world connected' and to be actively present in all international and regional organizations thru multilateral diplomacy. Another important point is "the active support of the interests of the Romanian citizens and of their compatriots abroad",<sup>468</sup> called the Diaspora.

The integration in the European Union and the Euro-Atlantic Alliance remains Romania's priority, independently from the political tendency of the government, being a plan set for 2007. The only difference is the will to accelerate the accession into NATO and European Union as the top priority.

Romania will reactivate "the traditional cooperation relation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"<sup>469</sup> as well as with the Russian Federation. In addition to minority's problems inside the country,

---

<sup>466</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- Bucuresti, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică) [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>468</sup> Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gourvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. p. 328. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>469</sup> Ibid. p. 333. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Romania is also worried about its minority abroad in neighboring countries. Romania will be worried about the treatment of the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia and will attach importance to the relations between both countries in a common interest.<sup>470</sup> The government's program stipulates, also, the development of foreign policy with as many as possible countries all around the world, especially with - Asia-Pacific, Latin America, and Middle East - likewise Africa as certainly a result of the Francophony membership and a reactivation of the Ceausescu foreign policy.

### **III.3.1.3 The NATO integration**

Before starting to develop this theme in the second part of the thesis, we will resume Romania's integration process for 2001-2004. The program underlines the need to be admitted into NATO to guarantee the stability and national security of Eastern European countries, and Romania's defense because "NATO is the largest alliance capable to ensure stability, transatlantic cohesion and peace in Europe."<sup>471</sup> The government also underlines the Romanian contribution to the region's stability by its integration in the military alliance, NATO. The government defines a program to achieve these goals thru an intensified participation in all organizations and activities linked with the Alliance, intensifying the bilateral relationship with the states that were already NATO members, in addition to creating the necessary conditions to welcome Romania as a full-right member state of NATO through intensified relations with

---

<sup>470</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Comunicat de Presa Luni, 17 septembrie 2001, Președintele României, domnul Ion Iliescu, l-a primit la Palatul Cotroceni pe domnul Rasim Ljajic, Ministrul pentru Minoritati al Republicii Federale Iugoslavia. La întâlnire a mai participat și domnul Vasile Dâncu, Ministrul Informatiilor Publice. [online]. (Press Release of the Romanian President). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 2001a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/2252\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/2252_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>471</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Discursul domnului Adrian Năstase la ședința comună a Camerei Deputaților și Senatului pentru acordarea încrederii asupra Programului și listei Guvernului - București, 28 decembrie 2000 [online]. (Speech of Mr. Adrian Năstase during the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate for trust granting with respect to the government's program and list). București: Cabinet Prim-Ministru, 2000. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=21&idrubricapresa=2&idrubricaprimm=&idtema=&tip=2&pag=1&dr=>>>. p. 4. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

the United States on multilateral levels.<sup>472</sup> The minister underlines that they want to play a major role in NATO's enlargement. For Romania, the integration into NATO means being near the allies of the United States. The government explains that it will pursue "the consolidation of Strategic Partnership with United States in political, economic, military fields".<sup>473</sup>

Romania gives pledges of credibility, communicates with the United States and becomes step-by-step in the foot of the United States. The policy of continuity vis-à-vis the US is a constant factor in the Romanian foreign policy. We can underline that the current Minister of Foreign Affairs had been before the Romanian Ambassador in Washington. Romania, not yet member of NATO, nevertheless already places itself as a support for the admission of its neighbors. The increase of bilateral cooperation and "the consolidation of Strategic Partnerships with the United States in the political, economic, and military field and the struggle of non-conventional threats in the security field [...] and the encouragement of the volume of American Direct Investments in Romania"<sup>474</sup> become a necessity for the government. Romania will become a member of the alliance in April 2004 and thus achieve one of its foreign policy goals. Security-wise, Romania announces that it is ready for a European defense identity and ready to contribute to it!

### **III.3.1.4 The European Union accession**

Developed in the second part, we will resume in this section the EU accession process during Ion Iliescu's presidential mandate. Romania's accession program insists on the fact that the accession into the EU is the strategic priority of the Romanian foreign policy and

---

<sup>472</sup> Government of Romania. Action Plan For the Governing Programme 2001-2004 - Recovery of the national economy [online]. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2001. [cited 10 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.gov.ro/engleza/obiective/planactiuni/planact-engleza.pdf>>. p. 265-267.

<sup>473</sup> Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GVERNARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

<sup>474</sup> Romanian Government. Programme de (sic) Gouvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. p. 333. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

depends on the effort done by all - as stipulated in the Prime Minister's statement - government institutions, civil society, businesses and citizens. The government will develop a domestic policy called '*National Strategy for Romania's medium-term economic development*', based on the European economic policy and the implementation of the community acquis. Along the same line, the Minister for European Integration announced a new communication strategy for the accession into the European Union. The new government, as presented during the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, announced the intensification of the accession program to the EU by strong follow-up actions thru a detailed monthly planning. As strategy in order to comply with it, the government will ask for help and exchanges with the states recently admitted into the Union and with the Central European states ahead in the accession process. By the same token, the country will determine Romania's future position in the European Union. From 2001 to 2004, the country will close 21 chapter of negotiation. It will obtain several results in the fields of economy, justice and administrative reform, and will be granted the status of functioning free-market economy in 2004. But we can read in a French newspaper that

[t]he European Commission is about to give Romania a very nice diplomatic present, by granting it the status of market economy, which it declined a year before. This label, which sets conditions for Bucharest's upcoming accession into the EU.[...] .. 'Romania is not ready to accede, the situation there is terrifying', a community source explains.<sup>475</sup>

The commission evaluation program underlines that Romania is "on the last place among the candidate states, from the point of view of economic indicators and of the progress made in the negotiating process."<sup>476</sup> The accession effort will be carried out thru the development of relations with the "traditional Western European

---

<sup>475</sup> Avril, Pierre. Union Européenne. Un des derniers obstacles à l'accession de Bucarest est levé. La Roumanie décroche le label d'économie de marché (European Union. One of the last obstacles to the accession of Bucharest is lifted. Romania won the label on the market economy). Le Figaro, 5 Oct. 2004. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>476</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Discursul domnului Adrian Năstase la ședința comună a Camerei Deputaților și Senatului pentru acordarea încrederii asupra Programului și listei Guvernului - București, 28 decembrie 2000 [online]. (Speech of Mr. Adrian Năstase during the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate for trust granting with respect to the government's program and list). București: Cabinet Prim-Ministru, 2000. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=21&idrubricapresa=2&idrubricaprimm=&idtema=&tip=2&pag=1&dr=>>. p. 329. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

partners"<sup>477</sup> but also with the other European countries "with which the cooperation potential is underdeveloped".<sup>478</sup> In return, Romania promises to do the same with West Balkans states in order to be associated in the European Union accession process.

### **III.3.2 Romania's International Actions**

At the beginning of 2001, with the new government, the Romanian foreign policy is very active and aggressive. Romania holds the Presidency of the OSCE, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geoana, and "coincides with the organization's entrance into a new phase, marked by evolutions in the Euro-Atlantic area".<sup>479</sup> The Romanian OSCE presidency will promote the ideals of peace and plan to reinforce the OSCE role as "a forum of political dialogue and co-operation on security issues".<sup>480</sup> During this year, Romania will make its own promotion with all OSCE countries thru the Chairman-in-Office. On the other hand, Romania will propose collaboration between the OSCE and other organizations, in particular the UN.

Romania will strive for a multilateral relation between European members. The program foresees the intensification of bilateral relations with "traditional Western European partners of Romania, first of all with Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Austria," and also with other European partners, and neighboring countries. Romania will seek worldwide contacts especially from the Black Sea until the Caucasus – in particular with Georgia, with which Romania has some plans and wants to develop strong bilateral relations. In fact, the Romanian project under the

---

<sup>477</sup> Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gourvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. p. 332. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>478</sup> Ibid. p. 333. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>479</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 263.

<sup>480</sup> Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gourvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. p. 331. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



foreign policy is to take part in the revitalization of the Silk Road<sup>481</sup> with these ramifications starting from China to the European countries, while passing thru Romania. According to the president's point of view, for this great project, Romania, Georgia as well as other countries, can make many things. On the other hand, "Romania creates windows for Georgia in Europe".<sup>482</sup> The basic question asked here is why the Romanian politicians speak about revitalizing the Silk Road when we know that Romania was not exactly part of this ancient road? The subjacent idea is 'Romania as a crossroads', an idea built in certain ways during the Ion Iliescu's first mandate and renewed by Emil Constantinescu with the 'Romania, the crossroads' project, as a bridge between East and West, a subsequent element in the link of the 'Silk Road'.

### **III.3.2.1 The Neighbors**

The program emphasizes the increased relationship with neighboring countries and focuses foreign policy actions on the South-East of Europe. The new government insists, also, on "the dynamic and pragmatic development of Romania's special and favored relations with the Republic of Moldova, on the basis of language identity, culture and history..."<sup>483</sup> and on the "traditional relations of cooperation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia".<sup>484</sup>

---

<sup>481</sup> During the first millennium B.C.E. through the middle of the second millennium C.E. (fourteenth Century), a vast network of trade routes known as the "Silk Road" linked the people and traditions of Asia with those of Europe. These historic routes served as a major conduct for the transport of knowledge, information and material goods between East and West and resulted in the first global exchange of scientific and cultural traditions. Or, I want to underline that Romania was never a stage on the Silk Road.

<sup>482</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Conferința Comuna de Presă susținută de Președintele României, domnul Ion Iliescu, și domnul Eduard Sevardnadze, Președintele Georgiei- Palatul Cotroceni, 7 septembrie 2001 - Declarația domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României, rostită în deschiderea conferinței comune de presă. Declarația domnului Eduard Sevardnadze, Președintele Georgiei [online]. (Press Conference of Mr. Ion Iliescu, and Mr. Eduard Sevardnadze). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/3495\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/3495_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>483</sup> Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gouvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. p. 333. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>484</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

Romania wants to use its status to support the Eastern countries – Moldova and Ukraine - in their integration in the EU and NATO.

Therefore, Romania will work with Bulgaria for the accession into the European Union. As Minister Hildegard Puwak stipulates “[i]n their joint path to become members of the EU, Romania and Bulgaria have many elements in common, they are not in competition”.<sup>485</sup> The Minister of European Integration said:

We have in front of us important moments in the institutional dialogue with the European Commission - there are important moments for Romania in December, such as the visa waiving, and I hope that we will have Bulgaria's support in managing to meet the expectations of member states and, this way, from one stage to another, we will succeed in building and developing faster down this road.<sup>486</sup>

She added “together [with Bulgaria,] we must defend not only the best interests of each state, but also the interests of the region where we work.”<sup>487</sup>

### **III.3.2.2 The 9/11 International Crisis**

Romanian authorities condemned the attack of September 11, 2001 against New York City thru a press release of the MFA, of the Prime Minister and of the presidency, of Parliament and the Romanian Senate. All other democratic states denounced the attack on the United States as well. An aid was granted to the United States. Romania decided, after a proposal of the Supreme Council of National Defense (SCND)<sup>488</sup> and validation by president Ion Iliescu “to act as

---

<sup>485</sup> Guvernul României. Cooperare Romano - Bulgara in procesul de aderare la Uniunea Europeana [online]. (Cooperation Bulgaro-Romanian in the adhesion process to the Eropean Union). Bucureşti: Ministerul Integrării Europene, 2001a. [cited 10 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.gov.ro/comunicat-de-presa\\_\\_11a7302.html](http://www.gov.ro/comunicat-de-presa__11a7302.html)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>486</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.

<sup>488</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 290.

de facto NATO ally"<sup>489</sup>, in the spirit of the 5<sup>th</sup> Article of the North Atlantic Treaty following the North Atlantic Council decision, "in fighting thru all the means, military ones included, against international terrorism"<sup>490</sup> and to place at the disposal of USA and NATO "upon request, the facilities offered by the national air, land and maritime space, in support of a possible response operation against terrorism."<sup>491</sup> Why this high-level decision of the Nation to involve the country in a 'war'? Can one see, here, a result of Romania's action to obtain the favors of the USA and support for NATO membership? We think this is not the case and will explain why.

As a future NATO member, Romania wanted to give the assurance that it can get involved under the rules of NATO to take part and protect the Alliance's members. The information we got shows that Ion Iliescu decided on September 11 with the SCND "to act as de facto NATO ally" in the framework of Article 5 and this even before the North Atlantic Council decision to invoke this article for the first time in the history of the organization.<sup>492</sup> Romania's officials do everything to be involved in the NATO enlargement. Romania took part in all NATO organizations, exercises and foreign operations in close cooperation with the United States and NATO leaders. For this point, the Romanian invocation of the 5<sup>th</sup> Article after the 9/11 attack was the normal end in Romania's logic. Not only was Romania involved in the decision, but also the other NATO members did the same on September 12 at the North Atlantic Council, one day later

---

<sup>489</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 21 din 19 septembrie 2001 privind participarea României, împreună cu statele membre ale NATO, la acțiunile de combatere a terorismului internațional [online]. (Decision No. 21 of September 19th, 2001 on Romania's participation, along with NATO member states, in the actions of fighting International terrorism). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.lista\\_mof?idp=7519](http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.lista_mof?idp=7519)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

<sup>491</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 21 din 19 septembrie 2001 privind participarea României, împreună cu statele membre ale NATO, la acțiunile de combatere a terorismului internațional [online]. (Decision No. 21 of September 19th, 2001 on Romania's participation, along with NATO member states, in the actions of fighting International terrorism). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.lista\\_mof?idp=7519](http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.lista_mof?idp=7519)>.

<sup>492</sup> NATO. *Statement by the North Atlantic Council* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2001c. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-124e.htm>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

than Romania. Romania, in this situation, reacts rapidly, with proactive decisions concerning the International Involvement. We can underline that this is the perfect example of the Romanian pro-active way involvement.

9/11 reinforced the need for the United States to have allies and to be helped in the fight against terrorism. Eastern European countries are good allies and Romania in particular. However, this situation can also be perceived as a chance for the countries of the Vilnius group, if the United States will accelerate the integration and will help the candidate states by a financing program for their army, after 9/11.

### **III.3.3 The Iraqi War Crisis**

The 9/11 changes everything in the world, but especially the United States' foreign policy. In 2003, the Romanian foreign policy is confronted with big problems coming from their best supporter: France, putting Romania in turbulence.

#### **III.3.3.1 The Betrayal**

The crisis started in February 2003, when some European countries declared their support for the United States and their war in Iraq, in spite of a general declaration on Iraq's disarmament at the Security Council of the UN. The motion decided that the usage of the force must be used in last recourse. At the Security Council, France and Germany's vocal opposition to American and British policy was followed by Russia and China. The support was given by the '*Letters of the Eight*' (the Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and United Kingdom) and followed by the letter of the Vilnius group comprising Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia which effectively supported an US military intervention in Iraq.<sup>493</sup>

This incident brings about a crisis at the European Union level by creating a breaking line between European members and

---

<sup>493</sup> Foreign Ministers of the Vilnius Group Countries. Statement of the Vilnius Group Countries on Iraq [online]. Washington: Perspectives on World History and Current Events, 2003. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pwhce.org/docvil.html>>.

European Union candidates. This crisis turns into a painful and violent verbal conflict between France and Romania in reply to the French president criticism. French president Jacques Chirac criticized the CEEC attitudes by saying: "these countries were, I would say, at the same time, saying the word, not very well educated and a little bit unconscious of the dangers which involved too fast alignment to the American position."<sup>494</sup> Likewise, the French president underlines: "I find that Romania and Bulgaria were particularly thoughtless to dash like that, whereas their position is already very delicate with regard to Europe. If they wanted to decrease their chances to enter Europe, they could not find a better means."<sup>495</sup> The French president's opinion creates a strong reaction in Romania, not only at the political level, but also thru the civil society relayed by the media. Prime Minister Adrian Nastase explained that the French President's statement "made [him] think of a father who loses his head..."<sup>496</sup> He adds, "[i]n fact, I do not understand why Romania and Bulgaria must pay the cost of a tensed relation between France and the United States."<sup>497</sup>

In fact, chapter 27 of the community acquis states that "Romania is ready to accept and to apply the acquis in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European

---

<sup>494</sup> Chirac, Jacques. Conférence de presse de M. Jacques Chirac, président de la République, à l'issue de la réunion informelle extraordinaire du Conseil Européen [online]. (Press conference of Mr. Jacques Chirac, President of the Republic, at the end of the informal extraordinary meeting of the European Council). Bruxelles: le Président de la République Française, 2003. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais\\_archives/interventions/conferences\\_et\\_points\\_de\\_presse/2003/fevrier/conference\\_de\\_presse\\_du\\_president\\_de\\_la\\_republique\\_a\\_l\\_issue\\_de\\_la\\_reunion\\_informelle\\_extraordinaire\\_du\\_conseil\\_europeen.2547.html](http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais_archives/interventions/conferences_et_points_de_presse/2003/fevrier/conference_de_presse_du_president_de_la_republique_a_l_issue_de_la_reunion_informelle_extraordinaire_du_conseil_europeen.2547.html)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>495</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>496</sup> Cabinet Prim-Ministru. Declaratii de presa ale primului-ministru al României, domnul Adrian Năstăse, referitoare la reuniunea informala a Consiliului European cu țările candidate la integrarea în Uniunea Europeana [online]. (Press declarations of the prime-minister of Romania, Mr. Adrian Nastase, regarding the informal meeting of the European Council and the countries that stand for integration in the European Union). (Primul Ministru al României). Bruxelles: Primul Ministru al României, Adrian Năstase, 2003. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=13214&idrubicapre>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>497</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Change into Continuity**

Community (EC)."<sup>498</sup> To reinforce this sentence, we can add from the same document, that Romania's engagement

demonstrated through the active participation in the political dialogue with EU member states, carried out within the Union's foreign policy and security structures, as well as through the consistent alignment and the support shown for the EU statements, initiatives, positions and joint actions, open to the participation of candidate states.<sup>499</sup>

At this time, Romania and other Eastern European countries made their decision without acting in concert with the European Union and by not respecting the Chapter 27 of the *acquis*. They aligned the American policy with any participation in common definition for a "pooling of the reasons and the actions"<sup>500</sup> of the European Union.

In 2002, regular reports on Romania's progress towards accession, edited by the Commission of the European Communities, stipulates that: "Romania has confirmed its good track record in Common Foreign and Security Policy and has continued to align its policy with that of the European Union"<sup>501</sup> and that "Romania is an active participant in the political dialogue established by the Association Agreement and has played a constructive role within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including meetings at the level of Political Directors, European Correspondents and Working Groups."<sup>502</sup> The Report concludes that "Romania has continued to align its positions with EU statements and declarations and, when invited to do so, has associated itself with the Union's common positions and joint actions. Romania has continued to comply with international sanctions and restrictive measures imposed by the UN and the EU."<sup>503</sup> We would like to underline that in

---

<sup>498</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Document de Poziție Capitolul 27: Politică Externă și de Securitate Comună* [online]. București: Ministerul Integrării Europene, 2002b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mdpl.ro/\\_documente/negocieri/capitole/CAP27.pdf](http://www.mdpl.ro/_documente/negocieri/capitole/CAP27.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>499</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>500</sup> Manent, Pierre. *La démocratie et la nation* (Democracy and the nation). *Studia Politica. Revista româna de știința politică*, 2001, no. 1. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>501</sup> European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/grpoups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN008693.pdf>>. COM(2002) 700 - SEC(2002) 1409. p. 119.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid. p. 120.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

the 2003 Report do not mention the Romanian position toward the United States when the European Union was following the UN decision against the Iraqi War.

President Jacques Chirac argued that one could not build a common consensus if we refuse dialogue and coordination. For Cristian Preda, "Jacques Chirac's speech has perhaps been exaggerated in content. Ultimately, however, he made an issue more important (not only for Romania) than that defined by the United States. Chirac said bluntly that the EU is a political project that is more ambitious than any other current objective".<sup>504</sup> From this point of view, one can speak about a true Romanian betrayal. In a more moderate acceptance of this term, we can say it is the act by which one ceases to be faithful to the given promise. In fact, before any discussion or concert with the EU, Romania signed the 'Letter of Vilnius' followed by the Romanian Parliament decision, on February 12, 2003, for military participation in the coalition against Iraq.<sup>505</sup>

### **III.3.3.2 The Slander**

"The betrayal of the Romanian authorities was accompanied by a whole operation of public slandering aiming, initially, at the French president."<sup>506</sup> One could read "that president J. Chirac had missed an occasion to keep silent"<sup>507</sup> or "J. Chirac pulls Eastern-Europeans by

---

<sup>504</sup> Preda, Cristian. Chirac are Dreptate [online]. (Chirac is right). Revista 22, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=390&nr=2003-03-17>>. Translated by Marc Bonemains.

<sup>505</sup> The agreement included the Romanian engagement in a possible war was for 70 soldiers specialized in chemical defense, 25 police officers, 30 doctors and 149 engineers. To see \_\_\_\_\_. Parlamentul a aprobat trimiterea de trupe in Irak [online]. (The Parliament approved the sending of military groups in Irak). *Evenimentul zilei*, 13 March 2003, no. 5101. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507964/Parlamentul-a-aprobat-trimiterea-de-trupe-in-Irak/#>>.

<sup>506</sup> Preda, Cristian. Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander). *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>507</sup> Alexandrescu, Raluca. Arta politica romaneasca [online]. (Political Romanian Art). *Observator cultural*, 25 Feb. 2003 -3 March 2003, 2003, no. 157. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infoframe.phtml?xid=7734&xrubrica=CRONICA%20POLITICA&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=157>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Change into Continuity**

the ears"<sup>508</sup> because he is "[m]anichean, egocentric, irrational and loser"<sup>509</sup> or "arrogant and paternalist"<sup>510</sup>, or that he is a "decayed spirit" which believes "that the tone borrowed from the actors of the Comédie Française can replace the loss of the world statute of France",<sup>511</sup> or finally, "because it coincides perfectly with the spirit of the School of National Administration"<sup>512</sup>, symbol of "foreseeable frivolity of any French political leader".<sup>513</sup> In fact, for Romania, France as compared to the United States has done an "exercise of proud sovereignty" unable "to conceive in a rational and convincing way its geopolitical future".<sup>514</sup>

---

<sup>508</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Chirac ii urecheaza pe est-europeni: Prost crescuti si inconstienti [online]. (Chirac calls down on the est-europeans: rude and unconscious). *Evenimentul zilei*, 19 Fev. 2003. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507376/Chirac-ii-urecheaza-pe-est-europeni-Prost-crescuti-si-inconstienti/>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>509</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel. Razboiul din Irak : o pledoarie pentru responsabilitatea internationala [online]. (The War in Irak: a pleading for the international responsibility). *Observator cultural*, 25 March 2003 - 31 March 2003, 2003, no. 161. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infocframe.phtml?xid=7948&xrubrica=IN%20AC-TUALITATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=161>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>510</sup> Lefter, Ion Bogdan. Context Irak : optiunea Romaniei Ibid. (Irak context: Romania's option). 4 March 2003 -10 March 2003, no. 158. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infocframe.phtml?xid=7804&xrubrica=ARTICOLE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>511</sup> Dobrescu, Caius. Mizeria pacifismului (I) Ibid. (The abjectness of the pacifism (I)). Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infocframe.phtml?xid=7803&xrubrica=SOCIETAT-E&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>512</sup> Preda, Cristian. Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander). *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. p. 108. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>513</sup> Ungureanu, Traian. Din nou, nimic nou pe Frontul de Vest [online]. (Again, nothing new on the West Front). *Revista 22*, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=389&nr=2003-03-17>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>514</sup> Hurezeanu, Emil. Mergem cu americanii si cu englezii [online]. (We go with the Americans and the English). *Evenimentul zilei*, 18 Fev. 2003. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507551/Mergem-cu-americanii-si-cu-englezii/#>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



### **III.3.3.3 The Reasons**

Cristian Preda analyses, presents some reasons justifying the relationship with the American position, and classifies them into five categories.<sup>515</sup>

The first one is "a close and comprehensive friend of Romania", either because they played a decisive part in the admission of Romania within NATO<sup>516</sup>, or because they are opposed to a dictatorship similar to the Romanian dictatorship prior to 1989.<sup>517</sup> The second one is "the American excellence", represented by the United States' "know-how of the democracy".<sup>518</sup> They represent "the only political forces having assumed the traditions of freedom".<sup>519</sup> The third one is "the argument of the reactive pro-Americanism, which is in fact built like an answer to the pacifist anti-Americanism".<sup>520</sup> The fourth reason "is the fear of Russia" because "Romania is near Transnistrie, hearth of conflicts and an area of concentration of the

---

<sup>515</sup> Preda, Cristian. *Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander)*. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>516</sup> Lefter, Ion Bogdan. *Context Irak : optiunea Romaniei [online]*. (Irak context: Romania's option). *Observator cultural*, 4 March 2003 -10 March 2003, 2003, no. 158. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/inf FRAME.phtml?xid=7804&xrubrica=ARTICOLE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>.

<sup>517</sup> It is the assertion of the dissident anticommunist Radu Filipescu in the debate organized by the Review 22: "We had experience of a ditacture in Romania and, consequently, our opposition to a ditacture such as Iraqi goes from oneself". To see Filipescu, Radu. *Dezbatere GDS - Kosovo si Irak - reactia societatii si a clasei politice romanesti (Debate GDS - Kosovo and Irak - the reaction of the society and of the romanian political class)*. *Revista 22*, 29 Apr. 2003 - 5 Mai 2003, 2003, no. 686.

<sup>518</sup> Hurezeanu, Emil. *Mergem cu americanii si cu englezii [online]*. (We go with the Americans and the English). *Evenimentul zilei*, 18 Fev. 2003. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507551/Mergem-cu-americanii-si-cu-englezii/#>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>519</sup> Dobrescu, Caius. *Mizeria pacifismului (I) [online]*. (The abjectness of the pacifism (I)). *Observator cultural*, 4 March 2003 -10 March 2003, 2003b, no. 158. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/inf FRAME.phtml?xid=7803&xrubrica=SOCIETATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>520</sup> Preda, Cristian. *Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander)*. *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

Russian troops".<sup>521</sup> For Cristian Preda, "[t]he refusal of a 'formula of European safety which would include Kremlin in the place of Washington'<sup>522</sup> can explain the reason why the Eastern European countries would have "to seek oxygen in the direction of America".<sup>523</sup> In addition, the last reason is a financial one: "[T]he Prime Minister A. Nastase had declared that Romania intended to recover a debt of 1.7 billion dollar which Iraq owes it for more than 10 years".<sup>524</sup> All these five reasons are realistic. However, we have to add some other reasons, such as Romania's will to act according to Article 5 of the Alliance Treaty as a future new member of NATO like the other countries of the 'Vilnius group'. Romania also wants 'to reward' the NATO protection decision against the threat of Yugoslavians' reprisals during the Kosovo war.

### **III.3.3.4 Conclusion**

In fact, the lack of political unified decision at the European political level and the division of the member countries upon the decision to take and the absence of European military forces capable to provide a coherent protection for Europe, push Romania as well other CEECs to support the U.S. thru the NATO involvement. These days, the European protection is carried out with the support of NATO and NATO is driven by the United States. If the decision of United States to invade Iraq was highly disputable, the engagement of the NATO allies under the fifth Article was absolutely moral.

---

<sup>521</sup> Dobrescu, Caius. Mizeria „pacifismului“. O pledoarie pentru America (II) [online]. (The abjectness of the pacifism: a pleading for America (II)). *Observator cultural*, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003a, no. 159. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infotrame.phtml?xid=7858&xrubrica=SOCIETATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=159>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>522</sup> Lazescu, Alexandru. Efectele colaterale ale crizei irakiene [online]. (Collateral effects of the Iraq crisis). *Revista 22*, 25 Feb.2003 - 3 March 2003, 2003, no. 677. [cited 03 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=376&nr=2003-03-03>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>523</sup> Ungureanu, Traian. Din nou, nimic nou pe Frontul de Vest Ibid. (Again, nothing new on the West Front). 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=389&nr=2003-03-17>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>524</sup> Preda, Cristian. Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander). *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. p. 112. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Christian Preda points out in his article '*Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander*', that "[t]his incapacity to perceive the European stake contained in the debate on Iraq made the object of a consensus in Romania."<sup>525</sup> For him, the French president was right because if "France has a political ambition, the United States has only a military ambition."<sup>526</sup> He emphasizes that "the French point of view affirms that there is a political project for Europe which does not refer anymore to French, German, Spanish or English democracy, but which engages the intellectual and political resources of all these nations."<sup>527</sup>

He underlines that Romania made a mistake because "France is a long-range ally of Romania. And never, in any time and any situation, did France defect toward Romania", and was a strong supporter for Romania's accession in the EU and NATO. In fact,

[t]he only consequence of this radical pro-Americanism is the distinction made between NATO and the EU in the spirit of the Romanian public opinion. Indeed, Europe and the Atlantic Alliance were conceived, in the 1990s, like the two faces of the same medal, because they represented this essential reference in the construction of the Romanian public space which is the Occident."<sup>528</sup>

We would like to add that, if the European Union had a unified political decision, Romania would have followed the European Union decision. In fact, the Romanian implication in the Iraqi War was more symbolic than crucial for the coalition. At that time, Romania reacted with realism and understood that it can manage European Union attitude on behalf the countries division; they was sure to not lose the support of traditional partners as France; they expected a long-term recognition from the United States as strategic partner in South Eastern Europe, and strongly followed the Eastern European countries movement. France, thru its President Jacques Chirac, reacted violently because of the feeling of betrayal toward a member of the French family.

---

<sup>525</sup> Ibid.

<sup>526</sup> Preda, Cristian. Chirac are Dreptate [online]. (Chirac is right). Revista 22, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=390&nr=2003-03-17>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>527</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>528</sup> Preda, Cristian. Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander). Revue internationale et stratégique, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53. p. 112. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

The year 2004 was crucial for Romania. On the one hand, in April 2004, Romania achieved one of its main objectives, set after the '89 Revolution, the country's accession as a full member in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. On the other hand, Romania has to close the remaining chapters, because Romania is "the last one in the negotiation process for the accession to the European Union"<sup>529</sup> in order to be able to integrate into the EU in 2007. Romania has a lot of problems and needs that demand more efforts for the integration process. The Romanian diplomacy goal will be to calm the relations with the Republic of Moldova, as the tension between both countries was increasing by speeches aggression.

For Alin Teodorescu, in Romania, some problems subsist and according to his analysis, "justice has never been an independent power in the state, has never been a strong professional cast, with self-regulation and self-control"<sup>530</sup>. Furthermore, he added: "there has been no change".<sup>531</sup> This point is confirmed by the '2004 Regular Report on Romania's Progress towards Accession' by this notification:

[c]orruption in Romania continues to be serious and widespread. Romania's anticorruption legislation is generally well developed, but its ability to curb corruption will depend on the effective implementation of the law. In particular, additional efforts are required to ensure the independence, effectiveness and accountability of the National Anti-Corruption Prosecution Office.<sup>532</sup>

For him "[a]n other area of important meaning for the evaluation of the accession into the EU is the public administration. Since there is a modern Romanian state, we do not have public

---

<sup>529</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Les priorités de la diplomatie roumaine en 2004. Trans. *Les priorités de la diplomatie roumaine en 2004* by Rusu, Oana. *Cotidianul*, 7 ianuarie 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2006]. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>530</sup> Palade, Rodica and Teodorescu Alin. Urmeaza 12 luni cruciale pentru Romania [online]. (12 crucial months will follow up for Romania). *Revista 22*, 14 Oct. 2003-20 Oct. 2003, 2003, no. 710. [cited 03 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=643&nr=2003-10-21>>. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>532</sup> European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004c. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_ro\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_ro_2004_en.pdf)>. COM(2004) 657 final - SEC(2004) 1200.

administration rules, with capacity of autonomy, with capacity of mobilization".<sup>533</sup>

---

<sup>533</sup> Palade, Rodica and Teodorescu Alin. Urmeaza 12 luni cruciale pentru Romania [online]. (12 crucial months will follow up for Romania). *Revista 22*, 14 Oct. 2003-20 Oct. 2003, 2003, no. 710. [cited 03 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=643&nr=2003-10-21>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

### **III.4 A Wind of Change**

The campaign for the party of Traian Basescu, a Romanian politician and former Merchant Navy officer, is based on the theme '*Justice and Truth Alliance*' (Alianța Dreptate și Adevăr). At the heart of the presidential campaign, Traian Basescu openly took some positions, such as to end the privileges of elected officials, to open the archives of the "Securitate", to return the property confiscated by the regime and unsuccessfully claimed during fifteen years to their original owners, to accelerate the country's legal standards and the economic progress toward the European Union accession. He is highly controversial, but his frank language goes beyond political divisions and thus is elected with 51.22%.<sup>534</sup>

Just after being elected on December 20, 2004,<sup>535</sup> Traian Basescu presented the Romanian Foreign Policy during his speech addressed at the Romanian Parliament during the president swearing-in ceremony. As President, he repeatedly stated that Romania's accession to the European Union kept being a top priority. Both the President and the government of Prime Minister Popescu-Tariceanu focused on Romania's planned accession to the EU, which remained a central component in Romania's foreign policy until the accession on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007.

The consolidation of the Romanian position with NATO is another priority of the Romanian foreign policy in order to be an inexorable actor in the south of the Danube (Serbia) and at the East of the Prut (Ukraine and Russia). The president has a strong

---

<sup>534</sup> Stoica, Stan. *România după 1989. O istorie cronologică* (Romania From 1989: A Chronological History). București: Editura Meronia, 2007. p. 243.

<sup>535</sup> To see : Stan, Lavinia. *The Opposition Takes Charge: The Romanian General Elections of 2004. Problems of Post-Communism*, 2005a, vol. 52, no. 3. [cited 23 Dec. 2008].

focus on the relations with the Republic of Moldova, saying that "the population of this country is part of the Romanian people".<sup>536</sup>

In addition, Traian Basescu focuses on a strong strategic partnership with the United States strengthen during the Ion Iliescu mandate, a relationship that he called the 'Bucharest-London-Washington axis'. Romania is engaged in International Coalition in Afghanistan with Romanian troops and in Iraq in the 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' with a small contingent. Romania was the signatory of the 'Vilnius Letter' for the engagement near the United States in 2003 and an agreement was signed in December 2005 between Romania and the United States to allow U.S. troops to use Romanian military facilities as the Mihail Kogalniceanu military airport. The president made strong ties with the President of the United States, who in return called him a friend: "The President and I are friends. Romania and the United States are friends, and we're allies".<sup>537</sup>

The President said that Romania wants to bring a decisive contribution to the success of the neighborhood policies and the European path of the Republic of Moldova, Serbia and Montenegro, Ukraine and Georgia will contribute to regional stability. The chief of state has been vocal in calling for a regional approach to security in the Black Sea basin,<sup>538</sup> which, he noted, remained susceptible to trans-border security threats such as drugs and human trafficking.

Traian Basescu stated that Romania supports Kosovo to be an integral part of Serbia as an outcome of Kosovo's status process and that Romania will not recognize any unilateral declaration of

---

<sup>536</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Discursul, domnului Traian Basescu, Presedintele Romaniei, la ceremonia de depunere a juramantului in fata Camerelor Reunite ale Parlamentului Romaniei [online]. (Discur of Sir Traian Basescu, Presedent of Romania, at the sworn's ceremony front of the Romanian Parlement). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2004. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>537</sup> Oval Office. President Bush Welcomes President Basescu of Romania to the White House [online]. Washington, DC: The White House President George W. Bush, 2006. [cited 17 September 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060727-5.html>>.

<sup>538</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Băsescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>.

## **Change into Continuity**

independence by Kosovo.<sup>539</sup> Romanian authorities are determined to respect the identity of all national minorities, but the establishment of “ ‘enclaves’ based on ethnical criteria is unconceivable”<sup>540</sup>, the president said in his 2005 annual speech for the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest. He added that he will “be intransigent with any kind of extremist, xenophobic or anti-Semitic manifestation, and he will not tolerate Romania’s being associated with moves of this kind”.<sup>541</sup> The President will also focus on the re-establishment of the relations with the Romanian Diaspora that totals 6 million people outside the country.<sup>542</sup>

With a new president, there is also a new diplomacy. He declares that he is “one of the Romanian politicians supporting the idea that the accession into the European Union is not a diplomacy

---

<sup>539</sup> To see articles and governmental press release as \_\_\_\_\_. Romania Against Granting Independence to Serbian Kosovo Province [online]. *Beta Novinska Agencija*. [cited 23 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://byzantinesacredart.com/blog/2006/11/>>. \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian President Traian Basescu: Recognition of Kosovo’s independence can be precedent in the solution of other frozen conflicts [online]. *Apa Xeberimiz Var*, 21 Nov. 2006 15:19. Baku: Azeri-Press Agency, 2006d. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://en.apa.az/news.php?id=16534>>. Bășescu, Traian. *Comunicat de Presa (16 decembrie 2006) - Presedintele Romaniei, Traian Basescu, a revenit astazi, 16 decembrie a.c., de la Summit-ul Consiliului European, desfasurat la Bruxelles*. [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>540</sup> Bășescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bășescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bășescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>542</sup> Bășescu, Traian. Discursul, domnului Traian Basescu, Presedintele Romaniei, la ceremonia de depunere a juramantului in fata Camerelor Reunite ale Parlamentului Romaniei [online]. (Discur of Sir Traian Basescu, Presedent of Romania, at the sworn’s ceremony front of the Romanian Parlement). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2004. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866_ro.pdf)>.



matter any longer, but a domestic policy one".<sup>543</sup> For the President, "the integration into the European Union is a priority" and "represents an objective of utmost importance"<sup>544</sup> which "will not limit Romania's foreign policy to the two big objectives, the EU and NATO."<sup>545</sup>

The president underlines, that for the last 10 years, Romania's unique foreign policy goals were to integrate into NATO and the EU.<sup>546</sup> According to Traian Basescu, Romania is not a small state, but a medium one with coast access – Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea – and large land. In his opinion, in the last ten years, the country lost important foreign policy objectives, such as to be involved in solutions in the Eastern part of Romania, with the Transnistria issue, and to the South of the Danube, with the Yugoslavian one.<sup>547</sup> In addition, he underlines the necessity to warmer relations with Russia. He also talked about the interest in developing relations with the rest of the world, such as China, Japan, India, Korea, the states in the Near East and Africa, Israel, Latin America.<sup>548</sup> Romania wants to remain a privileged partner for countries that share the affinity of language and origin, both in Europe and in Latin America. "Latinity is a valuable common platform on which we continue to build", the President says in

---

<sup>543</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 10 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 10th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Participarea domnului Traian Bănescu, Presedintele României la emisiunea "10 si un sfert" Postul de televiziune Realitatea TV Realizator Stelian Tanase (10 Ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Participation of Sir Traian Bănescu, President of Romania to the TV Show '10 and half' on the Channel of the Realitatea TV). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid.

<sup>548</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bănescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

2007<sup>549</sup>, a statement reinforced by the organization of the Francophone Summit in Bucharest in September 2006. In 2008, he sees a significant potential of development between the EU and Latin America countries that must be exploited without delay. Romania will continue the policy of renewal and will strengthen relations with Arab States, in the gulf area and The Maghreb region as well as with Israel.<sup>550</sup>

The President mentioned, in 2005, the Asia-Pacific region as a future goal of the Romania foreign policy in the architecture of international geopolitics, a goal "which offers unexplored opportunities for the assertion of a new international profile"<sup>551</sup> for Romania. The country develops more intensive relations with China and Japan, as well as with other states such as India or Philippines. The traditional relations with China are excellent and will be developed within Romania's foreign policy, in a discreet way.

During the period 2005-2008, the Romania's foreign diplomacy has made an important contribution to the strengthening of the Romanian regional perspective to the creation of European economic and political development in the Balkans, another contribution to the Republic of Moldova near the European structures and strengthening strategic partnerships with major countries, bilateral relations are circumscribed European model. In addition, the boost of Economic diplomacy, implemented under the previous presidency, was an important step in re-opening pragmatic relations outside the European Union. The MFA supporting with conviction and professionalism important cases

---

<sup>549</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Discursul presedintelui României cu ocazia primirii membrilor corpului diplomatic, la Palatul Cotroceni [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2007. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8418\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8418_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>550</sup> Bănescu, Traian. *Intâlnirea anuală a presedintelui României, Traian Bănescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București*. [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Bănescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>551</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bănescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

near the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (Danube Delta, Case Romania vs. Ukraine<sup>552</sup> and others). The MFA has made significant progress in the reform of the diplomatic corps, with a particular emphasis on consular services reform.

### **III.4.1 The Romanian European Union Accession**

President Traian Basescu often underlined that "the European Union will continue to have a crucial contribution for Romania's development, for the prosperity and the welfare of its citizens".<sup>553</sup> The President states in 2005, in front of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest, that Romania's top priority is fulfilling all commitments undertaken during the negotiation process and implementing the reforms for the accession targeted for January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007. He strongly emphasizes that it is not possible "to speak about integration, with dignity, in European Union without a resolution of the Romanian biggest problems: corruption and poverty".<sup>554</sup> The president will strongly link the domestic policy with the EU integration foreign policy strategy, by declaring, during the first Supreme Council of National Defense (CSAT) meeting, corruption as a national security risk.<sup>555</sup> "I want to be a President that translates words into facts. I am decided to request from the state institutions action and efficiency in fighting corruption, insuring the freedom of the press and continuing justice

---

<sup>552</sup> The case concerning the delimitation of the Continental Shelf and of the Exclusive Economic Zones of Romania and Ukraine in the Black Sea.

<sup>553</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Băsescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>554</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Discursul, domnului Traian Basescu, Președintele României, la ceremonia de depunere a jurământului în fața Camerelor Reunite ale Parlamentului României [online]. (Discurs of Sir Traian Basescu, President of Romania, at the sworn's ceremony front of the Romanian Parliament). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2004. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>555</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicare de presă* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://csat.presidency.ro/index.php?page=cp&cp=20>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

reforms"<sup>556</sup>, stated Traian Basescu. The Romanian President stressed that nobody has anything to gain from the integration of an unprepared Romania in the EU and that the target is to transform the efforts of the European integration into visible effects in the everyday life of Romanians.

In the prolongation of the previous foreign policy action, Traian Basescu mentioned that partnership relations with the European countries represent the foundation for the success of Romania's integration into the EU. He noted the special relationship with Great Britain, which has assumed the responsibility of leadership in helping the current administration to fight against corruption, the traditional relationship with France, which, together with Germany, was the 'engine' driving Romania in its EU integration process, and with the support of Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Poland. The Romanian President also said that the relation with Hungary is an example of cooperation with neighboring countries. He expressed his expectations that authorities in Kiev will show openness to a closer relation with Romania. The President stated that Romanian authorities want to attract stronger European support for infrastructure projects on Pan-European transport corridors that cross Romania<sup>557</sup>: the rail-road Corridor IV, river Corridor VII (Danube) and the Corridor IX as well as the 'TRACECA' Corridor.<sup>558</sup>

---

<sup>556</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Băsescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>557</sup> The pan-European transport corridors form the basis for linking the trans-European transport networks with the Central and Eastern European states. Ten Pan-European transport corridors were defined at the second Pan-European transport Conference in Crete, March 1994. They are a further-developed form of the Western European transport network's major transport arteries. Their definition is based on co-ordination between the EU Commission, the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) States, the ECMT (European Conference of Ministers of Transport), the UNECE (United Nations/Economic Commission for Europe) and the international financial institutions with the Central and Eastern European states.

<sup>558</sup> The 'TRACECA' Corridor is the Transport Corridor Europe - Caucasus - Asia or the reconstruction of the historical Silk Road, named "New Silk Road". It was established in 1993 during a conference in Brussels by originally 8 Nations and nowadays 13 Nations aiming at improvements in trade and transport along the Europe - Caucasus - Asia Corridor. In 1998 in Baku was signed at the 'TRACECA Summit - Restoration of the Historic Silk Route' the Basic Multilateral Agreement (MLA) by 12 states including Romania. Romania was accepted in the TRACECA

Romania gained access to the European Union on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, accomplishing its second goal, set up after the '89 Revolution. The President emphasizes that Romania, in the current European construction, can assume the security of the Union's external border thru Romania's experience to good neighborly relations and cooperation in South-East Europe, having the ability to be a factor of stability and balance in the Black Sea Region and Western Balkans areas, which are high strategic important regions. He suggested that it is time to include the problems of these regions on the Euro-Atlantic agenda and the European perspective of the Western Balkans could become a vector for historical change for all countries in the region.<sup>559</sup> The President proposes to share the experience that Romania has gained thru the negotiation process with the candidate countries - Croatia and Macedonia - and those who have signed the association agreement such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro and Albania.<sup>560</sup> Romania pleads with the European Union for an 'open doors policy', as a major stimulation factor for democratic reforms and economic development.

---

program in 2002 as well Bulgaria and Turkey. The corridor starts in the Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine), crosses Turkey. There are route passing the Black Sea to the ports of Poti and Batumi in Georgia, further using transport network of the Southern Caucasus, and a land connection towards this region from Turkey. From Azerbaijan by means of the Caspian ferries (Baku – Turkmenbashi, Baku – Aktau) TRACECA route reaches the railway networks of Central Asian states of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. The transport networks of these states are connected to destinations in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and reach the borders of China and Afghanistan.

<sup>559</sup> Băsescu, Traian. *Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București* (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Băsescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>560</sup> Băsescu, Traian. *Întâlnirea anuală a președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București*. [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Băsescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>.

### **III.4.2 The Bucharest-London-Washington Axis**

Traian Basescu's declaration on the 'Bucharest-London-Washington axis', made after the presidential election, was misunderstood and highly criticized by foreign political leaders, members of the European Union, and by Romanian political leaders such as Cozmin Gusa, a former member of the Democratic Party and a former ally of President Basescu.

He specifies that this alliance is not a separate one from European Union, but in the context of NATO, and today, in 2005, only the United States can support the Romanian foreign policy in the Black Sea area.<sup>561</sup> He underlines that Romania has developed a preferential relationship with the United States, gradually, from 1995. In addition, Romania has an interest in the relocation of the American forces in Europe, with American bases on the Romanian territory. "The US knows that they can count on the Romanian contribution in the global war on terror,"<sup>562</sup> president Basescu said. He also mentioned that Romania is going to follow with renewed interest the strengthening of the US-Romanian economic relationship as a privileged partnership for the support of Romania internal reforms in the political, economical, military and administrative fields. This economic partnership will be translated into practice by a consistent and balanced trade relationship and solid US investments in Romania, including investments in high-tech industries.

The Washington-London-Bucharest axis will be a foreign policy priority for Romania's president and this intention looks positive. However, the question here is in the use of the word 'axis'. Its use is a little bit odd in the foreign policy context and

---

<sup>561</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Participarea domnului Traian Băsescu, Presedintele României la emisiunea "10 si un sfert" Postul de televiziune Realitatea TV Realizator Stelian Tanase (10 Ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Participation of Sir Traian Băsescu, President of Romania to the TV Show '10 and half' on the Channel of the Realitatea TV). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005e. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>562</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. President Traian Basescu presented to the Diplomatic Corp accredited to Bucharest the priorities of the Romanian foreign policy [online]. January 18, 2005. Bucharest: Mediafax, 2005c. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.roembus.org/english/news/international\\_media/2005/January/Mediafax\\_18\\_01\\_2005\\_President%20Traian%20Basescu%20presented%20to%20the%20foreign%20ambassadors%20to%20Bucharest%20the%20priorities%20of%20the%20Romanian%20foreign%20policy.htm](http://www.roembus.org/english/news/international_media/2005/January/Mediafax_18_01_2005_President%20Traian%20Basescu%20presented%20to%20the%20foreign%20ambassadors%20to%20Bucharest%20the%20priorities%20of%20the%20Romanian%20foreign%20policy.htm)>.

remembers the fighting of the 'Axis of Evil' stated by United States president Georges W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002. It also has a historically negative connotation, especially since Romania was initially part of the Axis in World War II. The President recognized, in an interview with 'Le Monde', that the term 'axis' was not the most adequate.

But for some other political leaders in Romania, it is a mistake because "[t]he real political axis on which Romania's policies must be directed is Moscow-Washington, not axes invented by (the president) Traian Basescu based on circumstances,"<sup>563</sup> according to the head of the National Initiative Party, Cozmin Gusa. According to Gusa, the Romanian foreign policy should be directed more towards Washington and Moscow, a direction suggested by both U.S. President George W. Bush in 2002 and by Russian President Vladimir Putin at the beginning of 2004.<sup>564</sup> In December 2005, the government further enhanced relations with the United States by signing an agreement that would allow U.S. troops to train and be stationed in several military facilities throughout the country.

### **III.4.3 The Kosovo Crisis**

The Romanian President is opposed from the very beginning to the independence of Kosovo, arguing that the province must remain within the borders of the Republic of Serbia. Two different aspects coming from the neighborhood foreign policy with Serbia and from domestic policy considerations motivate the president's position.

On the foreign policy side, Traian Basescu maintains the very good relation between Romania and Serbia with the will to be a democratic leader in the Balkan area, helping neighbors to access to the European Union. The historical link between the two countries made the Romanian president support the Serbian point of view related to the Kosovo independence, vis-à-vis Serbia's history and Balkan situation. The Romanian president says Kosovo's status solution should not be damaging to Serbia's

---

<sup>563</sup> Iancu, Alecs. National Initiative leader: Real axis for Romania is Washington-Moscow [online]. Bucharest Daily News. [cited 18 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-151828681.html>>.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

## **Change into Continuity**

territorial integrity. Traian Basescu also argues that the Kosovo solution should "remain within the boundaries of the international law and not seek to change Serbian borders".<sup>565</sup> A "solution that gives collective rights to a minority living in the territory of a sovereign and independent state should not be considered"<sup>566</sup>, the Romanian president said. The Romanian ambassador in Serbia, Ioan Macovei states:

Romania favors broad autonomy for Kosovo, agreed on through a direct dialogue between Pristine and Belgrade. In case of an unprecedented decision to grant Kosovo independence, other separatist regions throughout Europe would see this as an encouragement to continue with their demands.<sup>567</sup>

He added that "the Romanian minority in Serbia and the Serb minority in Romania must enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights, and continue to be loyal citizens of the states where they live".<sup>568</sup> For the Romanian President, the recognition of Kosovo's independence can be a precedent in the solution of frozen conflicts, such as the conflict in Moldova with Pridnestrovie, as well as other conflict in the Black Sea region. He argued that, "[i]f the reason of the recognition of Kosovo's independence is that 84% of its population consist of Albanians, this precedent can be applied"<sup>569</sup> to other regional conflicts. For the Romanian President, the extent of autonomy, the preservation of culture and traditions of national minorities can be a solution, but not the establishment of new states. The Romanian political leaders' decisions are more linked with the Russian

---

<sup>565</sup> Băsescu, Traian. *Comunicat de Presa (16 decembrie 2006) - Presedintele Romaniei, Traian Basescu, a revenit astazi, 16 decembrie a.c., de la Summit-ul Consiliului European, desfasurat la Bruxelles*. [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>566</sup> Ibid.

<sup>567</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania Against Granting Independence to Serbian Kosovo Province [online]. *Beta Novinska Agencija*. [cited 23 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://byzantinesacredart.com/blog/2006/11/>>.

<sup>568</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

<sup>569</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian President Traian Basescu: Recognition of Kosovo's independence can be precedent in the solution of other frozen conflicts [online]. *Apa Xeberimiz Var*, 21 Nov. 2006 15:19. Baku: Azeri-Press Agency, 2006d. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://en.apa.az/news.php?id=16534>>.



position<sup>570</sup> than with the United States decision to recognize Kosovo's independence.<sup>571</sup> The President and political leaders are influenced by the Romanian domestic situation with the Hungarian minority, which will be detailed hereafter in the following chapter.

Romania continues to affirm that the sustainable solution for Kosovo's status must be based on a negotiated solution between Belgrade and Pristina, and in accordance with the principles of international law, which guarantees the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of Serbia's borders. The Kosovo precedent with the European Union agreement is similar to opening the Pandora box and can destabilize the entire Eastern region. Romania's position is ambiguous because it is negative towards Kosovo's independence, but could envisage Moldova's reunification without the Transdnistria region. Part of the international community – 50 states - decided differently and many states in Europe – 22 European states -, members of the OECD, have recognized Kosovo's independence, even if the United Nations declared the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.<sup>572</sup> In October 2008, following a vote in the UN General Assembly, Serbia asked the International Court of Justice to status on the legality of Kosovo independence. In the Kosovo Independence situation, we can underline that Romania is an unconditional supporter of the world order and waits the UN decision to accept the Kosovo independence.

However, the MFA presented its own analysis base on a viable solution for long terms. The MFA wrote that Romania "has shown flexibility in the EU and NATO where, without compromising its position of principle against the Kosovo file, always found ways to facilitate consensus on the future employment of EU and NATO in

---

<sup>570</sup> Yasmann, Victor. Russia: Moscow Content To Block Kosovo Resolution [online]. RadioFreeEurope, 13 July 2007. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1077614.html>>.

<sup>571</sup> Secretary Condoleezza Rice. U.S. Recognize Kosovo as Independent State [online]. (U.S. Department of State). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2008. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/02/100973.htm>>.

<sup>572</sup> United Nations. Resolution 1244 (1999) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting, on 10 June 1999 [online]. (Security Council). New York City: Security Council, 1999. [cited 10 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement>>.

## **Change into Continuity**

Kosovo."<sup>573</sup> Romania accepted to fulfil its duty in KFOR, as well as participation in the EULEX mission. The MFA concluded that these things help a lot the Romania's image and strengthened the country's position on international relations arena.

### **III.4.4 The Moldovan Issue**

Traian Basescu tried to improve Romania's relations with The Republic of Moldova (RM), which shares a common language and culture. He said that the "[r]elationship with the Republic of Moldova will be a priority of my mandate as president of Romania".<sup>574</sup> Furthermore, he has expressed several times his belief in the future unification of the two countries, either politically or in the framework of the European Union. He adds that "[w]e [Romanians] believe that Moldova has only one destiny and the destiny is a European one [...] We believe that Romania and Moldova are linked by history, by tradition, by inter-human relations and the unification of the Romanian nation can be done in the European Union".<sup>575</sup>

However, the Romanian political attitude brought tension as well an increase of the anti-Romanian rhetoric from the communist government of Moldova, led by Vladimir Voronin. An important point remains thru the opening of two Romanian consulates outside the capital of Moldova, as well as a minimum of 900,000 Moldovan

---

<sup>573</sup> Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. Raport privind politica externă a României 2005-2008 [online]. (Report concerning Romanian foreign policy 2005-2008). București: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mae.ro/poze\\_editare/2008.11.25\\_RpMAE\\_2005-2008.pdf](http://www.mae.ro/poze_editare/2008.11.25_RpMAE_2005-2008.pdf)>. p. 33.

<sup>574</sup> Bășescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea - președintelui României, Traian Bășescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bășescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>575</sup> Bășescu, Traian. *Intâlnirea anuală a președintelui României, Traian Bășescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București*. [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Bășescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

applying for Romanian citizenship. In both cases, Basescu strongly supported the strengthening of the relations with Moldova, while the Moldovan leadership sought to cool down Basescu's energy. In 2008, the relationship with the Republic of Moldova, "the sovereign neighbor with which we [Romanians] connect thru deep cultural and historical affinity",<sup>576</sup> remains a priority of Romania's foreign policy. The Romanian political leaders show the will to be involved in the resolution of the Transnistrian conflict where Russian troops are based.

### **III.4.5 The Domestic Policy**

#### **III.4.5.1 The Corruption**

The election of Traian Basescu was based on the theme campaign '*Justice and Truth Alliance*'. The alliance had its origins in collaboration between the centre-right National Liberal Party (PNL) and the centre-left reformist Democratic Party (PD), which began in early 2002 upon the initiative of the PNL's former president, Valeriu Stoica. This alliance was established as a vehicle for coordinating opposition efforts against the ruling Social Democratic Party of Romania (PSD). Thru the campaign topic on the fight against corruption, Traian Basescu won the election. This topic becomes the major objective of Traian Basescu's presidential domestic policy (here before explained in the chapter: 'Romania's European Union Accession'). The President declares: "Romania no longer accepts the general label of corrupt country"<sup>577</sup> and the fight against corruption becomes a national priority, handled at the level of the CSAT.

---

<sup>576</sup> Băseescu, Traian. *Discursul presedintelui României cu ocazia primirii membrilor corpului diplomatic, la Palatul Cotroceni* [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Băseescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2008b. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9583\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9583_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>577</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicate de presa* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://csat.presidency.ro/index.php?page=cp&cp=20>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

However, why does corruption become a high priority for the Romanian domestic policy and why is this important for Romania's international relations?

The corruption issue is not a new one in Romania - hereafter explained - and had prevented Romania's accession in 2004, putting the EU accession for 2007 in danger. The Member States and European institutions sharply criticized the lack of efforts by Romanian authorities in the fight against corruption and were very concerned about its scale, because since January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, Romania, as well as Bulgaria, are the new Eastern borders of the European Union, and such levels of corruption generate fears of permeable borders and in particular of an influx of illegal immigrants across the European Union. In addition, this development had a significant influence on the country's domestic policy, as Romania increased judicial cooperation with other member states, pledging to combat corruption, and instituted several reforms.

It is not the first time that the European Parliament denounces corruption in Romania, as it is written in the 2004 European Parliament Report. The European Parliament

[d]eplores that despite progress in a number of areas, Romania currently faces serious difficulties fulfilling the requirements of the political Copenhagen-criteria; states that finalizing accession negotiations at the end of 2004 and becoming a member in 2007 is impossible unless Romania fully implements the following: anti-corruption measures, especially addressing corruption at the political level and implementing anti-corruption laws [...].<sup>578</sup>

What is Corruption? Corruption is an old phenomenon and may be found in all societies, in various degrees, and may exist in different proportions from one period to another. Moreover, "the causes and the consequences of corruption are complex [- as says Theobald "elusive and complex"<sup>579</sup> -] and diverse, and have been sought in both individual ethics and civic cultures, in history and tradition, in the economic system, in the institutional

---

<sup>578</sup> Baronness Nicholson of Winterbourne. Report on Romania's progress towards accession [online]. (European Parliament). Strasbourg: European Parliament, 2004. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/seance\\_pleniere/textes\\_deposes/rapport\\_s/2004\\_P5/0103/P5\\_A\(2004\)0103\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/seance_pleniere/textes_deposes/rapport_s/2004_P5/0103/P5_A(2004)0103_EN.pdf)>. p. 5.

<sup>579</sup> Theobald, Robina. Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990. p. 1.

arrangements, and in the political system.”<sup>580</sup> Even if large International Organizations built and signed many conventions and edited books and reports on corruption, these organizations do not give a definition of ‘corruption’, but, “[i]nstead they establish the offences for a range of corrupt behavior”.<sup>581</sup> Then, we can ask the question: what is corruption?

There is no single, comprehensive, universally accepted definition of corruption. Attempts to develop such a definition invariably encounter legal, criminological and, in many countries, political problems. When the negotiations of the United Nations Convention against Corruption began in early 2002, one option under consideration was not to define corruption at all but to list specific types or acts of corruption.<sup>582</sup>

In order to work on the same basis, International Organizations set an institutional working definition of corruption. According to Transparency International (TI)<sup>583</sup>, “Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”.<sup>584</sup> The World Bank set an approximate definition for which “Corruption is [...] defined as the abuse of public office for private gain”.<sup>585</sup> These definitions are simple and understandable. The definition of corruption has always

---

<sup>580</sup> Amundsen, Inge. Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues [online]. Vol. 7. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1999. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cmi.no/publications/1999/wp/wp1999-7.pdf>>. ISBN 82-90584-40-7. p. 1.

<sup>581</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Corruption: A Glossary of International Standards in Criminal Law* [online]. Vol. 2008. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008b. (OECD Glossaries). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/38/41194428.pdf>>.

<sup>582</sup> United Nations. The Global Programme Against Corruption - UN Anti-Corruption Toolkit [online]. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2004. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications\\_toolkit\\_sep04.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications_toolkit_sep04.pdf)>. p. 10.

<sup>583</sup> Since 1993, Transparency International (TI) is a global civil society organisation leading the fight against corruption around the world. To see the website <http://www.transparency.org>.

<sup>584</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *What is Transparency International?* [online]. 2007i. Transparency International. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/about\\_us](http://www.transparency.org/about_us)>.

<sup>585</sup> Gabriel, Lara M., Stapenhurst Rick and Thomas Mary. *The Role of Bilateral Donors in Fighting Corruption* [online]. Maastricht, The Netherlands: World Bank Institute. 1 Jan. 2001, 2001. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/hague/role\\_bilateral.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/hague/role_bilateral.pdf)>. Working Paper 34776. p. 19.

## ***Change into Continuity***

been a source of difficulties and has often brought confusion and difficulties to scholars, policy makers and researchers.

In this context, we need to draft a scholar definition, because there are different definitions representing the different manifestations "of the problem itself" according "to cultural, legal or other factors".<sup>586</sup> We have different schools of thought concerning the definition of corruption. For Inge Amundsen<sup>587</sup>, there are "various forms of corruption" and it is important to define them in order for them to be a "useful concept for social sciences and in particular political science".<sup>588</sup> Numerous books on corruption were published and can be characterized by the approaches chosen.

The first scholars to highlight and to draw attention about the existence, causes and consequences on corruption, as far back as the sixties, were Nathaniel Leff<sup>589</sup>, David Bayley<sup>590</sup>, Joseph Nye<sup>591</sup> and Samuel Huntington<sup>592</sup>. They put the basis of the definition on which modern scholars - Michael Johnston<sup>593</sup>, Robina Theobald<sup>594</sup>,

---

<sup>586</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Corruption: A Glossary of International Standards in Criminal Law* [online]. Vol. 2008. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008b. (OECD Glossaries). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/38/41194428.pdf>>.

<sup>587</sup> Inge Amundsen (Dr.) is a senior researcher at the Chr. Michelsen Institute in Bergen (Norway) and has been director of the U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre from 2002 to 2006. He has specialised in comparative politics, comparative development studies focusing on democratisation, institutionalisation, civil society, political parties, and corruption on the francophone West Africa.

<sup>588</sup> Amundsen, Inge. *Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues* [online]. Vol. 7. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1999. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cmi.no/publications/1999/wp/wp1999-7.pdf>>. ISBN 82-90584-40-7. p. 1.

<sup>589</sup> Leff, Nathaniel H. *Economic Development through Bureaucratic Corruption* [online]. *American Behavioral Scientist*, Nov. 1964, 1964, vol. 8, no. 3. [cited 30 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://abs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/8/3/8>>.

<sup>590</sup> Bayley, David H. *The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation* [online]. *The Western Political Quarterly*, Dec. 1966, 1966, vol. 19, no. 4. [cited 30 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/445147>>.

<sup>591</sup> Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis* [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Jun. 1967, 1967, vol. 61, no. 2. [cited 29 Oct. 2008 05:10]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953254>>.

<sup>592</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. *Political order in changing societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

<sup>593</sup> Johnston, Michael. *Political Corruption and Public Policy in America*. Brooks & Cole Pub. Co., 1982.

Mancur Olson<sup>595</sup>, Joshua Charap and Christain Harm<sup>596</sup>, as well as Susan Rose-Akerman<sup>597</sup> - developed and expanded the definition further and brought out some different schools on the definition. During the last decade, corruption has become a highly international topic and development policy issue. It has also become a meeting place for research pursued by different academic disciplines. The amount of research into corruption has expanded rapidly, taking many different directions. The academics emphasis has been on economics, political science and social anthropology perspectives.

The different approaches led by different schools identify the different facets of the term and bring difficulty surrounding this issue. The first approach, a cultural definition, warns that the definition of corruption depends on society and culture, considering that it depends on the context.<sup>598</sup> The second approach considers corruption thru an objective and independent definition used as a universal definition.<sup>599</sup> These two opposing views about corruption can lead to confusion and discrepancy.

---

<sup>594</sup> Theobald, Robina. *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990.

<sup>595</sup> Olson, Mancur. *Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development* [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Sept. 1993, 1993, vol. 87, no. 3. [cited 1 Nov. 2008 16:00]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2938736>>.

<sup>596</sup> Charap, Joshua and Harm Christain. *Institutionalized Corruption and the Kleptocratic State* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 1999. (IMF Working Paper). Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/1999/wp9991.pdf>>.

<sup>597</sup> Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

<sup>598</sup> For this approach, to see: Charap, Joshua and Harm Christain. *Institutionalized Corruption and the Kleptocratic State* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 1999. (IMF Working Paper). Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/1999/wp9991.pdf>>. And Bull, Martin J. and Newell James. *Corruption in Contemporary Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

<sup>599</sup> This approach is supported by: The international organizations as the United Nations, the World Bank, the OECD, Transparency International...

## **Change into Continuity**

In addition, Michael Johnston<sup>600</sup> contributes to the definition by providing other definition typology. The first typology is oriented on the behavioral aspects of the corruption supported by Carl Friedrich<sup>601</sup>, Joseph Nye<sup>602</sup>, John Waterbury<sup>603</sup>, van Klaveren<sup>604</sup> and Arnold Heidenheimer<sup>605</sup>. The second one focuses on the interactions and relationships between the parties in a principal<sup>606</sup>-agent<sup>607</sup>-client<sup>608</sup> framework, as defined by Susan Rose-Akerman<sup>609</sup>, Robert Klitgaard<sup>610</sup> and M. S. Alam.<sup>611</sup>

---

<sup>600</sup> Johnston, Michael. The search for definitions: the vitality of politics and the issue of corruption [online]. *International Social Science Journal*, Sept. 96, 1996, vol. 48, no. 3. [cited 1 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=1&hid=107&sid=4fe0fa4c-400f-48c0-ad18-67dfc10865b1%40sessionmgr103>>.

<sup>601</sup> Freidrich, Carl J. The Politcal Pathology [online]. *Political Quarterly*, January 1966, 1966, vol. 31, no. 1. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/119726950/PDFSTART>>.

<sup>602</sup> Nye, Joseph S. Jr. Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Jun. 1967, 1967, vol. 61, no. 2. [cited 29 Oct. 2008 05:10]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953254>>.

<sup>603</sup> Waterbury, John. Endemic and Planned Corruption in a Monarchical Regime [online]. *World Politics*, Jul. 1973, 1973, vol. 25, no. 4. [cited 29 Otc. 2008 13:33]. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009951>>.

<sup>604</sup> van Klaveren, Jacob. The Concept of Corruption. In Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and LeVine Victor T. (Eds.), *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

<sup>605</sup> Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and LeVine Victor T. *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

<sup>606</sup> "An individual or institution that is in charge of carrying out a function." Cited in Chinhamo, Obert and Shumba Gabriel. *Institutional Working definition of Corruption* [online]. Pretoria, South Africa: Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa, 2007. (Working Paper). [cited 31 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa\\_definition\\_of\\_corruption\\_080731.pdf](http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa_definition_of_corruption_080731.pdf)>. ACT/1/2007/WPS. p. 2.

<sup>607</sup> "An individual or institution that actually performs the operation of the agency." Cited in Ibid. *Institutional Working definition of Corruption*.

<sup>608</sup> "A private individual or institution with whom the agent interacts." Cited in Ibid. *Institutional Working definition of Corruption*.

<sup>609</sup> Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy*. New York, London: Academic Press, 1978.

<sup>610</sup> Klitgaard, Robert E. *Controlling Corruption*. Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1988.

<sup>611</sup> Alam, M. S. Some Economic Costs of Corruption in LDCs [online]. *Journal of Development Studies*, Oct. 1990, 1990, vol. 27, no. 1. [cited 29 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=2&hid=103&sid=0fedbbf0-56f9-4a08-b0b8-e6c6dce94c8f%40sessionmgr103>>.



However, Arnold Heidenheimer,<sup>612</sup> the father of contemporary social science analysis of political corruption, attributes the definitional problems of corruption to its different shades and the complexity of the decision-making process. He classified corruption into three different categories representing depth and which are defined as white<sup>613</sup>, grey<sup>614</sup> and black<sup>615</sup> corruption. In the same way, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) defined the depth of the corruption by three levels: "petty corruption (bureaucratic corruption), grand corruption (political corruption) and state capture (corruption which affects the entire state apparatus)."<sup>616</sup>

The classic definition of corruption is attributed to Joseph S. Nye, as "behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains"<sup>617</sup> - and we can add - "or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence."<sup>618</sup> We can update this ancient definition, as Inge Amundsen writes, by citing a more recent scholar, Mushtaq Khan.<sup>619</sup> Khan says that corruption is a "behavior that deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a

---

<sup>612</sup> Heidenheimer, Arnold J. Perspectives on the perception of corruption. In Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and LeVine Victor T. (Eds.), *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989. p. 162.

<sup>613</sup> White corruption "signifies that the majority of both elite and mass opinion probably would not vigorously support an attempt to punish a form of corruption that they regard tolerable" cited in Senior, Ian. *Corruption - the World's Big C: Cases, Causes, Consequences, Cures*. London, UK: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006. (Working Paper Series). p. 24.

<sup>614</sup> Grey corruption "indicates that some elements, usually elites, may want to see the action punished, others not, and the majority may well be ambiguous" cited in Ibid.

<sup>615</sup> Black corruption "indicates that a particular action is one that a majority consensus of both elite and mass opinion would condemn and would want to see punished on grounds of principle" cited in Ibid.

<sup>616</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *What is Transparency International?* [online]. 2007i. Transparency International. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/about\\_us](http://www.transparency.org/about_us)>.

<sup>617</sup> Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis* [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Jun. 1967, 1967, vol. 61, no. 2. [cited 29 Oct. 2008 05:10]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953254>>. p. 419.

<sup>618</sup> Banfield, Edward C. *Political Influence*. New York, NY: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. p. 315.

<sup>619</sup> Amundsen, Inge. *Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues* [online]. Vol. 7. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1999. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cmi.no/publications/1999/wp/wp1999-7.pdf>>. ISBN 82-90584-40-7.

## ***Change into Continuity***

position of public authority because of private-regarding motives such as wealth, power, or status.”<sup>620</sup> Likewise, the Asian Bank, as well as Ian Senior, recognizes the aspect of corruption in public, but also in private sectors. The Asian Bank specifies that corruption is a “behavior on the part of officials in the public and private sectors, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and/or those close to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed”.<sup>621</sup> Senior states that corruption takes place when “a corruptor covertly gives a favor to a corrupted or to a nominee to influence action(s) that may benefit the corruptor or a nominee and for which the corrupted has authority”.<sup>622</sup> A good and simple enough definition was stated for the Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa (ACT) and defines corruption as follows: “Corruption is the abuse or complicity in the abuse of private or public power, office or resources for personal gain.”<sup>623</sup>

This definition is larger and can cover more phenomena than only private gain, as Steven Reed shows thru different examples on major corruption scandals in Western democracies, which involved the illicit party funding than individual gain.<sup>624</sup> Mark Warren, who establishes a modern conception of corruption more adequate in

---

<sup>620</sup> Khan, Mushtaq H. A Typology of Corrupt Transactions in Developing Countries. *IDS Bulletin*, April 1996, 1996, vol. 27, no. 2.

<sup>621</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Anticorruption and Integrity: Policies and Strategies* [online]. Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2007b. (Policies and Strategies). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Anticorruption-Integrity/Policies-Strategies.pdf>>.

<sup>622</sup> Senior, Ian. *Corruption - the World's Big C: Cases, Causes, Consequences, Cures*. London, UK: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006. (Working Paper Series).

<sup>623</sup> Chinghamo, Obert and Shumba Gabriel. *Institutional Working definition of Corruption* [online]. Pretoria, South Africa: Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa, 2007. (Working Paper). [cited 31 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa\\_definition\\_of\\_corruption\\_080731.pdf](http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa_definition_of_corruption_080731.pdf)>. ACT/1/2007/WPS.

<sup>624</sup> Reed, Steven R. *Corruption as Political Parasitism* [online]. Paper presented at the The Workshop on Corruption and Democracy on 8-9 June 2007. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, University of British Columbia. p. 27. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/CorruptionConfReed.pdf>>.

political contexts, supports this idea.<sup>625</sup> It avoids misinterpretation, covers both the public and private sectors, takes into consideration responsibilities in neglecting combat against corruption<sup>626</sup>, and the fact that all acts of corruption do not necessarily result in damage or loss.

Corruption takes a variety of forms. The main forms of corruption are bribery, embezzlement, fraud, extortion, favoritism, graft, patronage, nepotism and cronyism, kickbacks, clientelism and involvement in organized crime. Even when these forms are partly overlapping and at times interchangeable with other forms, some of the basic characteristics of corruption can be identified thru these forms. In view of the difficulties surrounding this definition, it is often even more difficult to agree on the necessary punishment of the act itself.

### **III.4.5.1.1 A Worrying Situation**

As far we know, in 2002 the Council of Europe's Group of States against corruption (GRECO) publishes an 'Evaluation Report on Romania' and states that

it seems that, in reality, corruption affects the activities of almost all public institutions in Romania and is a worrying phenomenon. The most serious acts of corruption are directly linked to organized crime, with the attendant risk that government bodies and the judicial system have been infiltrated. In particular, several investigations have outlined the existence of corruption within the Romanian courts and police system, and the levels of satisfaction with these services are the lowest for all public services assessed. According to the Corruption Index 2001, published by

---

<sup>625</sup> Warren, Mark E. What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy? *American Journal of Political Science*, April 2004, 2004, vol. 48, no. 2. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<https://aces-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=2&hid=3&sid=3119165e-d8ad-4dbb-955a-1a0cc430c593%40sessionmgr8>>.

<sup>626</sup> "Complicity in corruption offences lies at the heart of third party responsibility (and thus third party liability). Both failure to exercise oversight and failure to engage in a sufficient amount of detection effort can make a superior an accomplice to a corruption crime. Other civil servants who share bribes or businessmen who change middle-men fees may also be complicit in corruption through aiding and abetting a criminal offence. The failure to denounce corruption may also be considered as complicity- [...]" cited in Michael, Bryane. *Drafting Implementing Regulations for International Anti-Corruption Conventions* [online]. Paper presented at the Queen Elizabeth House. Oxford, UK: Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford. p. 54. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/RePEc/qeh/qehwps/qehwps150.pdf>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

Transparency International, Romania lies in 69th place (jointly with Venezuela).<sup>627</sup>

Even if the GRECO underlines that “[i]n recent years, the various Romanian governments have generally been greatly concerned by the problem of corruption, and have made considerable efforts to prevent and combat it”<sup>628</sup>, it adds that “the phenomenon of corruption in Romanian daily life is undeniable, and confirmed by a series of official sources and fairly detailed data and investigations.”<sup>629</sup> The report concludes that “[t]he undoubted reality of corruption offences in Romania is all the more worrying in that the institutions most implicated in fighting corruption, namely the police and the justice system, are also affected by the phenomenon.”<sup>630</sup> In its report, the GRECO made in 2002 thirteen recommendations on the fight against corruption. In 2004 the same institution publishes a second document and concluded “that Romania has implemented all the recommendations of the ‘First Round Evaluation Report’ with the exception of one which has been partly implemented”,<sup>631</sup> the recommendation XII on the restriction of the categories of people entitled to immunity from criminal prosecution. Consequently, according to the report published, Romania has reached the GRECO standards.

However, in 2004, the issue of corruption is placed on the top of the list of the four areas discussed for the Romanian accession to EU, being able to block the accession to the European Union. In December, the European Council decided to match the accession of Romania with a new threat: “the Twenty-Five could decide, by qualified majority, to postpone by one year the accession of Romania if they find, before January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007, that Romania does

---

<sup>627</sup> Council of Europe. First Evaluation Round - Evaluation Report on Romania [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe - Group of States against Corruption. 8 March 2002, 2002. (Department of Crime Problems). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoEval1\(2001\)13\\_Romania\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoEval1(2001)13_Romania_EN.pdf)>. Greco Eval I Rep (2001) 13E Final.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid. First Evaluation Round - Evaluation Report on Romania. p. 24.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid. First Evaluation Round - Evaluation Report on Romania.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid. First Evaluation Round - Evaluation Report on Romania.

<sup>631</sup> Council of Europe. First Evaluation Round - Compliance Report on Romania [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe - Group of States against Corruption. 2 July 2004, 2004. (Department of Crime Problems). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoRC1\(2004\)8\\_Romania\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoRC1(2004)8_Romania_EN.pdf)>. Greco RC-I (2004) 8E. p. 15.

not meet certain requirements on competition, as well as justice and domestic affairs."<sup>632</sup>

### **III.4.5.1.2 Inertia of the Practices**

Taking a longer view, we can find another idea indicating inertia of the practices in fighting corruption. The '2004 Regular Report on Romania's progress Toward Accession' edited on October 2004 by the European Commission, states, in the Anti-corruption measures chapter, that "[s]urveys and assessments conducted by both national and international organizations confirm that corruption remains a serious and widespread problem in Romania which affects almost all aspects of society."<sup>633</sup> The report underlines, in the same idea, that

There has been no reduction in perceived levels of corruption and the number of successful prosecutions remains low, particularly for high-level corruption. The fight against corruption is hampered by integrity problems even within institutions that are involved in law enforcement and the fight against corruption. [...] The priority for the Romanian government must be to ensure the rigorous enforcement of existing legislation. Measures contained in the National Corruption Strategy and associated Action Plan have so far had a limited impact.<sup>634</sup>

The report, also, brings out that

[s]ince becoming operational [National Anti-Corruption Prosecution Office (PNA)] investigations have led to 86 prison sentences, though few of these could be regarded as being for high-level corruption. The PNA should ensure that it remains focused on its core mandate of investigating high-level corruption instead of processing a large number of petty corruption cases.<sup>635</sup>

The other problems announced are that

[o]ther agencies also have some degree of competence for investigating corruption but inter-agency co-operation is generally weak.

---

<sup>632</sup> Rivais, Rafaële. Bruxelles menace de retarder l'adhésion de la Roumanie et de la Bulgarie [online]. (Brussels threatens to delay the accession of Romania and Bulgaria). Le Monde, 12 Jan. 2005. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com> Document LEMOND0020050111e11c0000n>. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>633</sup> European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004c. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_ro\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_ro_2004_en.pdf)>. COM(2004) 657 final - SEC(2004) 1200. p. 21-22.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

## **Change into Continuity**

This is detrimental to the effectiveness of the law enforcement process and reduces transparency in the handling of corruption cases.<sup>636</sup>

In the same way, Transparency International (TI) created tools, based on their working definition<sup>637</sup> of corruption, to measure corruption and released an annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) built with expert assessments and opinion surveys. The index ranks from 0 to 10. From the less corrupt, near 10 to the more corrupt, the grade 0.

In 2001, Romania ranks 2.8 on the 69<sup>th</sup> place, behind all other European States, including Bulgaria, which is ranked the 47<sup>th</sup> with 3.9.<sup>638</sup> In 2004, Romania ranks the 87<sup>th</sup> out of 146, with a CPI of 2.9, behind Bulgaria, which occupies the 54<sup>th</sup> place, with a 3.9 CPI.<sup>639</sup> In 2007, Romania has a CPI of 3.1, being ranked the 84<sup>th</sup> out of 160.<sup>640</sup>

---

<sup>636</sup> Ibid. p. 22.

<sup>637</sup> "Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" in \_\_\_\_\_. *What is Transparency International?* [online]. 2007i. Transparency International. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/about\\_us](http://www.transparency.org/about_us)>.

<sup>638</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2001* [online]. Germany: Transparency International, 2001a. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2001](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2001)>.

<sup>639</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2005. Corruption in Construction and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* [online]. London: Transparency International and Pluto Press, 2005a. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2005#download](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2005#download)>.

<sup>640</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2008. Corruption in the Water Sector* [online]. Cambridge, New York: Transparency International and Cambridge University Press, 2008c. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr)>.

Year	CPI	Rank
2001	2.8	69
2002	2.6	77
2003	2.8	87
2004	2.9	87
2005	3.0	85
2006	3.1	84
2007	3.7	69

**Table 2: Romania Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) and rank – 2001-2008.**

Within EU 27, Finland is ranked 9.9 out 10, on the first place, while Romania is the last of the European States. Even if the CPI's evaluations are better and better, Romania remains the last European state, far behind Bulgaria, Poland (3.5) and Turkey (3.2). Of course, Romania made progresses, but what is 0.1 points, from 2004 to 2005, as compared, for example, to Estonia, which moved from 5.5 to 6.0 in the same period?

Even if the GRECO acknowledges the country's good progress, the European Commission and Transparency International consider that there still are corruption issues in Romania. After Romania's accession in January 2007, the problem remains crucial and still supervised by the European Union.

### ***III.4.5.1.3 Origin of the Problem***

In 1976, Alain Besançon wrote that

Corruption is a disease of communism. Accordingly, in opposition between us and them, between the Party and civil society, corruption is for the latter a sign of health. It is a manifestation of life, a pathological life, but

## **Change into Continuity**

of life rather than death. It resulted in a rebirth of life, as the figure itself is a trafficker victory of the individual, the person.<sup>641</sup>

Wayne Sandholtz and Rein Taapegera declare that “[s]cholars and political commentators alike view corruption as one of the most serious problems facing post-communist societies.”<sup>642</sup> In the same idea, Richard Rose says:

Corruption is the greatest obstacle to progress in post-communist countries. [...] [T]he longer corruption persists at the elite level, the greater the likelihood that the mass of the electorate will become indifferent to dishonesty, or decide that the only way to deal with a corrupt state is to benefit from lawbreaking oneself, whether in the form of avoiding taxes, smuggling, or corruption of civil servants and elected representatives.<sup>643</sup>

To reinforce this idea, Valerian Stan, an independent Romanian expert and member of the Council of Legal Resources Centre, considers that the corruption in Romania is a ‘systemic evil’<sup>644</sup>, because “the current situation is also a consequence of nearly five decades of totalitarian communism that Romania has suffered and which generated a structured networks of the black economy, so a bit of practice to circumvent the law.”<sup>645</sup> Stan explains that there are two main reasons at the origin of the corruption system in Romania. The first reason is the lack of collaboration between the civil society, state institutions and the government. The second is the inheritance of the old regime, because

the communist political police, the Securitate, has successfully maintained very strong positions, even after 1990. Although the identity of

---

<sup>641</sup> Besançon, Alain. Preface (Preface - Corruption in Soviet Union). In Zemtsov, Ilya Grigorievitch (Ed.), *Коррупция в Советском Союзе*. Trans. La Corruption en Union soviétique by Bertyl, Serge Paris: Hachette, 1976.

<sup>642</sup> Sandholtz, Wayne and Taapegera Rein. Corruption, Culture, and Communism [online]. *International Review of Sociology - Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, March 2005, 2005, vol. 15, no. 1. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=1&hid=17&sid=60b9c3e0-2a38-4749-a184-53b6851c1bb3%40sessionmgr3>>. p. 114.

<sup>643</sup> Rose, Richard. How people view democracy: A diverging Europe [online]. *Journal of Democracy*, January 2001, 2001, vol. 12, no. 1. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v012/12.1rose.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal_of_democracy/v012/12.1rose.pdf)>. p. 105.

<sup>644</sup> Stan, Valerian. La corruption en Roumanie - Un mal systémique [online]. (Corruption in Romania - A systemic evil). *Géopolitique*, Sept. 2005, 2005b, vol. 90. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.valerianstan.ro/14\\_Un\\_articol\\_in\\_Geopolitique\\_no\\_90\\_\\_Oct\\_2004\\_.pdf](http://www.valerianstan.ro/14_Un_articol_in_Geopolitique_no_90__Oct_2004_.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>645</sup> Ibid. p. 74. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



these former officers and employees has been one of the best kept secrets for the past fifteen years, some of them - enough, in fact - have been identified. If from these data, was placed end to end these names, it would, as in a puzzle, a picture showing the men of the Securitate placed in the most important positions of political life, public institutions, financial and banking system, media, etc. With each major scandal linked to corruption, we discover that one or even more Securitate officers are actively involved in it.<sup>646</sup>

He strengthens thru different articles that "[i]n recent years, investigations on this subject<sup>647</sup>, highlighted the fact that most parliamentarians and ministers are involved in private businesses, which often generates 'incompatibilities' and 'conflicts of interest'."<sup>648</sup> In his article, Stan notes the statement of Valeriu Stoica, Minister of Justice in 2000, made during the seminar on the 'Financing Political Party – A Condition for Democracy', that 80 per cent of the political parties are financed with illegal fundraising.<sup>649</sup> For Pierre Verluise, "[f]inally, the Securitate officers are, in connivance with some of the political class, a system of organized crime."<sup>650</sup>

The political scene witnessed several scandals that confirmed the here before allegation thru what we can call 'conflict of interest at work'. In August 2003, a corruption scandal broke out when BBC Romania reported that some companies owned by Hildegard Puwak, the Minister for European Integration and her family (her son and husband) received non-reimbursable funds of 150,000 Euros allocated by the Leonardo de Vinci fund of the European Union,

---

<sup>646</sup> Ibid. p. 74-75. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>647</sup> Stan, Valentin. A Few Remarks Regarding the Transparency and Integrity of Public Administration in Romania [online]. Romanian Magazin for Human Rights, 2001, 2001, vol. 20. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<[http://www.valerianstan.ro/6\\_Analiza\\_privind\\_transparenta\\_si\\_integritatea\\_guver\\_narii\\_iunie\\_2001\\_en.pdf](http://www.valerianstan.ro/6_Analiza_privind_transparenta_si_integritatea_guver_narii_iunie_2001_en.pdf)>.

<sup>648</sup> Stan, Valerian. La corruption en Roumanie - Un mal systémique [online]. (Corruption in Romania - A systemic evil). Géopolitique, Sept. 2005, 2005b, vol. 90. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.valerianstan.ro/14\\_Un\\_articol\\_in\\_Geopolitique\\_no\\_90\\_\\_Oct\\_2004\\_.pdf](http://www.valerianstan.ro/14_Un_articol_in_Geopolitique_no_90__Oct_2004_.pdf)>. p. 75. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>649</sup> Sima, Oana. Valeriu Stoica: 80% din fondurile partidelor sunt obtinute ilegal [online]. (Valeriu Stoica: 80% of the parties' funds are got illegally). Ziuă, 28 Oct. 2000, no. 1939. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2000-10-28&id=52455>>.

<sup>650</sup> Verluise, Pierre. Pourquoi la corruption a-t-elle mis en difficulté l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union européenne ? [online]. (Why corruption put in difficulty Romania's accession to the European Union?). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique, March 2006. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2006. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from:

<<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/verluise06031roum.htm>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

granted during her function. The request for these funds was sent on 19 January 2001, three weeks after Puwak became minister.

The National Anti-Corruption Prosecution Office (PNA) carried out an investigation and the EU's Anti Fraud Office (OLAF) and both concluded that there had been no breach of contract awarding procedures. Both the government members and the ruling party took Puwak's side during this scandal, the official stance of the government being that she did not break any law and so was the stance of the Romanian Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Office. On 21 October 2003, she resigned, together with two other ministers, Health Minister Mircea Beuran and Government Co-ordination Minister Serban Mihailescu, in the Nastase government. "The resignations came after a series of accusations in the media that they initiated or tolerated corruption, although the government backed them during the referendum campaign."<sup>651</sup>

In 2006, Deputy Prime Minister, George Copos, who is the richest member of the government, is under investigation in relation to the alleged illegal acquisition of a commercial area by the Romanian Lottery from Ana Electronic, a group of companies owned by the politician.

### ***III.4.5.1.4 The Initiative***

In order to solve the corruption issues, the government develops a number of programs after the nineties, under the requirement of the European Union and the NATO, called the National Anti-corruption Strategy (NAS) to fight corruption. Along the same lines, the government created a number of governmental institutions to fight corruption. The first program NAS I covered the period 2001-2004 and was setup to prevent corruption. In 2001, a Romanian Government Decision adopts the National Program on Corruption Prevention and the National Action Plan against Corruption thru the Government decision no. 1065/2001.<sup>652</sup> The governmental conclusions on the NAS I program underlines that "[t]he fight against

---

<sup>651</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Three Romanian ministers quit. *BBC News*, 20 October 2003 11:08 GMT London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2003b. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3207076.stm>>.

<sup>652</sup> Zabava, Oana and Vrabie Codru. *The National Integrity System* [online]. 2005 ed. Bucharest: Transparency International Romania, 2005. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org.ro/files/File/NIS%20%20REPORT\\_final.pdf](http://www.transparency.org.ro/files/File/NIS%20%20REPORT_final.pdf)>.

corruption is not an objective in itself, it does not represent a blind crusade for straightening the evils of Romanian society”, and that “The corruption phenomena can never be eliminated”.<sup>653</sup>

The second program, NAS II, covered the period 2005-2007 and was built on the lessons learnt of the NAS I. The new plan defines 10 objectives to be resolved. The most important of them are the ones related to transparency and integrity of the public administration, prevention of corruption in the business world, information campaigns and educational measures, the strengthening of resistance to corruption in the judicial system, reducing the number of structures dedicated to the fight against corruption to improve their efficiency, and integration of anti-corruption measures advocated by the European Union, the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the OECD. As usual, it looks like an ambitious program on the paper, but the question is: do politicians have the will to apply this program and put in the necessary resources to accomplish it?

Traian Basescu declares in 2005: “Bribe has become a national sport”<sup>654</sup> and it is not a European mentality to be partner of corrupt institutions. “A European Citizen is a partner of law”<sup>655</sup>, he says. He asks the Romanian citizen, “[s]tarting from tomorrow to not pay bribe anymore to ask public servants to comply with the law, to ask the physician to comply with the law, to ask anyone – including in the relations between private companies, to comply with the law. [...] I would ask, if possible, to support the citizen; it’s part of getting back our national dignity.”<sup>656</sup>

Corruption is a large problem in Romania, linked with the reminiscence of the communist system, including governmental continuity in political life and institution management within the

---

<sup>653</sup> Ivan-Cucu, Constantin Virgil. Progress Report on the Implementation at National and Sector Level of the Anticorruption Measures [online]. Paper presented at the Stability Pact Anti-Corruption Initiative - 7th Steering Group Meeting on 5-6 May 2004. Republic of Montenegro: Romania's Ministry of Justice. p. 17. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://km.undp.sk/uploads/public/File/AC\\_Practitioners\\_Network/Romania\\_SPAI\\_Report.doc](http://km.undp.sk/uploads/public/File/AC_Practitioners_Network/Romania_SPAI_Report.doc)>. p. 16.

<sup>654</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Discursul - presedintelui României, Traian Basescu, în cadrul Conferinței 'Networking Europe' [online]. (Discours of the Romanian President, Traian Basescu in the frame of the conference 'Networking Europe'). București: Delegația Comisiei Europene în România, 2005. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7595\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7595_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>655</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>656</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Change into Continuity***

former 'nomenclatura'. To cure this gangrene, it is necessary to shed light on past events and remove the evil undermining the structures of the state. Moreover, these impunities do not calm the civil society and do not help it to heal the wound and to restart on new basis of democracy.

In order to get rid off the corruption, the Prime Minister, following the proposal of Marius Oprea, created the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania (IICCR), acknowledged by a Romanian Government Decree, because "[m]any people are asking whether an outright condemnation of communism is still necessary, now that 16 years have passed since the Revolution of 1989."<sup>657</sup> It is "a profoundly moral decision, meant to restore the Romanian society from its foundation".<sup>658</sup> Oprea writes, in the presentation of the Institute, that

[w]e [Romanians] gradually witnessed the regrouping of the former communist leaders (nomenclatura), of the 'Securitate' – the former political police of the communist regime –, while different people from the Militia and the Prosecutor's Office secured their positions or even upgraded them, despite their having made compromises during the former regime. We were witnesses to how these people re-conquered their political and economic power. This political and bureaucratic class turned into a strong oligarchy, after having served a criminal regime.<sup>659</sup>

In the same way, Traian Basescu creates the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania, in April 2006, headed by Vladimir Tismaneanu.<sup>660</sup> The report, '*Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania*', was issued in December 2006. By formally condemning communism, Romania became the first Eastern European country to do so thru an academic study bringing together scholars and researchers on this issue.

---

<sup>657</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The Institute* [online]. 2006-2008a. The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania. [cited 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/en/about\\_iiccr/institute/](http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/en/about_iiccr/institute/)>.

<sup>658</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

<sup>659</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The IICCR's Brochure 2007* [online]. Bucharest: The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania, 2007e. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iiccr.ro/pdf/en/brochure/iiccrs\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.iiccr.ro/pdf/en/brochure/iiccrs_brochure.pdf)>. p. 2.

<sup>660</sup> Tismaneanu Vladimir is a Romanian and American political scientist, sociologist, and professor at the University of Maryland, College Park and a specialist in political systems and compared politics. He left Romania in 1981 and lived in United States from 1982.

Traian Basescu declares, in his speech in front of the Parliament, in December 2006, that

[t]he Commission's conclusions, which I support, confirm that the totalitarian communist regime in Romania was imposed by foreign dictate [, imported by USSR]. Indeed, it was a case of an illegitimate regime, founded upon a fanatical ideology, an ideology that systematically cultivated hatred, an ideology for which the 'lass struggle' and the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' symbolized the essence of historical progress.<sup>661</sup>

Traian Basescu said: "As Head of the Romanian state, I expressly and categorically condemn the communist system in Romania, from its foundation, on the basis of dictate, from 1944 to 1947, to its collapse in December 1989."<sup>662</sup> He adds that "[b]eing aware of the realities presented in the Report, I affirm with full responsibility: the communist regime in Romania was illegitimate and criminal."<sup>663</sup> He adds, "[f]or the citizens of Romania, communism was a regime imposed by a political group self-designated as possessor of the truth, a totalitarian regime born through violence, and ended through violence".<sup>664</sup> In conclusion, the President says: "In condemning this regime[, the communist one], the democratic Romanian State condemns its instruments, the Romanian Communist Party and the Securitate in the first place."<sup>665</sup>

For the Commission chairman Vladimir Tismaneanu, the best phrase which defines the conclusion of the report is the following one: "From the beginning to the end, communism in Romania has been an illegitimate and criminal regime".<sup>666</sup>

The scientific community and the media, as well political leaders, criticized this initiative for its form and substance. The report's critics focused on three problems: the choice of events and personalities included in the report, the moral authority of the

---

<sup>661</sup> Băsescu, Traian. *The Speech given by the president of Romania, Traian Băsescu, on the occasion of the Presentation of the Report by the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania* [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006d. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288\\_en.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288_en.pdf)>.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid.

<sup>665</sup> Ibid.

<sup>666</sup> Cited in \_\_\_\_\_. Tismaneanu report opens new Pandora's box [Online]. ACTMedia News Agency. Bucharest: ACT Media - news agency, s.d.-b. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.actmedia.eu/top+story/tismaneanu+report+opens+new+pandora%92s+box+/5307>>.

## ***Change into Continuity***

commission members and the conclusions of the report. Romanian journalist, Ion Cristoiu, believes that the personalities nominated in the report are perceived as political enemies of Traian Basescu, who initiated the commission.<sup>667</sup> Some critics noted that condemning a political doctrine is useless as the crimes of the regime should be condemned and dangerous because existing communist states could take it as an attack. Some believe that Traian Basescu's choice to declare the Communist regime as illegitimate based on the report, is also dangerous because it may be interpreted as an annulment of all international treaties in which Communist Romania took part.<sup>668</sup> We can note, also, that the report mixes all victims of the Communist regime into a single category, whereas some should be singled out. Another point is that important dissident leaders are also omitted from the report.

In general, for Pierre Verluise, "[t]hrough the research of the Securitate officers and Communist Party members, the institute could have a positive impact on the fight against systemic corruption."<sup>669</sup> The other good point is the opening of the National Archives to grant easier access to information. However, this entire measure leads to a major political crisis with the President's suspension in 2007. The president gains his power back thru the referendum, in particular with the support of the population and the Diaspora.

### **III.4.5.2 The Battle**

In June 2006, the president came into open conflict with Popescu-Tariceanu, the Prime Minister, after he announced with the

---

<sup>667</sup> Cristoiu, Ion. Raportul rafuielii politice [online]. (The report of the political dispute). Jurnalul National, 17 Dec. 2006. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.jurnalul.ro/articole/5704/raportul-rafuielii-politice>>.

<sup>668</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Punctul de vedere al Partidului Conservator in urma prezentarii, in Parlamentul Romaniei, a raportului intocmit de Comisia prezidentiala pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste [online]. (Point of view of the Conservative Party after the presentation, at the Romanian Parliament, a report from the Presidential Commission for the analysis of communist dictatorship). *Partidul Conservator*, 18 Dec. 2006. București: Partidul Conservator, 2006c. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pur.ro/print.php?i=1346>>.

<sup>669</sup> Verluise, Pierre. Pourquoi la corruption a-t-elle mis en difficulté l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union européenne ? [online]. (Why corruption put in difficulty Romania's accession to the European Union?). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique, March 2006. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2006. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/verluise06031roum.htm>>.

Defence Minister that they and the PNL sought to withdraw Romania's troops from Iraq. However, the troops stayed in Iraq, after the president called a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, which voted that the troops should stay.<sup>670</sup> Thus, the Romanian elite do not deny the importance of partnership with the United States, more that it does not date only of this government. However, there are some different approaches from neither the president nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from a simple basic one to a more complex and nuanced one's.

Nevertheless, the President and Prime Minister's conflicts continued, not only on the Romanian troop's withdrawal, but also in the political sphere, through the suspension of the President by the Parliament in April 2007, on ground of presidential abuse of authority "using secret services to spy on cabinet members and politicians"<sup>671</sup>. Also the opposition claims

that the president had infringed upon and 'substituted' the authority of the government, the judicial system and the Parliament; committed acts of 'political partisanship' [...] and abused his power by acting more like a 'judge of the other public authorities' than a 'collaborator' and thus 'abandoned his role of impartial mediator required by the Romanian constitution'; and manipulated and 'investigated public opinion against other state institutions' such as the Parliament and the government.<sup>672</sup>

Another reason for the suspension of Romania's president resulting from the political sphere was the fight against corruption under the pressure of the EU, which resulted in the Commission's progress reports and the possibility to invoke safeguard clauses, explained above. Even if Romania made substantial progress on juridical reforms, the EU's justice commissioner, pushed by French and British officials, accused the Union to be too soft concerning what they called the 'serious' corruption problems in the country. The President is particularly energetic in pushing an anti-corruption

---

<sup>670</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicate de presa* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Consiliul Suprem de Apărare a Țării, 2006. [cited 17 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://csat.presidency.ro/index.php?page=cp&cp=16>>.

<sup>671</sup> Condon, Christopher. Basescu seeks return to office [online]. *Financial Time*, May 21, 2007. [cited 14 Nov. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nclick\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nclick_check=1)>.

<sup>672</sup> Roncea, Victor. Ucis de Comisia Tismăneanu [online]. (Killed by the Tismaneanu Commission). *ZIUA pe internet*, 8 ianuarie 2007, 3823. București: ZIUA, 2007. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/prt.php?id=213782&data=2007-01-08>>.

## **Change into Continuity**

agenda, and as Bogdan Teodorescu, director of a Romanian think-tank -Institute Pro- said, Traian Basescu "wanted to fight corruption through political power instead of building institutions based on law".<sup>673</sup> The President denounces that "too often, mafia arrived on the table of the government."<sup>674</sup> He explains that the political environment is like "an aquarium in which illegitimate interest groups struggle to discredit state institutions. They have tremendous energy in trying to discredit State institutions, be they ministers, let's say the minister of justice, or prosecutors, or the police".<sup>675</sup> Traian Basescu, head of the state, fights with interest groups and explains that "[w]hen you look back and see sustainability, you realize that it is illegitimate interest groups that support it, because they have access to television and writing."<sup>676</sup> He adds that "[i]t is a wonderful battle".<sup>677</sup> However, the President got criticized about the manner of implementing the fight against corruption, arguing that his tempestuous style and resistance "threatened its members and supporters".<sup>678</sup> All efforts were made against the president's enemies or opponents neither politician nor businessmen close to him. In strong opposition with the Prime Minister, the President organized a referendum in order to return to the presidential place. He succeeded with the large support of the population, including the Romanian

---

<sup>673</sup> cited in Condon, Christopher. Basescu seeks return to office [online]. Financial Time, May 21, 2007. [cited 14 Nov. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nlick\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nlick_check=1)>.

<sup>674</sup> Bășescu, Traian. *Comunicat de Presa. Prezidentele Romaniei, Traian Besescu, a participat astazi, 1 februarie a.c., la bilantul Ministerului Administratiei si Interneilor (MAI)* [online]. ( Press Release. Romanian President, Traian Besescu, attended today, February 1 this year, to the bilan of the Ministry of Administration and Interior (MAI)). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7066\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7066_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>675</sup> Bășescu, Traian. *The Speech given by the president of Romania, Traian Bășescu, on the occasion of the Presentation of the Report by the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania* [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006d. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288\\_en.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288_en.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>676</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>677</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>678</sup> Condon, Christopher. Basescu seeks return to office [online]. Financial Time, May 21, 2007. [cited 14 Nov. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nlick\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nlick_check=1)>.



## ***Change into Continuity***

Diaspora, by winning the referendum on May 19, with 74 per cent of the participating voters rejecting the president's impeachment.

This battle demonstrated the effect of the Romanian foreign policy interaction with the Romania domestic policy, through the Iraqi war and the alliance with the United States, and the corruption issues with the European Union *acquis communautaires*.

### **III.5 Partial Conclusion**

The Iliescu's presidency runned until December 1996, from the first democratic election by the parliament in 1990 and followed by a popular election in 1992. As the particular situation of Romania's transition from dictatorship to democracy, and the supervision of Romania by Western democracies for the European and NATO integration, the legacy of the past<sup>679</sup>, the Romania's domestic policy and image had an important impact on the foreign policy and leeches off the international relations of Romania. In addition, the political program related to administration and economic reforms was highly important for Romania's image and then on Romania's international relations. From 1993, reforms were not seriously done and the Romanian official wishes of change remained in their imaginary and their beliefs. We argue that there were no difference between Iliescu's presidency foreign policy and Ceausescu's one. However, after 1993, the Westernization of the political elite slowly brings a change in the attitude for the normalization of International Relations in 1996. For Catherine Durandin, a French historian specialists in Romania's aggregate history, "[t]he first, long period extended from 1990 to 1996, was dominated by Gorbachevian and post-Gorbachevian forces."<sup>680</sup>

We can see that the government, in the context of the revolutionary issue, has difficult legitimacy and was challenged by the population and opposition. Nothing changed in depth, but only in surface. The only chance of the Romanian government at the beginning was the recognition on the international scene to secure its recognition and its power on the domestic scene. This presidency was marked by several topics regarding the foreign policy. After the statement of the NSF to broke the isolation of the country for a

---

<sup>679</sup> Te see: Craiutu, Aurelian. *Romania: The Difficult Apprenticeship of Liberty (1989-2004)* [online]. Paper presented at the EES noon discussion on June 9, 2004 on June 9, 2004. Indiana University-Bloomington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. p. 4. [cited 23 Jan 2008]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/MR298Craiutu.doc>>.

<sup>680</sup> Durandin, Catherine. Second part - Romania from 1990-2001, by Dr. Catherine Durandin, writer and historian. Interview by Pierre Verluise [online]. 2003. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/english/romania/durandin2.htm>>.

comeback in the international community, Romania acted actively thru International Organizations – the UN and its subsidiary, IMF, ... - and participated in regional organizations – NATO, EU, BSEC, OSCE, WUE, ... -. In addition, emphasis was put on active worldwide contacts with the major powers - Russia, United States -, as well as major economic powers – Japan – and historical partners – South-America, China – at the diplomatic level. From this point of view, Romania succeeded in returning and playing a full role in the international community.

The integration goals in European and Euro-Atlantic space were stated on different occasions, from the start of the new Romanian government. Because of the slow importation of the Western democracy, as it was done during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Romania had a handicap in the accession towards NATO and the EU. Romanian leaders' political attitude towards democratic reforms and human rights topics described in the Romanian image paragraph, troubles Romania's relation with regional organizations (NATO, EU) as well with the neighbors. Romania decided to make a large effort and concession in order to solve these problems and to be seen as a viable candidate for the EU and NATO integration.

On the base of the dichotomous Romania's attitude, one side toward the Western model and the other side toward the native model, Romania finally chose the Western model, despite the reminiscence of the historical Latin link with France, Spain, Italy, Latin America and the Francophony, as well as the European model link implemented after the 1849 revolution. The native model pushed Romania to flirt with the Slavic neighbors (Russia and Yugoslavia) and to be potentially classified as a Balkan country, especially during the first Yugoslavian war (1990-1992).

President Ion Iliescu decided, after a period of hesitation, to turn Romania's membership of both organizations, the European Union and NATO, into the foundation pillar of his foreign policy, and this position was fully shared by the parties in opposition at that time. We want to specify that, during this period, as usual, we noted a strong shift between speeches and practices.

On the base of will of change, The Constantinescu's presidency was underlined in the domestic policy by the will to reform the economy, the administration and the defense, and by the foreign policy aimed to integrate the Western institutions as EU and NATO. The goals of the Constantinescu presidency were the integration in European and Euro-Atlantic space, with the importation of the Westerners democracy as back in history at the 19th century, and the

## ***Change into Continuity***

positioning of the country as a factor of crossroad between East and West, South and North, equilibrium and stability toward the South-East European space. "Indeed, since his election, in November, President Constantinescu strives 'to build a solid and flexible regional architecture' "<sup>681</sup> as it was written in a Western newspaper, 'Le Monde'. However, the director of the daily Romanian newspaper 'Today' (Azi), Ion Cristoiu said: "[f]or six years [after the overthrow of communism], Romanians waited for a miracle, and when Constantinescu came, we thought it was the miracle. But no miracle happened".<sup>682</sup> A growing dissatisfaction with the government's inefficiencies and economic policies, as well the inability to keep the promises to bring a free-market economy to Romania led to a wave of protests in 1997 and 1999.

Not all government's projects succeeded; Romania as a crossroad failed in implementation and only the stability factor was recognized by the international community. The Romanian crossroad idea, expressed in another way in the previous presidency, gave results later thru the use of Romania's idea by foreign leaders positioning Romania as a key element in the region. Under Constantinescu's presidency, the good neighborhood relations strategy was continued in particular with Hungary and Ukraine. Romania continued and reinforced its participation with International Organizations – IMF, World Bank, etc. - as well as with Regional Organizations such as the BSCE. Romanian's officials developed a concept with the Romanian-Bulgarian-Greek link based on Orthodoxy.

The implementation of government reforms, the compliance with international organizations' recommendations, the economic cost of the 'war sacrifice' had a social and financial impact, combined with the government choice during the Kosovo war in opposition with the population feeling - all these strongly disappointed a part of the voters. The refusal of NATO to integrate Romania in the first wave and the EU postponement of the accession process will bring an ultra-nationalist reaction and brought back Ion Iliescu as president. The failure to integrate into NATO during first wave was due to two problems; The first was the international situation and the will of

---

<sup>681</sup> Châtelot, Christophe. En normalisant ses relations avec l'Ukraine la Roumanie cherche les faveurs de l'OTAN (By normalizing its relations with Ukraine Romania searches the favours of NATO). *Le Monde*, 6 Jun.1997. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>682</sup> Holley, David. As Romania Struggles, President's Reelection Chances Shrink [online]. *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2000. [cited 2 Aug. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://articles.latimes.com/2000/may/28/news/mn-35021>>.

United States officials to manage the Russians' feeling towards the NATO enlargement; the second one was the failure in the political, administrative and military reforms of Romania's domestic policy. Thus blocking the Romanian accession during the first wave. As we can read in newspapers: "The foreign intelligence service, a spy operation notorious for its hardball tactics, is still run by agents who had positions in the Ceausescu dictatorship. Mr. Ionescu acknowledged that, for Romania to be acceptable to NATO, the foreign intelligence service needed to be cleaned out."<sup>683</sup>

Alin Teodorescu, a deputy at the Romanian Parliamentary assembly, analyses the policy of the Constantinescu presidency and concludes that the Romanian government has the merit to gain the respect of the European Union during the Kosovo war due to Romania's attitude and its capacity to make front to the unpopularity of its policy. He concludes that it is not much, but it is something nonetheless. As he puts it:

The 96-2000 government wanted Romania to join NATO, but it was not ready for that and did nothing to prepare itself for that. The only thing that is truly worth mentioning is Constantinescu's position during the Kosovo conflict, when he supported NATO's intervention, running the risk of losing his popularity in the polls and, eventually, the elections. He kept his word and set a certain individual behavior. For several months, Romania had a good image again, being invited to Helsinki to start the EU accession process, even though everybody knew it was a country way behind the others. It's not much for four years of mandate, but it was something nonetheless.<sup>684</sup>

Communism remained in Romania for 6 years after the Revolution, until 1996. On the contrary, in other Eastern European States, communism disappeared, as political forces after the Eastern European States independence but came back to power in Poland (1993) and Hungary (1994) and mainly in all other Eastern States, where the post-communist governments were unable to improve the economic situation. "At the time of their initiation, reform programs in both Hungary and Poland enjoyed widespread public support, but when the people realized the price they were asked to pay for

---

<sup>683</sup> Perlez, Jane. Romania Looks Beyond the Rebuff: Rather Than Sulk on NATO, It Prepares for the Next Time. *International Herald Tribune*, 13 Jul. 1997.

<sup>684</sup> Palade, Rodica and Teodorescu Alin. Urmeaza 12 luni cruciale pentru Romania [online]. (12 crucial months will follow up for Romania). *Revista 22*, 14 Oct. 2003-20 Oct. 2003, 2003, no. 710. [cited 03 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=643&nr=2003-10-21>>. Translated by Alina Coman.

## ***Change into Continuity***

marketization, they quickly turned against the reforms."<sup>685</sup> And, we can say that the non-accession to NATO during the first wave, the delay of the European Union accession process with the country 'sacrifice' made in applying the reforms recommended by International Organizations and the 'Kosovo War' created a scission between the population and the government. This scission will favor the election of the Ion Iliescu coalition.

Ion Iliescu was re-elected on the basis of the civil society's disillusion toward Emil Constantinescu's presidency and to bar Vadim Tudor's election. The government builds a program with such priorities as the re-launch of the economic growth, the fight against poverty and unemployment, restoration of the authority of the State and of its institutions, reduction of bureaucracy, the fight against corruption and criminality. The acceleration of the integration into the EU and NATO remain the top priority of the Romanian foreign policy, as the relationship with neighboring countries. As previous Ion Iliescu's mandate and Ceausescu's foreign policy, Romania wants to be 'world connected', by strengthening historical relation with the Latin country and the 'third world', as well as former communist countries, and with the mythic United States, by consolidating its strategic partnership with them. The country leaders surf on the waves of globalization and of the development relations with the Far East. They renew the idea of 'Romania at the crossroads' between the East and the West launched during Emil Constantinescu's mandate. In the regional and continental area, the country obtained successful results through the OSCE Chairmanship and started to develop the leadership toward the Black Sea region. The Romanian government paid special attention to the Republic of Moldova, encouraging the European anchor of this state. Moreover, Romanian officials paid particular attention to the issue in relation with Ukraine concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf and the exclusive economic areas in the Black Sea. In recent years, Romania has worked to boost and develop its bilateral relations and trade with the Russian Federation.

The period from 2001 to 2004 increased Romania's visibility in the world arena and influenced its relations with major players, upgrading cooperation between state institutions and Romanian communities everywhere, improving Romania's image in the world on its coordinated objective to attract foreign investments by imposing

---

<sup>685</sup> Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. The Unfolding Transition and Consolidation. In Braun, Aurel and Bárány Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. p. 329.

specific Romanian field marks and a new ethos of the diplomatic profession. Romanian leaders introduce some innovation approaches in the foreign policy by using the civil society as NGOs to promote the Romanian image to achieve the foreign policy goals. They developed the sphere of the 'Economic Diplomacy', the 'Cultural Diplomacy' as well as the relations with the Romanian Diaspora.

On a global multilateral level, the government's foreign policy have been tenaciously pursued, promoting Romania's candidature as a member of the impermanent UN Security Council for 2004-2005. Moreover, as a member of the Security Council, from 1990 to 1991 and again from 2004 to 2005, Romania wanted to play a role in the diplomatic space in the 'large Middle East'. We want to underline the intense development of the political and economical cooperation with the People's Republic of China.

President Traian Basescu, in continuity of his predecessors, applies the same main foreign policy goal – the accession to European Union – and strengthens the relationship with NATO. The relationship with Washington will become the other main goal of Basescu's presidency, through the creation of a 'Bucharest-London-Washington axis'. The goal of this closer relationship with the United States, in the framework of the fight against terrorism, is the deep development of the military, political and economical relations. In the military field, the goal is to welcome US military bases in the framework of the American re-deployment in Europe. In the political field, it is the will to continue to have support from Washington leaders in order to strengthen Romania's position toward the Black Sea. As for the economical field, it is the opportunity to develop the American foreign investment in the Romanian economy. For Romanian leaders, the relationship with the United States cannot be separated from NATO and the European security issue, contributing to the stability and economic growth for Europe in general, and South-Eastern Europe in particular.

However, the large corruption phenomenon and the domestic political fight between the President and the Prime Minister have a profound impact on the Romanian international relations, which crystallized the forces and attention on personal issue instead of the country's future role in NATO and the European Union.

## **IV From Isolation to Interdependence**

The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a Better Life in a Democratic, Safer and More Prosperous Country.

The National Security Strategy of Romania<sup>686</sup>

Led by Ion Iliescu, former communist and newly designated president of the CNSF, it was the wish of the new provisory government representative to break away from the last 10 years of controversy and isolation from the international community. In a private interview in January 2006, former president Ion Iliescu came back on this period and said that:

We [Romania] were completely isolated, i.e.... At the end of the eighties, Romania was hated. [...] Everywhere in the world. [...]

The year 1989 marked isolation. This is why, in the program of the Revolution, among the ten points, there was this: to put an end to the international isolation of Romania, to open the country towards the world.<sup>687</sup>

Romania suffered from its last ten years of isolation at the level of international relations, but also at the level of its domestic economic situation. Far from making a speech analysis, we notice here, in Ion Iliescu's interview, that the important point was that Romania was hated and isolated from the international scene. The will of the new leader was 'to put an end' and to have Romania be again an actor on the international scene.

---

<sup>686</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007f. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>.

<sup>687</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. *La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultats* (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007. p. 433. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Was the will to change the Romanian situation on the international relations scene put into action? Can we say that there was a change in the Romanian foreign policy? As we defined foreign policy in the introduction part, here before, we need to define the foreign policy change and, hence, to see if the *status quo* meets the definition.

We will demonstrate that the Romanian foreign policy changes, from isolation during the Ceausescu period to dependence vis-à-vis the EU and NATO and their representation through the program accession, during the first stage of Constantinescu's presidency (1996 to 2000) and during the Ion Iliescu's fourth mandate (2000 to 2004). Romania will build, during a second step, an interdependence relationship with NATO and the EU and their state representatives as well as with its neighbors. We will see, also, that the new international situation, after 1989, creates a world of interdependence between states and actors.

### **IV.1 The Global Situation**

The end of the Cold War, starting with the 'Iron Curtain' fall and ending with the Soviet Union dissolution, brings a change in the European situation, as well as in international relations and diplomacy. This situation brings Eastern European countries back to the period from before the Second World War, which means a jump back in history, to the old geopolitical issue of the interwar period. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) bring some potential threats on the economic, social and political plans.

For NATO, the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 removed de facto the main adversary and the Soviet threat for Europe. These facts caused a strategic re-evaluation of NATO's purpose, nature and tasks and were to affect the transatlantic relationship and the United States foreign policy deeply.

The European Economical Community (EEC) was under construction and the EEC was surprised by the new situation, as was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). All previously communist states represented by Central, Eastern and Balkan states were at different levels from the point of view of economic, social and political changes and in a difficult situation. At that time, the EEC was not stable enough and even ready for the idea to integrate the ex-communist states, which were in complete political and economical bankruptcy, and neither was NATO. For the European Community, the fall of the communist regime and the opening of the Soviet satellite border lead to some economical, social and political issues. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) bring some potential threats. The political development becomes an important matter in order to guarantee the security and stability at the doors of European states, and to avoid potential conflicts and border reshaping. The economical development will avoid poverty and social troubles and will create easy access to the free-market economy.

Central and Eastern European and Balkan countries were in a transformation process, with deep concerns regarding the economic and political future of the state identity. The new freedom brings back some facts that were never accepted and old litigations or disputes that were never resolved. This situation brought the redefinition of alliances and borders and the creation of new states, sometimes in a

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

bloody manner. In this situation, neighboring countries and their vicinity were highly important. The minority presence and the behavior of the state became an important issue. The first Eastern European country to join the European Economical Community (EEC) was the German Democratic Republic, following its dissolution and integration within the German Federal Republic. The Ex-German Democratic Republic (GDR) became, de facto, a member of the EEC and NATO at the end of 1990. This precedent marks the possibility to integrate Eastern European countries in large organizations, such as the European Economical Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The new German state made some constitutional changes and signed a treaty with Poland, finalizing Germany's boundaries as permanent along the Oder-Neisse line to avoid potential tensions.

Why were these organizations – the EEC and NATO – so important and why did they attract Romania within other CEECs? What connection or influences did these two organizations have regarding Romania's international relations? Why were neighboring relations so important and how did they influence the state's change and development? What was the treatment of neighboring relations and the minority presence on the state territory?

In this section, we will demonstrate that the CEECs strategy was the same, i.e. to integrate large organizations to provide economic and military security and to move from a kind of dictatorship and centralized economy to democracy and free-market economy, each at their own pace. We will demonstrate that the Romanian foreign policy will move from isolation in 1989 to dependence vis-à-vis international organizations such as the European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as well as in relation to Western democracies such as United States or European states. Finally, we will show that Romania moved from dependence to interdependence with the here-before organizations and states.

### **IV.1.1 The Choice**

#### **IV.1.1.1 Central and Eastern European Countries**

For Central and Eastern European Countries,

[i]mmmediately after 1989, the world seemed to have been enormously simplified, according to the logic which saw the 'liberal democracy' [...] imposing itself in a relentless manner all over the world.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Fukuyama's 'The End of History' expressed this vision. At the end of the day, for transition countries, the entry into economic and political normality found its incarnation in the accession within the two main clubs of the Euro-Atlantic space: NATO and the European Union; it is also from this that stemmed the definition of priorities regarding foreign and economic policies.<sup>688</sup>

Romania, as other CEECs, adopted the same strategy, as we will see hereafter in this part, for various reasons:

**First**, the necessity to be military safer from any threats, as Russian expansionism, Black Sea and Balkan instability thru the association and integration within a military organization that can stand against these threats, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and NATO within an alliance with the United States, winner of the Cold War.

**Second**, to go towards democracy and economic opulence by turning to the political organization representing democracy and to switch trade relations from the East side to the West side, by strengthening the link with Europe and, in this case, with the Union (CEE and after EU).

**Third**, to stabilize the state borders and domestics institutions, as to resolve internal strong dissension issues within the neighborliness relations thru good relations by treaties, negotiation and cooperation. The neighborliness relation will be used as a positive trigger in Romania's international relations and in the accomplishment of the state international strategy.

### **IV.1.1.2 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

"In the post-Cold War era, NATO has confronted the challenge of remaining relevant in a European security environment devoid of threat from all-out attack from the East."<sup>689</sup> In fact, NATO was created after the Second World War as an alliance to react to the Soviet threat of invasion of Western European countries. However, the 'Iron Curtain' fall and the end of the Cold War brought forward the need to

---

<sup>688</sup> Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. Identité et culture politique dans la Roumanie post-communiste. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârnelci Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. p. 70. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>689</sup> Peterson Ulrich, Marybeth The New NATO and Central Eastern Europe: Managing European Security in the Twenty-first Century. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 17.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

maintain the alliance after the disappearance of former enemy. The Alliance was built as a collective defense alliance in Europe, even if some actors – France, for example – viewed it as “nothing more than a loose and fragile conditional alliance of potentially defecting nations-states.”<sup>690</sup> The organization, created as a security provider “to ward off specific and defined dangers”<sup>691</sup> against a well-identified enemy, would adapt to face and respond to more diffuse threats and instability. In fact, NATO “is increasingly centered on the principle of collectively managing security interest.”<sup>692</sup> The survival of the organization will be achieved through enlargement towards the East, thru cooperation and later integration of the former enemy with different cooperation relations and programs implementation. The new security paradigm with the Kosovo war and after the 9/11 events introduced the United States as an active and aggressive actor inside the alliance and accelerated the enlargement process to all the former Warsaw treaty members. The Alliance’s transformation and enlargement processes were easier than the European Union one, due to the unique decision - maker and commander – the United States.

### **IV.1.1.3 The European Union Integration**

In 1989, the European Community was surprised by the events of the Iron Curtain and the Communism fall, and the end of the Cold War period. Especially the German reunification, in 1991, will give the top start for the Central and Eastern Europe Countries accession to Europe. The CEECs, as well some Balkan countries will ask to come back in the European family as a normal and a due to the East European states after their domination by the Soviet rules.

At that time, the European Economic Community (EEC) and later the European Union was in construction, and different actions and initiative were put in place to archive the construction. From 1990 to 1999, the creation of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) was built in order to coordinate economic policy, to

---

<sup>690</sup> Krupnick, Charles. *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 3.

<sup>691</sup> Peterson Ulrich, Marybeth *The New NATO and Central Eastern Europe: Managing European Security in the Twenty-first Century*. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 18.

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.* In. p. 19.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

facilitate exchange and payment culminated with the adoption, in 2001, of the EU's single currency - the Euro - for all European citizens. In 1990, the abolition of systematic border controls among the participating countries conducted in 1995 to the implementation of the Schengen Agreement. The European Community thru the European Commission aimed to complete the single market before January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1993. Meanwhile, the European Commission has decided to simplify the internal market legislation, the regulations and directives to improve the economic efficiency of the EU. From 1957 until 1995, the Union thru fourth enlargement as created the European Union (1993) by the adhesion of democratic and free-market economy countries.

Concerning the new situation in the beginning of the nineties at the Union border with the ex-communist states, for Frank Schimmelfenning, the "[e]nlargement can be seen as an instrument to stabilize Central and Eastern Europe, to control the negative externalities of political and economic transformation in the East, and to expand the borders of the EU zone of peace and prosperity." Here, we want to stress the change happened in the international environment and the non-readiness of the European Union for this historical process of CEECs' integration. We will see throughout this thesis than the enlargement will have a continual incident on the accession process, in negative and positive ways for both CEECs and the Union.

In the new international situation after the Cold War, we are in "an area of interdependence"<sup>693</sup> and we can understand that what it is happening in any ex-communist state in term of social, politics and economy change can affect the neighbor countries with positive or negative effect.<sup>694</sup> As Robert Keohane says:

Interdependence affects world politics and the behavior of states; but governmental actions also influence patterns of interdependence. By creating or accepting procedures, rules or institutions for certain kinds of activity, governments regulate and control transnational and interstate relations.<sup>695</sup>

The enlargement process was an important one, because one can observe that in this process, the "[m]ember states on the eastern

---

<sup>693</sup> Keohane, Robert Owen and Nye Joseph S. *Power and Interdependence*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1989].

<sup>694</sup> To see: Ibid. p. 9-17.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

border of the EU are more sensitive to developments in Central and Eastern Europe than the more remote member states."<sup>696</sup>

#### **IV.1.2 Foreign Policy Change**

The term of 'foreign policy change' can be placed on a larger level, indicating the magnitude deriving from the transformation from minor adjustment changes to fundamental changes in the country's international relations orientation. Foreign policy change has been defined by several scholars, such as Kalevi Jaakko Holsti<sup>697</sup> (1982), Kjell Goldmann<sup>698</sup> (1988), Charles Hermann<sup>699</sup> (1990), Jerel Rosati<sup>700</sup> (1994), Thomas Volgy and John Schwarz<sup>701</sup> (1994), David Skidmore<sup>702</sup> (1994) and can be named in many ways – restructuring, adaptation, redirection, and change. The focus, here, is not on normal foreign policy change, which tends to be slow, incremental and with low linkage between issues, but on a fundamental and non-incremental change. Charles Hermann and Jerel Rosati have defined a foreign policy change and established a typology of this change, which, as we will see, matches our study better. Kalevi Holsti defined the foreign policy change as "the dramatic, wholesale alteration of a nation's pattern of external relations".<sup>703</sup> However, the intention is not sufficient to consider the occurrence of change. For Charles Hermann,

---

<sup>696</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 50.

<sup>697</sup> Holsti, Kalevi Jaakko. *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982.

<sup>698</sup> Goldmann, Kjell. *Change and Stability in the Foreign Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Détente*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

<sup>699</sup> Hermann, Charles F. Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy [online]. *International Studies Quarterly*, 1990, vol. 34, no. 1. [cited 16 May 2008 06:52]. Portable Format Document. Available from: <<http://www.jstor/stable/2600403>>.

<sup>700</sup> Rosati, Jerel A. Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994.

<sup>701</sup> Volgy, Thomas J. and Schwarz John E. Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriad Webs of Restraint. In *Ibid*.

<sup>702</sup> Skidmore, David. Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change. In *Ibid*.

<sup>703</sup> Holsti, Kalevi Jaakko. *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. p. ix.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

foreign policy change “is a goal-oriented or problem-oriented program by authoritative policymakers (or their representatives) directed toward entities outside the policymakers’ political jurisdiction”.<sup>704</sup> This added definition gives more information about the achievement of change. He has viewed four “graduate levels of changes”. The first called “adjustment changes” represent minor changes for unchanged purposes; the second level of changes, “program changes”, implies changes in methods or/and means within unchanged purposes; the third named “problem/goal changes” implies changes of purposes; the fourth and last concerning “international orientation changes”, is the entire changed orientation toward the country’s international relations.<sup>705</sup> For our case, we will select Hermann’s highest levels of foreign policy change, called the “international orientation change”.

Jerel Rosati had built four other typologies of changes, in the scope, goals and strategy of foreign policy. i.e. “intensification” (which looks as little), “refinement” (which looks as minor), “reform” (which looks as moderate) and “restructuring” (which looks as major).<sup>706</sup> We will focus on Hermann extreme case definition – international orientation changes – and on Rosati – restructuring – that correspond to our case study. Kalevi Holsti based his work on the studies of foreign policy change labeled as “restructuring”. He defined the idea of restructuring as “the drastic, wholesale alteration of a nation’s pattern of external relations”<sup>707</sup> and he suggested that “restructuring occurs when there is change in many geographical and functional sectors simultaneously”, which is different from “normal foreign policy change” that is slower and incremental.

Moreover, we think that the definition of foreign policy change as restructuring, from Thomas Volgy and John Schwarz, meets our case study. For Volgy and Schwarz:

foreign policy restructuring is defined here as a major, comprehensive change in the foreign policy orientation of a nation, over a

---

<sup>704</sup> Hermann, Charles F. Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy [online]. *International Studies Quarterly*, 1990, vol. 34, no. 1. [cited 16 May 2008 06:52]. Portable Format Document. Available from: <<http://www.jstor/stable/2600403>>. p. 5.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> Rosati, Jerel A. Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. p. 236.

<sup>707</sup> Holsti, Kalevi Jaakko. *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. p. ix.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

relatively short period of time, as manifested through behavioral changes in a nation's interactions with others actors in international politics.<sup>708</sup>

They underline the three properties that the definition should meet: first, "a multidimensional change in behavior"; second, "the manifestations of change"; and third, it must be "changes in direction and changes in participations". These properties can be linked with Holsti's list of non-exhaustive indicators related to whether a state has a foreign policy change. They did not define the "relatively short period of time", but according to Holsti, it happens in less than five years, depending on "the entire web of relations within which a country operates".<sup>709</sup> We will see, hereafter, that to analyze Romania's foreign policy change as "restructuring", it is necessary to use Holsti's types labeled as isolation, self-reliance, dependence, and nonalignment-diversification.

To explain how the change was made, we will use Gustavsson's model of foreign policy change<sup>710</sup>, partly tested and adapted by Alina Georgescu to Romania's foreign policy. Why to use Gustavsson's model? The model allows us to "construct multi-causal explanations based on factors drawn from different levels of analysis."<sup>711</sup> Alina Georgescu wrote a good definition linked with Gustavsson's model:

That foreign policy change occurs when fundamental structural conditions that favour the change are identified by key decision-makers, who then alter their various beliefs and priorities and through their interventions

---

<sup>708</sup> Volgy, Thomas J. and Schwarz John E. Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriad Webs of Restraint. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of Sotuh Carolina Press, 1994. p. 25.

<sup>709</sup> Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics - Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>.

<sup>710</sup> Gustavsson, Jakob. How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change? [online]. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 1999, vol. 34, no. 1. [cited 15 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/1/73>>.

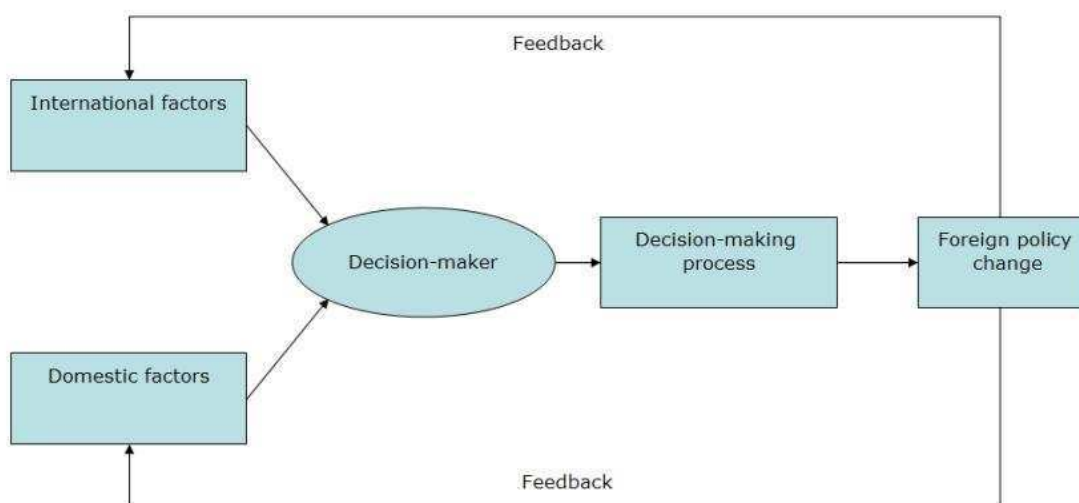
<sup>711</sup> Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics - Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

in the decision-making process bring about a reorientation of foreign policy.<sup>712</sup>

As Gustavsson explains, his model uses the outcome of Hermann's "graduate levels of changes" described above. As we noted before, we will focus only on the last level of change – international orientation change –, as the other levels do not meet the definition we chose and do not represent "restructuring". This is why Alina Georgescu changed the original figure.

We must notice here, as Georgescu remarked, "Gustavsson does not go into detail about the international and domestic factors".<sup>713</sup> To do so, Georgescu introduced a list of factors "to which one should pay attention. The list of international and domestic factors is not exhaustive. Factors are interrelated." We can also underline that some of the chosen factors were already considered and used in studies of foreign policy change. We decided to make some modifications on the model to adapt it to our needs. Indeed, we prefer to deal with global factors as variables system such as international factors, domestic factors, decision-makers, and so on, and to describe case by case the content of each variable, according to the need of the case.



**Figure 1: A Model of Foreign Policy Change.**<sup>714</sup>

---

<sup>712</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>714</sup> Adapted from Gustavsson and Georgescu.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

We changed “individual decision-maker” because, in our case, it is not one person’s decision, but a group of decision-makers. We can study as a separate variable of the system, the interrelation of decision-makers. The variable is a process in itself. In our case, we will demonstrate that it was not an individual decision-maker only, but an interaction group of decision-makers, influenced by the civil society, led by the executive or presidential level, according to presidential mandate. Along the demonstration, through NATO, the EU and the neighborliness issue, we will explain each factor, according to the figure (figure 1).

## **IV.2 The Security: North Association Treaty Organization**

In the new post Cold War situation, after the break of stable world balance maintained by the two superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the international environment become more anarchic than ever and the most critical and obvious feature of international affairs is its state of anarchy. "In anarchy, security is the highest end"<sup>715</sup> and first country priority. All countries try to assure their own security by military superiority or when it is not possible by others means as the Balance of Power (BoP), a central concept of neorealist. The representative figure of New Realism, Stephen Walt argues that states balance only against threat and not especially against strong states or aggregate power, which are not necessarily hostile.<sup>716</sup> In addition, weak states can be a danger to others security, even if they do not have large military power but only by their internal or political instability. In the balance of power, Stephen Walt distinguishes two possibilities: to use balancing, an alliance with others against the dominant threat and bandwagoning, the alignment with the source of threat. Walt suggests that the bandwagoning appears only in exceptional cases, when a state has not an other choice because of isolation or lack of allies.<sup>717</sup>

In this new international situation, a weak state, as Romania, in an area of Balkan and Black Sea instabilities, with the fair of Russian threat will seek to use the balance of power to protect their own security. The balance of power will be realised thru balancing with an alliance to neither a military organisation as NATO nor a superpower as the United States<sup>718</sup>. Romania and the U.S. share one common source of threat represented by re-emergence of russian influence, which they jointly balance against it. In the same idea, NATO and Romania share a common source of threat

---

<sup>715</sup> Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. 1st ed. New York: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979. p. 126.

<sup>716</sup> To see: Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press, 1987.

<sup>717</sup> To see: Ibid.

<sup>718</sup> We will see later on in this thesis that United States and NATO can be vue as the same, considering the U.S. power and decision maker in this organisation.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

represented by the Balkan and Black Sea areas instability and they jointly balance against them. The integration process into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) takes at least 14 years in total, from the first letter of collaboration sent by Romania to NATO's Secretary General in 1990. During this period, Romania took part in all the organization's activities, such as the Partnership for Peace (PfP), and has contributed to all NATO missions since the end of the Cold War. Moreover, Romania has accomplished, since 1999, four national plans for the preparation of its accession (PNA) to NATO.

During the 1989 Revolution, the communiqué for the country, issued by the National Salvation Front Council, stipulated, at point 9 that "[w]e will observe Romania's international commitments and, first of all, the ones related to the Warsaw Treaty."<sup>719</sup> This point was drafted in concordance with the geopolitical situation of the Eastern revolution process. We need to underline that, in 1989, the Warsaw Pact was still active, and the Soviet Union was still a military and political power in this part of the world. However, in 1991, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the CIS will change part of the geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Secretary General of NATO, Manfred Wöner, underlined in a speech delivered in October 1989, the necessity to reshape the East-West relations in a partnership and to help the change. He said that he "believes that 1989 will go down in history as a watershed in East-West relations, and as a decisive point in the evolution of the Atlantic Alliance". He added that "[t]he NATO Summit reaffirmed the Alliance's political vocation; not only to preserve the integrity of its territory, but to build a new Europe in which security is preserved by common liberal values, not military straitjackets."<sup>720</sup>

The first Romanian contact with NATO, after 1989, is the letter sent on July 26, 1990 by Prime Minister Petre Roman, to invite the Secretary General of NATO to pay a visit in Romania for discussions about co-operation between Romania and NATO. This is not strange or special, as we know the will of Romanian people to

---

<sup>719</sup> Sava, Constantin and Monac Constantin. *Revoluția română din decembrie 1989 rețrăită prin documente și mărturii* (The Romanian Revolution of December 1989, revived through document and testimonies). București: Editura Axioma Edit, 2001. p. 323-325.

<sup>720</sup> Wöner, Manfred. Reshaping East-West Relations - Address by Secretary General, Manfred Wörner to a Eurogroup Seminar on "NATO: Partnership and Prospects" [on-line]. Washington, DC: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1989. [cited 23 JAN. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1989/s891012a\\_e.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1989/s891012a_e.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

take part in all organizations, after the welcome of all CEECs into the organization. Certainly, Ceausescu asked for the dissolution of both organizations arguing that they are not necessary for peace and the opposition NATO/Warsaw Pact will end in a dissolution. However, given that, these organizations remained and given the will for cooperation and the new Romanian government had to initiate contacts and co-operation with NATO.

Romanian's candidacy presented two particular problems: the lack of borders contiguous with the alliance, and the country's disputes with Hungary over the status of the Magyar minority and with Ukraine over the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement. The obstacles were considerable because Russia opposed an eastward enlargement of NATO. According to the international transformation with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact on April 1st, 1991, the Alliance's adaptation will take place in Rome in November 1991, and will be followed by a series of regular important meetings to adapt this decision to the international situation. Given that NATO was created to be a strong link between Europe and the United States and to fight against the Communism hegemony and the East-side block within the Soviet Union. Why was NATO not dissolved after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the dislocation of the Soviet Union? When we speak about the Alliance, we need to take in consideration its organization and the role played by the United States. But here – more precisely, we have to notice the role played by NATO in the United States foreign policy.

### **IV.2.1 The United States**

#### IV.2.1.1 The Role of the United States

"The end of the Cold War", said Secretary of State Christopher Warren, "has given us[, United States,] an unprecedented opportunity to shape a more secure world of open societies and open markets – a world in which American interests and ideals can thrive. But we also face serious threats from which

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

no border can shield us".<sup>721</sup> Since the eighties, a consensus has emerged in the U.S. foreign policy, based on three main pillars: democracy, free trade, and open markets.<sup>722</sup> The U.S. Foreign policy was defined in the nineties with "special emphasis to three main objectives: first, pursuing peace in regions of vital interest to the United States; second, confronting the new transnational security threats; and third, promoting open markets and prosperity."<sup>723</sup> When speaking about U.S. foreign policy, former President Clinton said that "[e]verything from the strength of our economy, to the safety of our cities, to the health of our people depends on events not only within our border but half a world away."<sup>724</sup>

But, in the years 2001, after the tragic attack against the World Trade Center, on September 11, as John G. Ikenberry, an Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, states,

the Bush administration pursued one of the most controversial foreign policies in American history. It articulated a sweeping new doctrine of national security based on provocative ideas about American global dominance, the preventive use of force, coalitions of the willing, and the struggle between liberty and evil.<sup>725</sup>

Remember that the U.S. national interest has prevailed at all times and has driven the U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. National Interest is influenced by domestic variables such as political fights, political divisions, groups of interest and presidential election

---

<sup>721</sup> Warren, Christopher. Leadership for the Next American Century [online]. Washington, DC: The Bureau of Public Affairs, 1996. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. Hypertext Document Format. Available from: <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1996/9601/960118dossec2.html>>.

<sup>722</sup> Wiarda, Howard J. Cracks in the Consensus: Debating the Democracy Agenda in U.S. Foreign Policy. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997.

<sup>723</sup> Warren, Christopher. Leadership for the Next American Century [online]. Washington, DC: The Bureau of Public Affairs, 1996. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. Hypertext Document Format. Available from: <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1996/9601/960118dossec2.html>>.

<sup>724</sup> Naím, Moisés Clinton's Foreign Policy [online]. Foreign Policy, Winter 2000, 2000, vol. 121. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0015-7228%28200011%2F12%290%3A121%3C18%3ACFP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>>.

<sup>725</sup> Ikenberry, G. John. Woodrow Wilson, the Bush Administration, and the Future of Liberal Internationalism. In Ikenberry, G. John, Knock Thomas J., Slaughter Anne-Marie, and al. (Eds.), *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-first Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. p. 1.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

campaigns. In fact "America's integration into the world economy has always been uneven, and this unevenness has always been a source of domestic political conflict over foreign policy."<sup>726</sup>

### ***IV.2.1.1.1 The Guarantor of Freedom and Democracy***

"At the World Conference on Human Rights, convened by the United Nations in 1993, the Clinton administration made it clear that it had little patience for those who challenge the universality of human rights."<sup>727</sup> The U.S. President reinforces in 1995 in his 'Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the National Endowment for Democracy'<sup>728</sup> that "[t]he promoting democracy abroad is one of the central pillars of the United States' security strategy. [...] By continuing our support [to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)], we will advance America's interests in the world."<sup>729</sup>

As always, United States was promoted as the challenger of freedom and democracy, by the political regime itself and the

---

<sup>726</sup> Trubowitz, Peter. *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy*. London, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998. p. xiii.

<sup>727</sup> Naím, Moisés. Clinton's Foreign Policy [online]. *Foreign Policy*, Winter 2000, 2000, vol. 121. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0015-7228%28200011%2F12%290%3A121%3C18%3ACFP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>>. p. 19.

<sup>728</sup> The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a United States non-profit organization that was founded in 1983, by providing grants funded through an annual allocation from the U.S. Congress. Although administered as a private organization, its funding comes almost entirely from a governmental appropriation by Congress. The association was created by an act of Congress. NED promote and strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. In addition to its grants program, NED also supports and houses the Journal for Democracy, the World Movement for Democracy, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the Reagan-Fascell Fellowship Program, the Network of Democracy Research Institutes, and the Center for International Media Assistance. The NED has been accused by both right-wing and left-wing personalities of interference in foreign regimes, and to be simply the continuation of the CIA's covert actions through other means. The NED's main principle is that 'What is good for America is good for the world'. (to see: <http://www.wikipedia.org/>, <http://www.ned.org/> and <http://www.voltairenet.org/>).

<sup>729</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, William J. Clinton, 1995, Bk. 1, January 1 to June 30, 1995* [online]. Vol. 31. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1996b. (Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://fdsys.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-1995-03-13/html/WCPD-1995-03-13-Pg373.htm>>. p. 373.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

'American way of life'. "The Declaration of Independence's proclamation of 'inalienable rights' is, in fact, an assertion that certain rights are neither granted by government nor subject to removal by government".<sup>730</sup> Second, by the U.S. intervention to save Europe during the two World Wars, Democracy was promoted by the United States during the War and after World War II to fight against dictatorship and communism associated to the enemy of freedom. "Ever since the First World War, the crucial question that has confronted the United States is the defense of Western civilization."<sup>731</sup> In addition, during the Cold War, the United States was the guarantor of democracy and freedom for Europe through the Alliance – NATO – and directly or indirectly everywhere, communism was in progression (Latin America, Asia, etc). As John Ikenberry wrote: "In one sense, this might not be surprising. American presidents from FDR [(Franklin D. Roosevelt)] and Truman to Kennedy and Reagan to Clinton have made the championing of democracy and freedom a centerpiece of their foreign policy."<sup>732</sup>

"Human rights have been central to U.S. self-image."<sup>733</sup> In the seventies, after the Helsinki Final Act, the United States integrated in their foreign policy the promotion of human rights, firmly rejecting the cultural and religious differences, but embracing the political and economic opportunities. This policy led to the creation of Human Rights Watch<sup>734</sup>, a U.S. international non-governmental organization that conducts research and advocacy on human rights to monitor the former Soviet Union's compliance with the Helsinki Agreements. For example, Romania's loss of the MFN status is a consequence of the human right abuse, in the opinion of the United States, towards the end of Ceausescu's period.

"[S]upport for democracy and human rights reflects our ideals and reinforces our interests"<sup>735</sup>, declares Christopher Warren at the

---

<sup>730</sup> Mertus, Julie A. *Bait and Switch: Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, 2004. p. 25.

<sup>731</sup> Strausz-Hupé, Robert. *Democracy and American Foreign Policy: Reflections on the Legacy of Alexis de Tocqueville*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995. p. 1.

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>733</sup> Mertus, Julie A. *Bait and Switch: Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2008 [2004]. p. 25.

<sup>734</sup> The name was originally Helsinki Watch in 1978.

<sup>735</sup> Warren, Christopher. *Leadership for the Next American Century* [online]. Washington, DC: The Bureau of Public Affairs, 1996. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. Hypertext Document Format. Available from: <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1996/9601/960118dossec2.html>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

John F. Kennedy School of Government (Harvard University), in 1996. He added that

[o]ur dedication to universal values is a vital source of America's authority and credibility. [...] Our interests are most secure in a world where accountable government strengthens stability and where the rule of law protects both political rights and free market economies.<sup>736</sup>

For that point, he underlines the role of United States to provide "strong support for courageous reforms in nations like [...] the new democracies of Central Europe."<sup>737</sup>

Bennett Kovrig, professor of political science at the University of Toronto and specialist in the U.S. diplomacy, wrote that

[i]f consistency of purpose and flexibility in tactics [...] America's engagement in the affairs of Eastern Europe has stood the test of history. Only a nation possessed of ideological certainty and the attendant sense of mission could persevere so doggedly in championing the cause of democratic self-determination.<sup>738</sup>

The tragedy of 9/11 did not change the United States' attitude on these points, but reinforced the will to promote freedom and democracy everywhere needed. In the document on '*The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*', Georges W. Bush states that "the United States must defend liberty and justice because these principles are right and true for all people everywhere."<sup>739</sup> In addition, as the president underlines, "the United States will use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe. We [U.S.] will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world."<sup>740</sup>

---

<sup>736</sup> Ibid.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid.

<sup>738</sup> Kovrig, Bennett. *Of Walls and Bridges: The United States and Eastern Europe*. New York: New York University Press, 1991. p. 1.

<sup>739</sup> Bush, George W. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* [online]. (National Security Council). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>. p. 3.

<sup>740</sup> Ibid.

***IV.2.1.1.2 The Role of World's Policeman***

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, The United States remained the world's only superpower that no one can challenge directly. At the same time, the new world order changed in the nineties and was characterized by regional threats and challenges. As George H. W. Bush states in 1990:

—a new world order—can emerge: A new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, east and west, north and south, can prosper and live in harmony.<sup>741</sup>

The free economic model, also called Capitalism, becomes the norm for many countries, especially for the former communist countries liberated from Soviet and Communist domination. Alone or through alliances – NATO –, the United States played 'the role of world's policeman'. "Since 1989, the frequency of US-led interventions is approaching one every other year"<sup>742</sup> and the U.S. intervened in the Gulf crisis (Kuwait, 1991), in Africa (Somalia, 1993; Sudan, 1998; São Tomé and Príncipe, 2003), in the Caribbean Islands (Haiti, 1994), in the Balkans (Bosnia, 1995; Kosovo, 1999), in Afghanistan (2001) and in Iraq (2003).

The Secretary of State (1996), "a true believer that America must be involved in the world"<sup>743</sup>, declares that the United States provides leadership as the first central principle of its foreign policy guidelines<sup>744</sup> with "the need to strengthen the institutions that provide an enduring basis for global peace and prosperity."<sup>745</sup> For Warren Christopher, "[t]hese institutions, such as the United Nations, NATO,

---

<sup>741</sup> Bush, George H. W. *Toward a New World Order. A Speech by George H. W. Bush, President of the U.S.A., on the new world order. Given to a joint session of the United States Congress* [online]. Washington, DC, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://d.scribd.com/docs/6fvf8wopxymlg55u766.pdf>>.

<sup>742</sup> Dobbins, James. *NATO's Role in Nation-building* [online]. NATO review, 2005, no. Summer 2005. [cited 27 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue2/english/art1.html#top>>.

<sup>743</sup> Evan, Thomas. *In Bosnia, A Policy Built on Personality* [online]. Newsweek, 1995. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.newsweek.com/id/104406>>.

<sup>744</sup> Warren, Christopher. *Leadership for the Next American Century* [online]. Washington, DC: The Bureau of Public Affairs, 1996. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. Hypertext Document Format. Available from: <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1996/9601/960118dossec2.html>>.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and the World Bank, help [United States] [...] to share the burdens and costs of leadership."<sup>746</sup>

We can read in the U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda of May 1996 that

[t]he issue of America's role in the world is, of course, a very important one, [...] The administration's position is very clear. We think that the personal interests of our citizens, economic as well as security, are better served if the United States takes a leadership position in the world."<sup>747</sup>

In the wake of September 11, the United States strengthened its will to defend its own territory against all kind of threats, especially terrorism. For this purpose, the United States will use all their resources with preventive actions before threats emerge and "will build on these common interests [, dangers of terrorist violence and chaos,] to promote global security."<sup>748</sup> For George W. Bush, "America will encourage the advancement of democracy and economic openness in both nations, because these are the best foundations for domestic stability and international order" and "will use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe."<sup>749</sup> As he explains, "The United States possesses unprecedented—and unequalled—strength and influence in the world."<sup>750</sup> He called the United States "the greatest force for good in history."<sup>751</sup>

He establishes the preemptive war concept as the foundation of the United States international role and unilaterally declares a long war against terrorism, and 'rogue states'. He insists on the fact that

---

<sup>746</sup> Ibid.

<sup>747</sup> McDonald, Dian. Forging a Foreign Policy that Reflects American Values. An interview with Peter Tarnoff, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs [online]. U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, 1996, vol. 1, no. 4. [cited 27 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/0896/ijee/ijee0896.pdf>>. p. 7.

<sup>748</sup> Bush, George W. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [online]. (National Security Council). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>. p. Foreword.

<sup>749</sup> Ibid.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

<sup>751</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Remarks on the USA Freedom Corps Public Service Campaign* [online]. Vol. 38. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 2002a. (Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://fdsys.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-2002-08-05/html/WCPD-2002-08-05-Pg1286-2.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

America offers the "single sustainable model for national success,"<sup>752</sup> the only one that is "right and true for every person in every society".<sup>753</sup> We can note that a White House spokesman remarked that the president "considers any opposition to his policies to be no less than an act of treason."<sup>754</sup>

The U.S. President states, in a speech at West Point, that the United States had the unilateral right to overthrow any government in the world deemed a threat to the nation's security. Later, in a joint session with the Congress, he declares that "the United States Government relies on the armed forces to defend America's interests"<sup>755</sup>, and "[t]he presence of American forces overseas is one of the most profound symbols of the U.S. commitments to allies and friends."<sup>756</sup> For him, the United States "will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary",<sup>757</sup> but "will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community".<sup>758</sup>

In fact, we can quote Johnson Chalmers' book on the new U.S. militarism that is transforming America. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States was described as the world's 'lone superpower,' then as an 'indispensable nation', afterward as a 'reluctant sheriff', and in continuation of 9/11, as a 'New Rome'.<sup>759</sup> With the evolution of American power and influence in the 20<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>752</sup> Bush, George W. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [online]. (National Security Council). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>. p. Foreword.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>754</sup> To see : Thonpson, Doug. Bush Ignored the Truth About Iraq [online]. Capitol Hill Blue, Aug 17, 2005, 8:27:00 AM. Washington, DC: Capitol Hill Blue, 2005. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.capitolhillblue.com/artman/publish/article\\_7231.shtml](http://www.capitolhillblue.com/artman/publish/article_7231.shtml)>. and Engelhart, Tom and Fraser Steve. Interview with Chalmers Johnson, author of the Sorrows of Empire [online]. *The American Project*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books - Henry Holt and Company s.d. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.americanempireproject.com/johnson/johnson\\_interview.htm](http://www.americanempireproject.com/johnson/johnson_interview.htm)>.

<sup>755</sup> Bush, George W. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [online]. (National Security Council). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>. p. 30.

<sup>756</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid.

<sup>759</sup> Chalmers, Johson. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. London: Verso, 2004a. p. 256-284.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Century, Andrew Bacevich<sup>760</sup> arguments: “[t]he reality that [Charles A.] Beard<sup>761</sup> feared has come to pass: like it or not, America today is Rome, commits irreversibly to the maintenance and, where feasible, expansion of an empire that differs from every other empire in history”,<sup>762</sup> fit well. As the Marine Brig. Gen. Mastin Robeson<sup>763</sup> says, “[...] in order to put ‘preventive war’ into action, we require a ‘global presence,’ by which he means gaining hegemony over any place that is not already under our thumb.”<sup>764</sup>

For Johnson Chalmers, professor emeritus at the University of California in San Diego, the Unites States’

militarized empire is a physical reality with a distinct way of life but it is also a network of economic and political interests tied in a thousand different ways to American corporations, universities, and communities but kept separate from what passes for everyday life back in what has only recently come to be known as ‘the homeland’.<sup>765</sup>

He underlines that some Americans view the military bases around the world as the validation of “the American way of life and [...] [American] ‘victory’ in the Cold War.”<sup>766</sup> However, for him, the United States acted as the ‘Roman Empire’, because “U.S. military personnel flung across the world like Roman legionnaires on the marches of empire.”<sup>767</sup> U.S. military forces stationed abroad play vital

---

<sup>760</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, Sr. is a professor of international relations at Boston University, former director (from 1998 to 2005) of the Center for International Relations, and author of several books on the American diplomatic history.

<sup>761</sup> Charles A. Beard (1874-1948) is the most influent American historian in Unites States. He published hundreds of monographs, textbooks and interpretive studies in both history and political science and was a leader of the ‘Progressive School’ of historiography.

<sup>762</sup> Bacevich, Andrew J. *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002. p. 244.

<sup>763</sup> The Marine Brig. Gen. Mastin M. Robeson served as the commander of Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa from 2003 to 2004, commanding 1,800 troops occupying the old French Foreign Legion base at Camp Lemonier in Djibouti at the entrance to the Red Sea. Actually (2009), Commander of the U.S. Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command (MARSOC).

<sup>764</sup> Chalmers, Johson. *America's Empire of Bases* [online]. Common Dreams News Center, Jan. 15, 2004. Portland, ME: CommonDreams.org, 2004b. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Languge. Available from: <<http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/views04/0115-08.htm>>.

<sup>765</sup> Chalmers, Johson. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. London: Verso, 2004a. p. 5.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>767</sup> Kutler, Stanley. *Review of Chalmers Johnson's - The Sorrows of Empire* [online]. History News Network. Seattle, WA: Goerge Mason University, 2004. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Languge. Available from: <<http://hnn.us/articles/3015.html>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

roles. As regional political and military dynamics shift, the United States adjusts its overseas military posts to accommodate new objectives and missions in new places.

### ***IV.2.1.1.3 The United States and Eastern Europe***

The natural attraction of the CEECs for the United States after the fall of the Iron Curtain has several reasons. The first is the sentiment by CEECs that the United States wins the Cold War. There is also the unwavering support of the U.S. government to the exiles through emigration and support programs; the non-recognition by the U.S. government of the occupation of Soviet republics, such as the Baltic States, and the occupation of East European states by Russian troops; the role of the media campaign such as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and others.

The large Eastern Diaspora in the United States has been an influence on the American foreign policy regarding the aid to CEECs. For example, Lithuanian president, Valdas Adamkus<sup>768</sup> worked as civil servant in the U.S. government administration, and was promoted in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to the rank of regional administrator, or Zbigniew Brzezinski<sup>769</sup>, a Polish-born American political scientist, geostrategist, and statesman who served as the United States National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter, or Madeleine Albright<sup>770</sup>, Czech-born American, who had an important position in the Carter administration, being in charge of the formulation of foreign policy legislation, and who was also the first female United States Secretary of State under the Clinton Presidency, and others. Many of those born in Eastern Europe climbed the ranks of the administration to reach key positions in the United States government. But emigrants were not the only ones that benefited from the American facilities, as after 1990 many military and civil servants from Eastern European states institutions had the opportunity to attend military or civil education programs in United States that favored 'the American way of life' and kept the 'American ideal' alive. On this point, we can underline the fact that many political leaders or civil servants of the Romanian government

---

<sup>768</sup> He emigrated in United States in 1949.

<sup>769</sup> He emigrated after Yalta in Canada and then to the United States. He obtained the United States citizenship in 1958.

<sup>770</sup> She moved with her parents to the United States in 1948, and she obtained the United States citizenship in 1957.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

attended training programs or courses in prestigious U.S. universities through various programs such as the Fulbright program.

For the United States, the integration of Eastern European States was an element of stability and the way of promoting democracy and the free market. The enlargement is also a strategy of containment toward the possible German domination of Europe and the element to conquer confinement on Russia. The will for integration of the Visegrád group helped NATO to accomplish the United States strategy toward the European stability. Nevertheless, in the nineties, the Balkan tragedy and Bosnia pushed the United States to seek a specific strategy in the Balkan region. After the 9/11 events, the situation changed and the necessity to seek bases near the Middle East operations theatre and the need of allies for operation engagement in Afghanistan and Iraq accelerated the need to develop closer ties with Eastern European states. Moreover, the issue with the Turkish government refusing, for several months, to use their national soil for U.S. military operation bases during the 2003 Iraqi invasion pushed the United States to seek more stable allies in the Black Sea region, such as Romania and Bulgaria.

### **IV.2.1.2 NATO and the United States Foreign Policy**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created long after the end of the Second World War to counter the threat of the Soviet Union invasion of Western Europe, with NATO's goal being "to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down" as said Lord Ismay, the first NATO Secretary-General.<sup>771</sup>

With the presence of American troops on European soil, for many years, the United States guaranteed the safety of Western Europe and the development of democracy and freedom. Through NATO, the United States built during the Cold War a strong presence within the prolongation of a world pre-deployment bases and troops, mainly situated on allies and Second World War's pass enemies (Germany and Japan). During the 45 years of collaboration, the NATO system became an element of the United States security and foreign policy. However, after 1991, the Soviet Union disappeared and the new Russian Federation became an economic partner to Western Europe countries and CEECs regarding the gas and oil supply, as well as other types of commodities. This economical exchange increased

---

<sup>771</sup> Reynolds, David. *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1994. p. 13.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the European-Russian interdependence and greatly reduced the military risk and the necessity of such military alliance. In 1991, it seemed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had accomplished its mission and its essential role: the construction and security of Europe. However, the construction of the European Union and the Europeans' need to develop the project of European security architecture challenged NATO's central role and American influence on European security. As economist Rodrigue Tremblay, professor at the University of Montreal, wrote, "the U.S. government does not see things that way. It would prefer keeping its role as Europe's patronizing protector and as the world's sole superpower. NATO is a convenient tool to that effect."<sup>772</sup> The understanding of the need for reform and for maintaining the organization's vital activities emerged in the idea of American political elites. As a United States Army officer wrote in his master's thesis, "[t]he goal of U.S. policy in the Transatlantic Alliance should be maintenance of NATO as a collective defense organization. [...] As the remaining super power, the U.S. must take the lead in setting policy for NATO continuance."<sup>773</sup> In general, these changes after the end of the Cold War created both threats and opportunities.

### ***IV.2.1.2.1 American Security and Foreign Policy***

First, reforming NATO has a large influence on the United States foreign and domestic policy. In the nineties, several American politicians saw the opportunity to reduce the defense budget and the U.S. troops in Europe, while others considered necessary to reinforce democracy and military reforms in the world, and especially in Eastern Europe. During the nineties, the United States mostly focused on its domestic economic prosperity, with a focus on health care and gun control. At the same time, either alone or through alliances – NATO –, the United States played 'the role of world policeman'.

---

<sup>772</sup> Tremblay, Rodrigue. Why Not Simply Abolish NATO? [online]. August 20, 2008 at 5:30 am. s.l.: Tremblay Rodrigue, 2008. [cited 21 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.thenewamericanempire.com/tremblay=1093>>.

<sup>773</sup> McNerney, C. A. (Major). NATO: Anachronism or Answer - An Argument for Collective Self-Defense. Unpublished master's thesis (Master), Conference Group 5, USMC Command and Staff College, United States Army, 1995. [cited 21 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1995/MCA.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The beginning of the twenty-first century brings a change in the American foreign policy, and NATO becomes a resource for the American military fight against terrorism and 'rogue states'.

In fact, since the World War II, the United States had been irrevocably bound with Europe, with this bond including a wide range of security, economic and cultural ties. In addition "[t]he goal of U.S. policy in the Transatlantic Alliance should be (sic) maintenance of NATO as a collective defense organization."<sup>774</sup>

### ***IV.2.1.2.2 A Political and Military Organization***

As the Major C. A. McNerney, of the United States Army, wrote: "One of the most basic reasons for the U.S. to stay the course with NATO in its collective defense role is, quite simply, that NATO is a proven deterrent."<sup>775</sup> During the mid-1990s, the Clinton administration vigorously supported the idea that opening NATO's door to new members would allow the Alliance to "do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West: prevent a return to local rivalries, strengthen democracy against future threats, and create the conditions for prosperity to flourish."<sup>776</sup> It was the necessity, before the readiness of the European security architecture to maintain the European stability by assuring the growth of democracy and free-market economy, especially in the past communist countries. Normally this role devoted to the European Union failed, especially in the Balkans, and led to the NATO military intervention under the UN mandate to enforce a peace agreement in Bosnia. The Secretary-General of the Western European Union, Willem van Eekelen, declares that "[e]verybody seems to be counting on 25,000 Americans and clearly we need them. No Americans, no NATO. There is political weight in this precedent of seeing NATO handle the problem."<sup>777</sup> The "nation-building has been a growth industry since the end of the Cold War. [...] Since 1989, the frequency, scale, scope

---

<sup>774</sup> Ibid.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>776</sup> Clinton, William J. Remarks on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [online]. March 20, 1998 ed. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 1998. (The American President Project). Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=55652>>.

<sup>777</sup> Fitchett, Joseph. Q&A: For NATO, U.S. Role in Bosnia Is Crucial. International Herald Tribune, September 27, 1993. [cited 21 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.iht.com/articles/1993/09/27/qanda\\_2.php?page=1](http://www.iht.com/articles/1993/09/27/qanda_2.php?page=1)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and duration of these nation-building missions have steadily risen."<sup>778</sup> The "nation-building becomes a core mission"<sup>779</sup> of NATO in the extension of the American policy to defend and support freedom and democratic process around the world.

### ***IV.2.1.2.3 Implication for the US***

Until the nineties, the United States was "the largest contributor to the NATO infrastructure budget, providing almost 28 percent of the total sum".<sup>780</sup> With the enlargement of the Alliance, the new countries will also become contributors. The enlargement of the Alliance will need an update of the military forces for the candidate countries to achieve the military requirements of the NATO structure. This will imply supplying U.S. military equipment to the future members and will be translated by supplying funds and programs to the candidate countries. It will also imply an increase in the military defense from the candidate countries to update military equipment to NATO standards and "U.S. firms that have been major suppliers of equipment and services to NATO may be concerned about future NATO business opportunities".<sup>781</sup> However, in the meantime, "the ability of Europeans to contribute more heavily to their own defenses has grown considerably. In addition, Europe has become a major competitor of the U.S. in the manufacture and worldwide sale of defense equipment."<sup>782</sup> The United States has a large interest in this respect as well, in order to increase the enlargement of the Alliance and to impose de facto the U.S. military norms and equipments. We can also note that "American contributions to NATO's in-place forces have always constituted an indirect economic subsidy to the European partners."<sup>783</sup>

---

<sup>778</sup> Dobbins, James. NATO's Role in Nation-building [online]. NATO review, 2005, no. Summer 2005. [cited 27 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue2/english/art1.html#top>.

<sup>779</sup> Ibid.

<sup>780</sup> Mocenigo, Anthony J. NATO in the nineties: implication for U.S. business - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [online]. Business America, 1990. [cited 27 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m1052/is\\_n19\\_v111/ai\\_8960956](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1052/is_n19_v111/ai_8960956).

<sup>781</sup> Ibid.

<sup>782</sup> Ibid.

<sup>783</sup> Zakheim, Dov S. NATO's Role in the U.S. Grand Strategy: Should Europe Remain the Prime Focus of U.S. Foreign Policy? [online]. The Heritage Foundation, 1989. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: [http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/upload/92573\\_1.pdf](http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/upload/92573_1.pdf).

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### **IV.2.1.3 The Romanian-American Relations**

The relations between the United States and Romania had started long ago. In 1850,<sup>784</sup> it opened the first U.S. consular office in Galati,<sup>785</sup> and the relation was formally established in 1880, with the appointment of Eugene Schuyler, renowned and talented diplomat and historian, as the first American diplomatic representative to Romania.<sup>786</sup> The political as well economical relations between Romanian and United States started towards the end of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. For example, "[i]n November 1925, Romanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu visited Washington, D.C. [...] In 1932, the Ford Motor Company opened a sales office in Romania, and in 1934 established an assembly plant in Bucharest."<sup>787</sup> Moreover, Romanian immigrants stood out in the American history and contributed to the development of the United States. As for example,

George Pomut, a Romanian immigrant, who fought as an officer in the U.S. Civil War under General Ulysses Grant, finally rising to the rank of Brigadier General in 1866. He subsequently entered the U.S. Diplomatic Service and served as U.S. Consul in St. Petersburg, where he participated in negotiations to purchase Alaska from Russia.<sup>788</sup>

#### **IV.2.1.3.1 Cold War's Period Relations**

The special relation never stops. From 1967 to 1984, Romania and the United States developed a special relation on a 'policy of differentiation' basis. Romania developed an intermediary role between the West and the East and benefited from some favors from

---

<sup>784</sup> Two different sources give different informations. The American Cultural Center established the first consular office in Galati in 1958, then Mircea Raceanu in 1950 for the first consular office (vice-consulate).

<sup>785</sup> Răceanu, Mircea. *Cronologie comentată a relațiilor româno-americane: De la începutul conoășterii reciproce până la prăbușirea regimului comunist în România, 1989* (Chronology commented of Romanian-American relations: Since the beginning of mutual recognition to the collapse of the communist regime in Romania, 1989). București: Silex, 2005. p. 26. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>786</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>. p. 1.

<sup>787</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>788</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* Ibid. p. 15.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the United States, represented in loans, technology, special programs and the MFN status (from 1975 to 1988).<sup>789</sup> During the entire Cold War period, the political and economical relations, as well as the cultural and educational exchanges between both countries, were maintained, despite the difference of political systems. However, in the mid-1980s, given Romania's attitude towards human rights application in the country, the U.S. stopped granting economical favors to Romania, i.e. loans and MFN status.

### ***IV.2.1.3.2 The Post-Revolution Relations***

Immediately after the Revolution, Secretary of State James Baker pays a visit in Bucharest to assess the political and economical relation between the two countries. During this visit, the issue of the loss of the most-favored-nation clause was also addressed, in addition to the possibility to have it restored. However, in April 1991, the US Department of State expressed its dissatisfaction about the Romanian treatment of minorities and human right application as well as about the freedom of the media. The slow process of political and economical reform disappointed United States.

The US-Romanian relations were restored in 1993, after the Stolojan government reform, and the new elections of 1992. Since this period, the American-Romanian relations have improved, and when "Romania's policies became unequivocally pro-Western, the United States moved to deepen relations".<sup>790</sup> The U.S. Ambassador in Romania from 1994 to 1997, Alfred H. Moses, stated that "there was an historic transition in U.S.-Romanian relations. In three years, [1994-1997] Romania moved from being a pariah state in official Washington to its status as a strategic partner of the United States."<sup>791</sup> Romanian leaders, from Ion Iliescu, through Emil Constantinescu to Traian Basescu, have turned their foreign relations

---

<sup>789</sup> Răceanu, Mircea. *Cronologie comentată a relațiilor româno-americane: De la începutul conoșterii reciproce până la prăbușirea regimului comunist în România, 1989* (Chronology commented of Romanian-American relations: Since the beginning of mutual recognition to the collapse of the communist regime in Romania, 1989). București: Silex, 2005. p. 199-272. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>790</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>. p. 8.

<sup>791</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* Ibid. p. 12.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

policy toward strengthening relations with the United States, moving gradually from a rejected state to a position of a reliable ally in the Global War on terrorism.

Romania showed great reliability to the United States on many occasions<sup>792</sup>; in 1991, at the United Nations, during the Kuwait crisis; in 1999, during the Kosovo War; after the tragic events of September 11, 2001, when "Romania offered its full support to the U.S. in the Global War on Terror."<sup>793</sup>

One have to remember that "Romania was the largest U.S. trading partner in Eastern Europe until Ceausescu's 1988 renunciation of most favored nation (MFN or non-discriminatory) trading status resulted in high U.S. tariffs on Romanian products".<sup>794</sup> The economic relations started again in 1990 by the U.S. financial assistance provided through the Support for East European Democracies (SEED) Program, and the support of many U.S. organizations as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and others U.S. NGOs. The bilateral trade was improved and on November 8, 1993, the United States restored to Romania the clause of the Most-Favored-Nation, as part of a new Bilateral Trade Agreement, after all other states in the East European region. The United States' assistance was large and on many levels, such as the political, economic and administrative ones. The American expert advised in many fields, through civil society actions, in order to develop better governance, with different project such as those supporting civil education, NGOs, "nurturing the seeds of philanthropy", encouraging independent mass media, supporting e-government, and "making public administration more open and transparent."<sup>795</sup> Two important laws - the Fiscal Code and the Micro Finance Law -, likewise reforms as the Red Tape analysis in 2000 and the One-Stop-Shop for the

---

<sup>792</sup> To see the first part of the thesis - 'Change into Continuity' -.

<sup>793</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>. p. 8.

<sup>794</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Background Note: Romania*. 2009r. U.S. Department of State. [cited 10 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35722.htm#>>.

<sup>795</sup> Kerr, Graham (Project manager). *Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007* [online]. Bucharest: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/countries/ro/romania\\_legacy\\_book\\_complete\\_10-17-2007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/countries/ro/romania_legacy_book_complete_10-17-2007.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

registration of the Business are the example of the U.S. involment in the Romania reform process. Another example is the involvement of the U.S. in the business community, through numerous study tours in the United States organized for leaders of business groups, as a large number of American specialists were brought to Romania to provide on-site guidance for business organizations. Along this idea, a National Advocacy Tour was organized, "where a team of American advisors visited 10 cities, met with local Chambers of Commerce and other business associations to promote advocacy".<sup>796</sup> The United States is a top-ranked investor in Romania, with many multi-national corporations including McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), Pizza Hut, Smithfield, Citibank, Procter & Gamble, Kraft, Colgate Palmolive, Pioneer, Monsanto, Cargill, Hewlett Packard, Microsoft, IBM, CISCO and Liberty Global (UPC), General Motors, etc. As for the cultural cooperation, both states "cooperate in a number of cultural areas" and the Romanian-U.S. Fulbright Commission, established in 1993, realized an intensive educational and cultural exchange program through scholarships. From 1972, an American Library was functioning during the communist period and became a U.S. Information Resource Center in 1995.<sup>797</sup>

Romania, after many years of disappointed remarks, ranks in 2007 first reformer country in Europe and ranks second, by the World Bank, for the successful reform concerning the simplification of procedures for obtaining business permit.<sup>798</sup>

In the latest presidential mandate, Romania becomes a strong ally of the United States through a 'Bucharest-London-Washington axis', and, from the point of view of United States leaders "a key

---

<sup>796</sup> Ibid. Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007.

<sup>797</sup> to see: \_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>.

<sup>798</sup> To see: Kerr, Graham (Project manager). Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007 [online]. Bucharest: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/countries/ro/romania\\_legacy\\_book\\_complete\\_10-17-2007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/countries/ro/romania_legacy_book_complete_10-17-2007.pdf)>. World Bank. *Doing Business 2007: How to Reform*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006. and Djankov, Simeon *Doing Business 2007: How to Reform - Romania #1 Reformer in Europe*. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2006. [cited 23 June 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://x.gov.ro/presa/integrare/5/country\\_Romania\\_%20review.pdf](http://x.gov.ro/presa/integrare/5/country_Romania_%20review.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

member of NATO [...] strengthening its Euro-Atlantic ties".<sup>799</sup> A special groundbreaking agreement was signed, in December 2005, providing to the U.S. forces access to Romanian military facilities, "setting the stage for a new era in U.S.-Romanian defense cooperation." U.S. Ambassador to Bucharest, Nicholas F. Taubman<sup>800</sup> declares: "friendship has grown over the past seventeen years as Romania has completed its impressive transition to a democracy and market-based economy".<sup>801</sup>

### ***IV.2.1.3.3 The Reasons***

#### *The winner of the Cold War*

After the end of the Cold War, United States are viewed as a liberator and a strong economic power and represents a chance for the CEECs, especially for Romania because

American power is based on material elements (diplomacy, economy, military and high technology) and on immaterial elements (cultural products and positive image); that the history of the twentieth century has a significant and lasting impact on perceptions of elites and policymakers states of Central and Eastern Europe<sup>802</sup>

about the American power. United States do not present for Romania a threat but an ideal way of life, representing a champion for the promotion of democracy.

---

<sup>799</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>. p. 16.

<sup>800</sup> Taubman, Nicholas F. served as U.S. Ambassador to Romania from December 5, 2005 until December 3, 2008.

<sup>801</sup> Kerr, Graham (Project manager). *Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007* [online]. Bucharest: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/countries/ro/romania\\_legacy\\_book\\_complete\\_10-17-2007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/countries/ro/romania_legacy_book_complete_10-17-2007.pdf)>.

<sup>802</sup> Hatto, Ronald and Tomescu Odette. *Les Etats-Unis et la "nouvelle Europe" - La stratégie américaine en Europe centrale et orientale* (The United States and the 'new Europe' - The U.S. strategy in Central and Eastern Europe). Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007. p. 8. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### *The Guarantor of Freedom and Democracy*

During the entire Cold War period, only United States claims and proclaims with the support of radio broadcast: United States "does not solve to the permanent submission of the central Europe under the Russian yoke".<sup>803</sup> For this purpose, President Harry Truman launched the 'Campaign for Truth'<sup>804</sup> while General Eisenhower launched the 'Crusade for Freedom'<sup>805</sup>, with the radio station 'Radio Free Europe' being created. A number of other stations – Radio Liberty<sup>806</sup>, Voice of America<sup>807</sup> – functioned to promote the American point of view and the American way of life.

As Catherine Durandin states:

The United States represents for the Romanians, from the years of communism, the 'perfect country' the 'country of all freedoms' and a real power. After 1989, the United States has become a model for much of Romanians [...] This fascination toward the United States persists today: it falls within the wide register of political myths saving post-communist.<sup>808</sup>

The United States has an interest in Eastern European countries, such as Romania. Effectively, there from long time ago that the United States sustain the European political change, as we saw the support during the Greek war for independence from 1821 to 1829. In January 1989, the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) was voted by the U.S. Congress, in order to "[...] contribute to the development of democratic institutions and political pluralism" and "[...] promote the development of a free market economic system ..."<sup>809</sup> Romania, after Poland and Hungary in 1989, starts to benefit from this program in 1990. Since 1990, Romanian received

---

<sup>803</sup> Ibid. p. 32. Translated by Marc Bonnemains.

<sup>804</sup> Launched in April 1950.

<sup>805</sup> Launch on the 4 September 1950.

<sup>806</sup> Radio Liberty is founded in 1951 by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.

<sup>807</sup> The Voice of America, which first went on the air in 1942.

<sup>808</sup> Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârneli Magda (Col.). *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne* (Romanian Perspective: from Postcommunism to the European integration). Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. p. 62. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>809</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989* [online]. Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development, 1989a. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.usaid.gov/pl/seedact.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

each year US\$33 million, for a total amount of US\$562<sup>810</sup> for economic assistance in order "to expand the private sector, strengthen local democratic governance, and improve health and child welfare services."<sup>811</sup>

### *The Protector*

As the world superpower and with troops assuring the European protection, United States represented within the Alliance the guarantee of protection. From long ago, Romanian leaders viewed the U.S. military forces as an assurance against potential threat, especially against large power at the Romanian borders. Romania's negative representation of Russia will play a significant role in the choice for NATO's integration. During the Cold War period, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu asked, in 1974, the support of the U.S. through the sale of special military equipment, such as anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles,<sup>812</sup> to face a potential Soviet invasion of Romania after the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Romania was already viewed as a moderate country and a mediator that benefited from special treatment from the U.S. and the West in general. Adrian Mihai Cioroianu, historian and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, says that

[a]t that moment [in seventies], the U.S. was also interested in encouraging the rebellion of Ceausescu. And, I think this context was discussed in Washington about this (purchase of missile – journalist note): rather the idea of stirring Nicolae Ceausescu's rebellion, against the backdrop of fear towards the USSR ...<sup>813</sup>

---

<sup>810</sup> This amount does not include funds for the Romanian-American Enterprise Fund and USAID regional programs. To see: Kerr, Graham (Project manager). Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007 [online]. Bucharest: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/countries/ro/romania\\_legacy\\_book\\_complete\\_10-17-2007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/countries/ro/romania_legacy_book_complete_10-17-2007.pdf)>.

<sup>811</sup> Ibid. Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007. p. Preface.

<sup>812</sup> Lolu, Liviu. Ceaușescu a cerut rachete de la americani [online]. Evenimentul zilei, Veneri, 06 February 2009. [cited 6 feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/838713/Ceausescu-a-cerut-rachete-de-la-americani/>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>813</sup> Dogar, Andreea. Ceaușescu voia rachete americane de frica rușilor Ibid. (Ceausescu wanted U.S. missile from fear of Russians). Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/838773/Ceausescu-voia-rachete-americane-de-frica-rusilor/>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

After the Revolution, only the United States could intervene in Europe, within NATO, to guarantee European stability. The European security was not ready and could not be built without the Alliance. The U.S. Army intervened in the Balkans to stabilize the region and to stop the war.

### *A Strong NATO Sponsor*

As one of NATO's founders, the United States is the main decision-making power at the Alliance. Romania and the United States collaboration reinforced the integration into NATO, and gave Romania the possibility to benefit from military exchanges in education, training and exercises.

During a visit tour (Poland, Slovenia and Romania) on 11 July 1997, US president Bill Clinton stimulates the Romanian way of reforms and assures that the accession into NATO is still open. The President opens a strategic partnership with possible collaboration in the economic, political, national security and military areas.<sup>814</sup> The US Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott, concludes that "NATO door remains opened, in general, and in particular to Romania".

### **IV.2.2 The Transformation of the Alliance**

The transformation of the Alliance took place at the fortieth anniversary of the organization, in 1989. "The event coincided with the beginning of a period of profound change in the course of East-West and international relations and a far-reaching transformation of the security environment."<sup>815</sup> The origins of the changed security environment "can be traced to a number of developments during the 1960s and 1970s which were to have far-reaching implications."<sup>816</sup> Many initiatives in the eighties, through several summits, developed discussions, contacts and collaboration relations between the East (Warsaw Pact members) and the West (Western democratic countries) on different topics as humans rights, security and arms control... and led to the conclusion of different treaties, agreements...

---

<sup>814</sup> Stoica, Șerban. Conferința de presă de la Muzeul Satului (Press Conference at the Paysan Museum). Evenimentul zilei, 19 iulie 1997, no. 1539. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>815</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 35.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The transformation of the Alliance was possible following the events at the end of eighties (1989) and the beginning of the nineties (1990-91). The process is accelerated with the collapse of Communism in all Warsaw Pact members, such as the Soviet Union in 1991. In this period, American president George H. W. Bush affirms that NATO should develop "a new strategy", adjusted to current times. In addition, the President reasserts that the future of the United States cannot be separated from that of Europe and that the North-Atlantic Alliance remains vital for 'America's place' in Europe. However, "NATO leaders did not initially want the Alliance to enlarge, and many senior figures, especially those with Cold War experience, still do not want it to do so."<sup>817</sup>

The 'hand of friendship and cooperation' was initiated at the London Summit in July 1990, with the 'Message from Tumberry', the proposal to setup direct diplomatic relations at NATO level, and the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, where all NATO members as well as former Warsaw Pact members can have joint consultation at a high political level. An important step for NATO was the German reunification, but more than that, it was the non-Soviet opposition to it. In March 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev said to the GDR Minister that he had no doubt about the German unity and in July of the same year, he accepted the participation of a unified Germany in NATO.

It was necessary for NATO to begin at this time "a far-reaching review of its strategy in order to adapt it to the new circumstances."<sup>818</sup> The 'Open Skies' treaty was one of the initiatives that brought the way to build trust among nations. This initiative was the proposal of President Eisenhower in 1955 at the Geneva Conference, which authorized flight observation missions over each party's territory. This initiative concerned the United States and Soviet Union in 1955. However, the 'Open Skies' was not accepted by the Soviet Union and remained just an idea. Nevertheless, "in 1989 President George H. W. Bush revived the idea as part of the new

---

<sup>817</sup> Bellamy, Christopher. No-Headline [online]. The Independent, Jul 10, 1997. [cited 11 Dec. 2008]. Available from: <[http://216.239.116.135/p/articles/mi\\_qn4158/is\\_/ai\\_n14123746](http://216.239.116.135/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_/ai_n14123746)>.

<sup>818</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 39.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

relationship with Russia<sup>819</sup> and the treaty was signed in March 1992 (although it did not enter into force until 2002) not only with Russia, but also with Canada and twenty European nations including Romania. The treaty idea was to bring "openness and transparency" through its members. As William Lambers<sup>820</sup> wrote that "'Open Skies' is one of the best military/diplomatic tools in the United States arsenal and it should be expanded to other regions of the globe to promote peace."<sup>821</sup>

The Gulf crisis has a significant role in the evolution of NATO-Russia relationships. On behalf the UN decision a "Coalition Force formed under United States leadership to repel the invasion did not involve NATO directly, but the solidarity achieved within NATO in relation to the conflict played a significant role."<sup>822</sup> Moreover, to underline that "[t]he dangers inherent in the Gulf crisis reinforced the Alliance's determination to develop and enhance the level of its cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe".<sup>823</sup> However, the enlargement process will be suspended following the Russian reaction. The Alliance will not enlarge too rapidly to the East because of the potentially inadequate Russian reaction. In the case of the Baltic States, including Romania, the Russians' view was important for the alliance in order not to enter a new tension circle. The alliance, in particular the United States, had to re-affirm each time their will not to threaten Russia, and that the extension will increase the stability in Europe, especially with the Russian participation in NATO different sub-organizations.

---

<sup>819</sup> Lambers, Williams. 'Open Skies' for Peace [online]. s.l.: Lambers Publications, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb\\_06-07-06.pdf](http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb_06-07-06.pdf)>. p. 1.

<sup>820</sup> Lambers William is a historian graduate from the College of Mount St. Joseph in Ohio and writer of several books.

<sup>821</sup> Lambers, Williams. 'Open Skies' for Peace [online]. s.l.: Lambers Publications, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb\\_06-07-06.pdf](http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb_06-07-06.pdf)>. p. 8.

<sup>822</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. 17 Jun. 2004. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/index.htm#CH1>>.

<sup>823</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 39.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### **IV.2.2.1 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization from London to Bucharest**

Summits provide periodic opportunities, on a regular basis, for the Organization members (heads of state and government) to evaluate and provide strategic direction for the Alliance's activities. In this new international context, the series of Summits was "to plot the course of Alliance's adaptation"<sup>824</sup> to new challenges, from the starting point of the London summit, where the alliance decided upon the need to transform towards acquiring a new role, to the Rome Summit (the 12<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit), where the alliance's New Strategic Concept was drafted. The Prague Summit (16<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit) can be considered as important, as it opened the door to other CEECs, especially Romania, and also due to the reshape of the alliance to adapt to the 21<sup>st</sup> century new international situation. It is not our goal to tackle NATO's history, change or anything else of the sort, but we just wish to underline some important key points that impacted on the candidates' accession to the organization, and in particular on the accession process of Romania.

#### **IV.2.2.1.1 The London Summit**

At the London Summit, which took place on July 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1990, the Alliance notices that the international situation changed with the end of the Cold War and needs to transform the organization. Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) liberated themselves and the Soviet Union transformed itself through the Perestroika toward a free society. Article 2 of the Treaty stipulates that

[t]he Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.<sup>825</sup>

According to this point, the Alliance will be transformed from "forward defense" to a "flexible response" by reorganizing the "military forces into a multinational units, moving from the

---

<sup>824</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>825</sup> NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty [online]. Washington, DC: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1949. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/treaty.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

geographically based area-defenses of the past"<sup>826</sup> and with more integration within the European structure, together with the reinforcement of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE has already become a platform of discussion between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, on reductions in Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE). Moreover, CEECs and the Soviet Union will be suggested to establish regular diplomatic relations with the Alliance. Romanian leaders, thru Petre Roman – Prime Minister –, will take advantage of this opportunity to send a letter to the NATO Secretary General underlining the will to establish diplomatic relations between NATO and Romania. Before that, in June 1990, at the NATO foreign ministers' meeting in Scotland, an exceptional step was taken by means of the 'Message from Turnberry', which extended an offer of friendship and cooperation to the Soviet Union and to all Eastern European countries. One of the results will be the signing of the 'Open Skies' agreement, "permitting overflights of national territory on a reciprocal basis in order to increase confidence and transparency with respect to military activities."<sup>827</sup> At the same time, all CSCE members, including Romania, will sign the 'Charter of Paris for a New Europe', in November 1990, as well as the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

### ***IV.2.2.1.2 The Rome Summit***

The Rome Summit, the 12<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit, held on November 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1991, defined a new security architecture, the future role of the Alliance through a new strategic concept, the European security identity and defense role, as well the relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The alliance understood that its action would be "only in a framework of interlocking institutions [such as the CSCE, the European Community, the WEU, the Council of Europe as well as other Regional

---

<sup>826</sup> McCalla, Robert B. NATO's persistence after the cold war. *International Organization*, Summer 1996, 1996, vol. 50, no. 3. p. 449.

<sup>827</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. 17 Jun. 2004. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/index.htm#CH1>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

cooperation] tying together the countries of Europe and North America."<sup>828</sup>

In addition, "the development of a European security identity and defence role, reflected in the further strengthening of the European pillar within the Alliance, will reinforce the integrity and effectiveness of the Atlantic Alliance."<sup>829</sup> It is important to note that Europe will have more involvement in the Alliance, as the 'Rome Declaration' stipulates: "[t]he enhancement of the role and responsibility of the European members is an important basis for the transformation of the Alliance."<sup>830</sup> Moreover, "[t]he North Atlantic Alliance was founded with two purposes: the defense of the territory of its members, and the safeguarding and promotion of the values they share."<sup>831</sup>

The redefinition of NATO's role will be in three areas of activity, in the field of institutional, political, in defense, and military field and in crisis management and peacekeeping operation. The Alliance new strategic concept proposes to implement a multinational force structure within a rapid reaction force. The alliance will propose to develop cooperation in many fields as well in military and defense spheres with the CEECs within Romania. The creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), whose first session will take place on 20 December 1991, "just as the Soviet Union was ceasing to exist",<sup>832</sup> with all foreign Minister of NATO, the CEECs and the Baltic states, will be the first step of the Alliance collaboration with the East.

### ***IV.2.2.1.3 The Brussels Summit***

The Brussels Summit, the 13<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit, held in January 1994, brings new initiatives, such as the Partnership for Peace (PfP), a new program of cooperation addressed to the participants of the NACC and to the CSCE, "able and willing to contribute to the

---

<sup>828</sup> NATO. Declaration on Peace and Cooperation issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council (including decisions leading to the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC)) - ("The Rome Declaration") [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1991. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b911108b.htm>>.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid.

<sup>830</sup> Ibid.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid.

<sup>832</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 40.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

program".<sup>833</sup> From NATO's point of view, "two important principles underline the success of cooperation [...] in both the Partnership for Peace and the EAPC<sup>834</sup> framework". For the Alliance, these two points are the political dimension and the self-differentiation mechanisms. Each partner can have equal consultation and cooperation with each other and can decide at the level and area of the cooperation needed and wanted. However, in 1997, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) will be created to replace the NACC in order to manage the new stage of cooperation. Romania was the first Eastern European country to sign the Pfp, in 1995.

### ***IV.2.2.1.4 The Madrid Summit***

In July 1997, the Madrid Summit, the 14<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit, was defined as a 'landmark' from the London Summit. The last seven years saw "the accomplishment of major initiatives" toward "a new and challenging phase in NATO's development".<sup>835</sup> During this Summit, the first CEECs – the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland – were invited to begin accession talks, with the promise that the door will stay open for the others. "We reaffirm that NATO remains open to new members under Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Alliance will continue to welcome new members in a position to further the principles of the Treaty and contribute to security in the Euro-Atlantic area."<sup>836</sup> At this Summit, the organization endorses an 'Open Doors' policy for future accession. The Summit Declaration insists on the Partnership for Peace programme as a first step of collaboration and allows focusing on the Alliance's efforts and on the preparation of the next steps.

The Alliance asked for a review of the Alliance's Strategic Concept, which was adopted in Rome in 1991, in order to face the next challenges. "Recognising that the strategic environment has changed since then, we [the Alliance] have decided to examine the

---

<sup>833</sup> Ibid. p. 19.

<sup>834</sup> EAPC : Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council

<sup>835</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 21.

<sup>836</sup> NATO. Madrid Declaration on Euro-Atlantic Security and Cooperation Issued by the Heads of State and Government [Online]. Madrid: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1997. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1997/p97-081e.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Strategic Concept to ensure that it is fully consistent with Europe's new security situation and challenges."<sup>837</sup>

### ***IV.2.2.1.5 The Washington Summit***

The Washington Summit, in April 1999, the 15<sup>th</sup> Summit of the organization, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the organization. This Summit was marked by the Kosovo crisis and the intervention of NATO under the UN Council agreement, with the strong support of the U.S. military troops.

Just like in Madrid, NATO leaders engaged in the Partnership for Peace programme and a range of Alliance partnerships. The Summit issued some documents, such as the new alliance's strategic concept; a tool that permitted the Alliance to be ready for the 21st century security challenges and for future political and military developments. Recognizing that the world dramatically changed in the last ten years, the Alliance's Strategic Concept underlines that "the appearance of complex new risks to Euro-Atlantic peace and stability, including oppression, ethnic conflict, economic distress, the collapse of political order, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."<sup>838</sup> For this purpose, the Alliance will adapt to the new task and purpose. The Summit document strengthens the purpose and the tasks of the Alliance with the essentials purpose performing by the Alliance in the field of security, consultation according to the Article 4 (Washington Treaty), deterrence and defense as provided in the Articles 5 and 6 (Washington Treaty). The strategic perspective for the Alliance in an evolving environment is the collaboration with other organizations such as the UN, ASCE, EU and WEU with particular emphasis on the OSCE and the development of the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI).

At the Summit, a Membership Action Plan (MAP), the "practical manifestation of the Open Door" was unveiled as a framework for the first step to start accession talks. There was also a report entitled '*Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century – The Enhanced and more Operational Partnership*' offering the alliance and its partner forces the possibility to operate together. The Summit also

---

<sup>837</sup> Ibid.

<sup>838</sup> NATO. The Alliance's New Strategic Concept [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1999a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm>>.

emphasized the “Mediterranean Dialogue countries in a mutually reinforcing way to enhance Euro-Atlantic security and stability.”<sup>839</sup>

### ***IV.2.2.1.6 The Prague Summit***

At the 16<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit, held in Prague in November 2002, was the first summit after the 9/11 tragedy. NATO heads of state and government took a number of crucial decisions changing the alliance’s role in the Euro-Atlantic security and having the ability to adjust to new international priorities and to adapt its capabilities in order to meet new international challenges. We can underline that the 9/11 event shaped the decision of the United States to find help and partners in the fight against America’s enemies, and to use all ways of getting help in order to achieve their goals. It was decided “to enlarge [the] [...] Alliance and further strengthen NATO to meet the grave new threats and profound security challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century”,<sup>840</sup> by inviting former communist states, as well as Romania, to join the alliance in the continuity of NATO's post-Cold War Open Door Policy. “This decision is necessary to strengthen security for all in the Euro-Atlantic area”,<sup>841</sup> as the NATO statement says. The Alliance puts in place “a comprehensive package of measures”<sup>842</sup>, and reorganizes the NATO commandment, by creating a NATO Response Force (NRF) and “[s]treamline NATO’s military command arrangements”.<sup>843</sup>

### ***IV.2.2.1.7 The Istanbul Summit***

The Istanbul Summit, the 17<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit held in June 2004, is named ‘*The Istanbul Declaration: Our Security in a New Era*’, which seems to be a continuation of the transformation process that began at the Prague summit in 2002, in order to create a shift from a Cold

---

<sup>839</sup> NATO. The Washington Declaration - Signed and issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999 [Online]. Washington, D.C.: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1999b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-063e.htm>>.

<sup>840</sup> NATO. Prague Summit Declaration [Online]. Madrid: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2002. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p02-127e.htm>>.

<sup>841</sup> Ibid.

<sup>842</sup> Ibid.

<sup>843</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

War alliance against Soviet aggression to a 21<sup>st</sup> century coalition against new and out-of-area security threats.<sup>844</sup>

NATO members welcomed seven new alliance members – including Romania – during the North Atlantic Council meeting.<sup>845</sup> They decided to expand the alliance's presence within the War in Afghanistan and to end its presence in Bosnia, and agreed to assist Iraq with training, as well launched a new partnership initiative and adopted measures to improve NATO's operational capabilities.<sup>846</sup> The NATO-Russia Council meeting was remarked by the absence of the Russian president Vladimir Putin and in the same time, any progress concerning the ratification of the adapted CFE treaty or the withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgia and Moldova was made.<sup>847</sup> NATO leaders welcomed the progress made by Ukraine towards membership in the NATO-Ukraine Commission meeting<sup>848</sup> and discussed some general and mostly symbolic topics with its non-NATO counterparts during the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council meeting.<sup>849</sup>

### ***IV.2.2.1.8 The Riga Summit***

The 19<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit was held in Riga, in November 2006, the first NATO summit held on the territory of a former USSR

---

<sup>844</sup> United States Mission to NATO. NATO Summit [online]. s.d. United States of America Embassy. [cited 23 Jul. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://nato.usmission.gov/dossier/NATO\\_Summit.asp](http://nato.usmission.gov/dossier/NATO_Summit.asp)>.

<sup>845</sup> Schrader, Esther. Seven New NATO Members Are Hailed in White House Ceremony [online]. Los Angeles Times. [cited 23 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://articles.latimes.com/2004/mar/30/world/fg-nato30>>.

<sup>846</sup> NATO. The Istanbul Declaration - Our security in a new era [Online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004b. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-097e.htm>>.

<sup>847</sup> Socor, Vladimir. Putin fails to win concessions from NATO. Russia at the NATO Summit: Cooperative Rhetoric, Zero-Sum Practice [online]. Eurasia Daily Monitor, 1 July 2004, 2004, vol. 1, no. 43. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cdi.org/russia/313-15.cfm>>.

<sup>848</sup> NATO. Press Conference by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine following the NATO-Ukraine Commission [online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004c. [cited 26 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s040629b.htm>>.

<sup>849</sup> NATO. Chairman's statement of the meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council at Summit level [Online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004a. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-099e.htm>>.

republic. The most important topics discussed were the War in Afghanistan and the future role and borders of the alliance.<sup>850</sup> Furthermore, the summit focused on the alliance's continued transformation, taking stock of what has been accomplished since the 2002 Prague Summit. NATO also committed itself to extend further membership invitations in the upcoming 2008 Bucharest Summit. At the Riga summit, NATO members confirmed the role of NATO, with an UN-mandated KFOR, to ensure a stable security environment in the Balkans, because Serbia strongly opposed the breakaway of Kosovo and the resulting tensions between Serbia and Kosovo could create instability in the region.<sup>851</sup>

#### ***IV.2.2.1.9 The Bucharest Summit***

The 20<sup>th</sup> NATO Summit was organized in Bucharest on April 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>, 2008, under the leadership of Romania, in the capital of a new membership alliance.<sup>852</sup> Few themes were discussed at the Summit. The principal theme was the clarification of NATO's mission and the necessity to draft a new 'Strategic Concept' for the Alliance, "to lay out the alliance's future path, including mission, decision-making, and geographic reach."<sup>853</sup> In addition, NATO has the need to define "[n]ew Capabilities against New Threats".<sup>854</sup> However, due to the United States domestic policy calendar, it will not be done before the next Alliance's summit. Concerning the Afghanistan, the "Allies

---

<sup>850</sup> Butcher, Martin. NATO, Riga and Beyond [online]. Disarmament Diplomacy, Spring 2007, 2007, no. 84. [cited 24 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.acronym.org.uk/dd/dd84/84nato.htm>>.

<sup>851</sup> NATO. Riga Summit Declaration [Online]. Riga: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2006. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2006/p06-150e.htm>>.

<sup>852</sup> to see NATO. Bucharest to host 2008 NATO Summit [Online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2007a. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2007/04-april/e0427a.html>>. and NATO. Romania to host NATO summit in spring 2008 [Online]. 2007b, 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://crib.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=26516>>.

<sup>853</sup> Gallis, Paul. Enlargement Issues at NATO's Bucharest Summit [online]. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service - The Library of Congress, 2008a. (CRS Report for Congress). [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34415.pdf>>. RL34415. p. 26.

<sup>854</sup> Gallis, Paul. The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008 [online]. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service - The Library of Congress, 2008b. (CRS Report for Congress). [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22847.pdf>>. RS22847. p. 2.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

agreed to a 'strategic vision' statement"<sup>855</sup> and will remain there for a period of time in order to stabilize the country.

However, the fear that NATO is evolving into a worldwide coalition of the willing, as such increasing polarization and militarization in international affairs, sparked protests at NATO's HQ in Brussels two weeks before the summit, as well as in Bucharest. Protesters targeted the renewed determination of NATO to use nuclear weapons and NATO's backing of the US anti-missile shield "in Poland with 10 interceptors and an associated radar system in the Czech Republic".<sup>856</sup> Among other points debated at the Summit, there was the extension of the Alliance, the third enlargement round in the post-Cold War era. Croatia and Albania were invited to join the Alliance, but the Republic of Macedonia was not invited due to its ongoing name dispute with Greece. Georgia and Ukraine had hoped to join the NATO Membership Action Plan<sup>857</sup>, but NATO members decided to review their request later. The Alliance, for the first time, used an unusual formulation: "We agreed today that these countries [Georgia and Ukraine] will become members of NATO."<sup>858</sup>

The Bucharest Summit showed "[t]wo dangerous signals".<sup>859</sup> The first one is the reestablishment of Russia's "sphere of interest" in Europe, "where countries are no longer allowed to pursue their own goals without Moscow accepting them".<sup>860</sup> The second one is the ascertainment of the Alliance member-states' own interest prevailing over the Alliance's common interest.

---

<sup>855</sup> Ibid. The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008.

<sup>856</sup> Ibid. The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008. p. 3.

<sup>857</sup> NATO. George W. Bush: The Bucharest Summit will be one "marked by success" [Online]. 2008, 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://crib.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=26516>>.

<sup>858</sup> Gallis, Paul. The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008 [online]. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service - The Library of Congress, 2008b. (CRS Report for Congress). [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22847.pdf>>. RS22847. p. 6.

<sup>859</sup> Uffe, Ellemann-Jensen. Two dangerous signals from the Bucharest NATO summit [online]. The Daily Star - Lebanon, April 10, 2008. [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition\\_id=1&categ\\_id=5&article\\_id=90812](http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition_id=1&categ_id=5&article_id=90812)>.

<sup>860</sup> Ibid.

#### **IV.2.2.2 The Process of Enlargement**

To understand the enlargement process of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we need to explain the process itself. The process of enlargement was not done immediately after the end of the Cold War, seen here before. In 1994, NATO launches a study on NATO's enlargement opportunity to define the related 'why and how'. The study gave a report: '*Study on NATO Enlargement*'<sup>861</sup> made public and shared with potential partners.

Why? The dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization created "a unique opportunity to build an improved security architecture"<sup>862</sup> for the European continent in the frame of the Euro-Atlantic Alliance, "without recreating dividing lines". The document stipulates that

[s]uch a broad concept of security should be the basis for the new security architecture which must be built through a gradual process of integration and cooperation brought about by an interplay of existing multilateral institutions in Europe, such as the EU, WEU and OSCE, each of which would have a role to play in accordance with its respective responsibilities and purposes in implementing this broad security concept.<sup>863</sup>

To resume it, "NATO enlargement will safeguard the freedom and security of all its members in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter."<sup>864</sup> Of course, there was no alternative solution, at that time, to replace NATO by, for example, a European Defense organization.

How? In accordance with "the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" that implies that new members should conform to some basic principles such as "the safeguarding of the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of all Alliance members and their people, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law."<sup>865</sup> The new members will have to assume the obligation of membership under the Washington Treaty; moreover, Article 10 stipulated that "the parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European state in a position to further

---

<sup>861</sup> NATO. Study on NATO Enlargement [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/enl-9501.htm>>.

<sup>862</sup> Ibid.

<sup>863</sup> Ibid.

<sup>864</sup> Ibid.

<sup>865</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty [...]”.<sup>866</sup> An “[a]ctive participation in the Partnership for Peace will play an important role in the evolutionary process of the enlargement of NATO”.<sup>867</sup>

In 1997, both the United States and Russian presidents signed the NATO-Russia Charter, a good point for the enlargement process. Of course, Romania considers it favorable and “hopes that NATO and the Russian Federation signing the [NATO-Russia Charter] [...] will open an era of new relations, based on trust, cooperation and partnership.”<sup>868</sup>

### ***IV.2.2.2.1 Partnership for Peace***

The Partnership for Peace (PfP), an initiative introduced in 1994 at the Brussels Summit, has the aim to enhance stability and security in Europe. The PfP was addressed to all states members of the NACC and to all States members of CSCE willing to take part in the program.

The PfP program focuses on developing cooperation at all levels between NATO and the candidate countries. PfP members will also be members of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC). Through a ‘Framework Document’, members will make sure that they will put in place transparency, democratic control of defense forces, capability and readiness to participate in operation, development of military cooperation, as well as to present a preparation document indicating the planned step in order to achieve all the goals of the Alliance – political, military and others – for cooperation in all fields – air defense, crisis management, military infrastructure, ... -. However, the participation in the PfP program does not necessarily imply membership with the Alliance.

### ***IV.2.2.2.2 Membership Action Plan***

The MAP, launched in 1999 at the Washington summit, is designed to assist aspiring partner countries to meet NATO standards and prepare for possible future membership. As NATO documents

---

<sup>866</sup> Ibid.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid.

<sup>868</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 172.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

state: "The Membership Action Plan (MAP) is designed to assist those countries which wish to join the Alliance in their preparations by providing advice, assistance and practical support on all aspects of NATO membership."<sup>869</sup> In fact, the MAP has two levels; the first is the respect to a set of criteria, in democratic and political fields; the second is in the military field, where the national army has to be at NATO standards and under a democratic control, i.e. ruled by civilians. In addition, the candidate country must settle ethnic or/and territorial disputes by peaceful means, in order to demonstrate their commitment to human rights and the rule of law, and to guarantee that the domestic legislation does not oppose the cooperation with the Alliance.

However, the MAP does not guarantee future membership, even if it puts countries, de facto, on track to joining the Western military alliance. The MAP is just to help the aspirant countries to meet NATO standards and to be prepared for possible future membership. It was drawn on the accession of the Visegrád group to the Alliance. Aspiring nations must first participate in MAP before joining the alliance. The Membership Action Plan (MAP) will remain the vehicle to keep aspirants' progress under review. This is an example of interdependence between NATO and Eastern countries, where the future integrated country shaped the process of integration.

### **IV.2.3 From Cooperation to Integration**

Romania's attraction for NATO can be found in the preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization whose goals are "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law".<sup>870</sup>

On July 1990, after the London Summit and the NATO opening to the CEECs, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman sent a letter to NATO Secretary General, Manfred Wöner to visit Romania in order to

---

<sup>869</sup> NATO. NATO Handbook [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 65.

<sup>870</sup> NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty [online]. Washington, DC: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1949. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

have “a better perception of the Romanian realities”<sup>871</sup> and approach “the problems of co-operation between Romania and NATO”<sup>872</sup> with the will to establish diplomatic relation between NATO and Romania. Romanian Government officials, the President and the Foreign Minister, signed in Paris in November 1990 the ‘Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces’ in the framework of the CSCE, and also the ‘Charter of Paris for a New Democratic Europe’. In December of the same year, the parliament voted the Law for the establishment, organization and functioning of the Supreme Council of National Defense (SCND) in order to unify, organize and coordinate the state defense. In 1990, the Romanian diplomacy took the first step towards the NATO accession by establishing contacts with NATO at diplomatic level and by organizing high-level visits of the Prime Minister, the Military Chief of staff and the Foreign Minister at the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO were created during the Cold War as two antagonistic organizations, one against “Germany or any other Power which might be associated with Germany either directly or in any other way” (Warsaw Pact), while the other one (NATO) was created to protect the Western democratic world. The end of the Cold War normally has to end the two organizations activities.

Why enter in a relationship with NATO after the end of the Cold War and lead to the potential dissolution of both organization? In 1990, the Secretary General of NATO, Manfred Wörner declared that “[...] even if the Warsaw Treaty self-dissolves, this is not a reason for the NATO dissolution. On the contrary, there exist all reasons for pointing out that our role as a stability factory will grow even more important.”<sup>873</sup> Therefore, the situation is clear. In 1991, the situation became clearer between the Warsaw Pact Treaty and NATO. On April 1<sup>th</sup>, the Warsaw Pact Treaty is officially dissolved after several meetings (Budapest –February 25, 1991, Prague – March 31, 1991). The Cold War was really ended by the loss of the Communism camps.

From the beginning, NATO’s reaction did not meet Romania’s expectation. Romania was in a difficult position because the former Romanian leader, Ceausescu, put the Romanian economy in a bankruptcy situation by repaying the large Western loan during the

---

<sup>871</sup> Roman, Petre. Letter from the Prime Minister of Romania to the Secretary General of NATO. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1990, vol. III, no. 2.

<sup>872</sup> Ibid.

<sup>873</sup> Preda, Eugen. *NATO. Scurtă istorie (NATO. Short History)*. București: Silex, 1999. (Fundăția Culturală "Magazin Istoric"). p. 101.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

eighties, and by giving up the MFN status with the United States. The '89 Revolution events and the post-1989 political developments, amplified by the ethnic problems, created a "hands-off-attitude of the West".<sup>874</sup> Moreover, "the longevity of the former communists [led by Ion Iliescu,] without an intervening alternation of power, made the initial Iliescu administration suspect in Western eyes."<sup>875</sup> First, NATO was not pressed to build a relation with Romania, as shown by "the lack of enthusiasm [...] reflected in the failure of the NATO secretary-general to respond to Iliescu's invitation of July 1990"<sup>876</sup> after the London Summit. Secondly, Romania was not included in the first NATO visit to CEECs – Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland – in 1991. Thirdly, as states Larry L. Watts, "[i]n December 1991, Romania was the only one of the group not to be invited to the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the forum created to institutionalize relations between NATO and Central Eastern Europe."<sup>877</sup> We want to underline that Romania did not have any common border with the Alliance before the admission of the Visegrád group in NATO in 2002.

From the very beginning, Romania communicates and promotes the will to collaborate and the need to be integrated into the Alliance. For this purpose, Romanian leaders took part in many different summits and conferences. At the Conference on Europe and the Mediterranean within the New Global Order in Athens in April 1991, President Ion Iliescu states:

We see our present visit and dialogue as a way of conferring new dimensions to Romania's approaching process to the North-Atlantic Alliance, by way of contacts, conclusions and cooperation. The relations with NATO represent a priority for Romania with respect to its commitment to the integration process into the Euro-Atlantic structures. It is an irreversible option, determined by the attachment of my country to fundamental values of democracy, market economy and rule of law. As a consequence of its trans-Atlantic component, NATO succeeded in safeguarding security and stability in Western Europe during the Cold War. Within the new international environment, this organization maintains its importance. For Romania, as well as for other countries in Central Europe, it represents an essential element for building the new European security structure.<sup>878</sup>

---

<sup>874</sup> Watts, Larry L. Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 161.

<sup>875</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>876</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>877</sup> Ibid. In.

<sup>878</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO* (White Book: Romania - NATO). București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a. p. 81.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

At the Prague Summit in 1991 (dissolution of the Warsaw Pact), Ion Iliescu underlined the importance of the relations with Western structures.

The process of creating connections with Western European structures is of particular concern to us. We wish to develop collaboration relations with NATO, as an institution, to which practically all states participating in our meeting are committed to. We welcome the non-discriminatory approach of the North-Atlantic Alliance with respect to all Warsaw Treaty countries, which can stand for itself as an authentic measure of confidence.<sup>879</sup>

We can understand in these statements that one of Romania's goals at this time was to re-enter the International Community and to collaborate with NATO, regional organizations, part of the Romanian needs to be recognized as an active member of the International community and as a European actor. In order to re-enforce Romania's will to join NATO, the President of Romania wrote in October 1991 a letter to the heads of NATO states and government members declaring the will to collaborate and "to participate in any collaboration formula available to Central and Eastern European countries."<sup>880</sup>

Any occasion was an opportunity for Romania's representatives; in a colloquium named 'The New Europe' (July 1992) in Joviac (France), one of them states in his speech that Romania

would like to cooperate closer and closer with NATO, to consolidate its connections with immediate positive structures within any associative or cooperating institutional formula. All these are meant to contribute to guaranteeing the premises for the accomplishment of our strategic goal – Romania's guarantees for the normal evolution of the country's irreversible democratization process.<sup>881</sup>

At the United Nation General Assembly, on September 23, 1992, the Romanian Foreign Minister, Adrian Nastase reasserts, "Romania's steady interest to become a NATO member" because it represented an important goal of the Romanian foreign policy "based on the tradition of the historical evolution of the Romanian civilization

---

<sup>879</sup> Iliescu, Ion. *Momente de istorie (Moment of History)*. 3 vols. Vol. 2. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996. p. 378. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>880</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 57.

<sup>881</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO (White Book: Romania - NATO)*. București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a. p. 66. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

within the European space".<sup>882</sup> To reinforce Romania's will to be closer the Alliance, Romania opens a Euro-Atlantic center in Bucharest in February 1992. At this inauguration, Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase specifies that "Romania's final goal is the complete integration into NATO structures".<sup>883</sup> In October 1993, Ion Iliescu underlines that NATO is "the only organization able to ensure stability on the European continent and to guarantee the values of democracy and those of the rule of law, and he reasserted Romania's rightful place, as a European state, within NATO",<sup>884</sup> and the country's will to "be more actively involved in the stability of this region's security and in Europe in general" by assuming "all the responsibilities incumbent on its future status as a NATO member country."<sup>885</sup>

During the period 1990-1994, Romania's main problem was with minorities and with neighboring countries, as seen hereafter. The minorities' problem had influence on Romania's foreign policy, as well as on the foreign perception of the Romanian image and abilities to respect the Western values, as explained in the first part. The minorities problem in Romania classified the country more as a Balkan country than a European one. The minorities' problem handicapped Romania's accession to the Alliance, as well as the relations with neighboring countries, especially with Hungary on the one hand, and Moldova and Ukraine on the other hand. If Romanian officials saw themselves respecting the Western values on human rights in general and minorities in particular, western experts have a different analysis and the inter-ethnic tension cannot allow Romania's integration in Euro-Atlantic structures. It is not important, whether this is true or not, but it is important that the perception of the decision making of Romanian leader at this period seems unadapted to share the Western values on human rights and democratic values.

Romania sent many contradictory signals in its foreign policy because at the beginning, "Romania had a hesitant start in reshaping its foreign and security policy after the Revolution of 1989. During 1990-1993, Bucharest even adopted pro-eastern postures that contrasted sharply with Ceausescu's traditional policies."<sup>886</sup> The major breakthrough in the relation with NATO came in February 1993 during Ion Iliescu's visit at the NATO headquarters, when the Romanian

---

<sup>882</sup> Ibid. p. 57. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>883</sup> Ibid. p. 60-61. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>884</sup> Iliescu, Ion. *Romania in Europe and in the World*. Bucharest: Foreign Language Press, 1994. B0006F7F2A p. 23-24.

<sup>885</sup> Ibid. *Romania in Europe and in the World*.

<sup>886</sup> Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. *The Future of NATO Expansion: Four Case Studies* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 140.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

leader asserted Romania's wish to be integrated in the Euro-Atlantic structure, representing the "first priority" and an "irreversible option".<sup>887</sup> We have to underline that after 1993, the relation with NATO and EU member states becomes a priority for Romania's foreign policy. Romania adopted an aggressive foreign policy "more consistently Western-oriented than [for example] Slovakia's [one]".<sup>888</sup> After Emil Constantinescu's election and his strong foreign policy commitment to anchor the country to the West with NATO and the European Union, the relation with the Alliance is warmer.

Romania made efforts to advance with neighbor relationship and thru the 'Open Skies' Treaty, Romania and Hungary signed their own bilateral Open Skies agreement during bilateral talk in May 1991. This agreement starts "an Open Skies regime and its successful implementation would encourage reciprocal openness on the part of the State Parties, enhance the predictability of their military activities and strengthen confidence between them".<sup>889</sup> "In order to benefit from its experience, Hungary and Romania still organize annual training exercises"<sup>890</sup> according to Anca Jurcan, disarmament affairs representative for Romania. Moreover, Romania proposed to share its experiences with others states. "Hungary and Romania became the first states ever successfully to negotiate and sign a bilateral Open Skies agreement."<sup>891</sup>

At the 2005 'Open Skies' Treaty Review Conference the members agrees that

---

<sup>887</sup> Harrington, Joseph F. and Karns Scott. Romania's Ouestopolitik: Bucharest, Europe, and the Euro-Atlantic Alliance, 1990-1998. In Watts, Larry L., Treptow Kurt W. and Ionescu Mihail E. (Eds.), *Romania and Euro-Atlantic Integration*. Iasi: Center for Romanian Studies, 1999. p. 29.

<sup>888</sup> Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. *The Futur of NATO Expansion: Four Case Studies* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 139.

<sup>889</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Agreement between the Government of Romania and the Governement of the Republic of Hungary on the Establishment of an Open Skies Regime (with annexes)*. [online]. New York: United Nations, 1991a. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001\\_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf)>.

<sup>890</sup> Coted in Lambers, Williams. 'Open Skies' for Peace [online]. s.l.: Lambers Publications, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb\\_06-07-06.pdf](http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb_06-07-06.pdf)>.

<sup>891</sup> Krasznai, Márton, Spitzer Hartwig and Wynne William. *Reginal Applications of the Open Skies Approach*. In Dunay, Pál, Krasznai Márton, Spitzer Hartwig, and al. (Eds.), *Open Skies - A Cooperative Approach to Military Transparency and Confidence Building*. New York, DC: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), 2004. p. 149.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

[t]he State Parties recognize that the Treaty might serve as a model for aerial surveillance regimes in other regions of the world in order to promote security and stability. They are prepared to enter into dialogue with interested parties in order to share experience, to exchange general information about the Treaty and its benefits and to provide support and advice on cooperative aerial observation.<sup>892</sup>

The Parliament was involved in the foreign policy process and it approved, in 1991, the Romanian participation in the 'Desert Storm' operation following the UN decision against Iraq. This is the first participation of Romanian military forces outside the country since the Second World War. In April, under the UN and as part of a team of military observers (5 persons), Romania takes part in the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) until October 1996.

This first initiative is going in the direction of Romania's announced foreign policy: the will to integrate the EU and Euro-Atlantic structure, to build a good neighbors relationship. The period, from 1990 to 1993, represents an intensive exchange of visits and meetings between Romania and NATO in order to build better understanding. Everywhere, in all kinds of meetings, colloquia, summits, Romanian officials reinforced the will for Romania to become a member of the NATO as a normal evolution due to the Romania history and Romanian quality, a country sharing the same universal value. However, Romania's endemic problems do not position the country as an immediate candidate of the Alliance. Valentin Stan, political analyst and Romanian journalist, explained in his article, '*Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration*',<sup>893</sup> that Romania cannot qualify for Euro-Atlantic integration at that time even if Romania's officials considered Romania as "an 'island of stability' " surrounded by chaos (Yugoslavia and former USSR); Romanians also saw themselves respecting the Western values regarding the treatment of minorities. He quotes Ion Iliescu's words from an interview with an Italian journalist, Giuseppe Leuzzi, in April 1993. The President specified during this interview that

---

<sup>892</sup> NATO. Statement by the Chairman of the First Review Conference on the Implementation of the Treaty on Open Skies at the Closing Plenary [online]. s.l.: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005. [cited 26 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470_en.pdf)>.

<sup>893</sup> Stan, Valentin. *Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration* [online]. International Studies. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/nato.htm#2>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

you will find in Romania, in the legislative field, in the political and cultural practice the most comprehensive rights for minorities (emphasis added). I think there are not many states in Europe in which national minorities have representatives in the country's Parliament. Not to mention their representation in local administration, the education in their mother tongue. At least the Magyars have it from primary up to university education. There is a real network of schools in the areas where they live. The Magyar population have their own cultural institutions, magazines, newspapers, and radio and television programs. Thus, from this point of view, there are no restrictions.<sup>894</sup>

In the mind of the Romanian official and 'on paper', it can be true. However, as Valentin Stan demonstrated, the Western analysts' perception was different and for them the inter-ethnic tensions cannot allow Romania's integration in Euro-Atlantic structures, as explained in the first part 'Change into Continuity'.

### **IV.2.3.1 The Partnership for Peace**

The Partnership for Peace (PfP) was initiated, and Romania was the first country among the CEECs to sign the agreement treaty, in January 1994. As usual in their speech, Romanian officials made propaganda for the strong implication of Romania vis-à-vis the integration, by active participation especially in the joint exercise of the Partnership for Peace, and in the participation of Peacekeeping operations. The justification for Romania's integration into NATO will be done, one more time by Romanian officials, through Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Severin, on the Western tribune via official statement. Officials present Romania as geostrategical country in the Southeast of Europe, a factor of equilibrium and stability in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Balkan area, because Romania's geopolitical position can assure the interface "between the Northern and Southern flanks of the Alliance".<sup>895</sup> Moreover, President Constantinescu will insist on the good collaboration between NATO and Russia and salutes the "fruitful cooperation framework" that Romania "shall try to support and promote".<sup>896</sup> In his speech to the North Atlantic Council in 1997, President Constantinescu says that "Romania perceives NATO as the only true chance to guarantee its security, without threatening in any way the security of any country,

---

<sup>894</sup> Iliescu interview with Giuseppe Leuzzi, Italian journalist (La Stampa, Il Tempo) on 5 April 1993 quoted in Ibid.

<sup>895</sup> Constantinescu, Emil. Speech by H.E. Mr. Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania, to the North Atlantic Council. Romanian Journal of International Affairs, Spring 1997, 1997, vol. III, no. 2. p. 6.

<sup>896</sup> Ibid.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

because [Romanian officials] [...] believe that the enlargement does not mean that NATO goes East, on the contrary, it is the East that goes to NATO."<sup>897</sup> Romanian officials tried to convince the North Atlantic Council that Romania is a good partner for the Alliance not only because of its strategic position, but also because of the good collaboration with other CEECs, especially with neighboring countries. Romanian officials underlined the role played by the country during the Yugoslavian war, and the enormous sacrifice made. Adrian Severin remembers that "Romania is the only country that had equally good relations with all the parties involved in the conflict, as it has no disputes whatsoever with any of them."<sup>898</sup> For the Romanian official, Romania "has a 'strong case' when talking about NATO enlargement".

However, at that time, the question of Romania's readiness becomes an increasingly significant issue related to NATO's enlargement, because, as explained here before in the first part, "its revolution had a slow start, its diplomatic effort had been diffuse and ineffective, and unlike Poland it had no political constituency in the United States."<sup>899</sup> Romania was strongly disappointed by the restricted accession at the Madrid Summit in 1997, even if Hungarian leaders advised about the danger to reject Romania during the first wave of integration. Western countries that were also members of NATO supported Romania. France was the strongest supporter of Romania's accession to NATO in 1997, and "tried to persuade the allies to include the country in the first wave of enlargement", claiming "a special relationship with Romania by virtue of their shared Latin identity and a long history of French cultural influence in Bucharest."<sup>900</sup> However, considering the relation between the United States and France, the French President was not a key advocate for Romania's integration in NATO. This rejection had an important impact on Romania's domestic policy, as described here before in the 'Change into Continuity' part.

---

<sup>897</sup> Ibid.

<sup>898</sup> Severin, Adrian. Romania: A Factor of Equilibrium and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. Ibid.

<sup>899</sup> Simon, Jeffrey and Binnendijk Hans. Romania and Nato. Membership Reassessment at the July 1997 Summit [online]. *National Defense University Strategic Forum*, Feb. 1997, Vol. 101, 1997. [cited 28 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Strforum/SF101/forum101.html>>.

<sup>900</sup> Gheciu, Alexandra. NATO in the "new Europe": the politics of international socialization after the Cold War. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005. p. 157.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Nevertheless, Romania continues to take a strong part in the cooperation with the Alliance. The Romanian government established in Bucharest the Regional Center for Combating Corruption and Organized Crime under the aegis of Southeast European Cooperation Initiative (SECI). In addition, Romania reinforces the collaboration with the United States and with the alliance, described here before in the previous part. In April 1998, during a NATO working visit, Secretary General Javier Solana remarks, "Romania has an important role to play with respect to the stability and welfare of the entire area".<sup>901</sup> Moreover, General Wesley K. Clark, Commander-in-Chief of NATO forces in Europe, stated that "independently of the decision taken, Romania will still be seen as a key-country for NATO and a partner we'll have closer and deeper relations with".<sup>902</sup> The President of the US Committee for NATO enlargement stipulates too that

[a]s friends of Romania, we consider the addressed invitation to join NATO will be made in the year 2001-2002, whereas the integration itself will occur in 2003-2004. Still, the political decision could only be taken after the Presidential elections in the USA [...] I wish that Romania be a de facto NATO member – at least from a military point of view –, before it becomes a de jure member, the moment it receives the invitation to join the Alliance.<sup>903</sup>

### **IV.2.3.2 The Membership Action Plan**

In April 1999, NATO launched the action plan in order to welcome new members with its Membership Action Plan (MAP). As part of this mechanism, Romania drafted its own national annual plan for the Preparation for Accession (PNA), which establishes the objectives, measures and deadlines for their fulfillment, with a view to orienting, sustaining and assessing the efforts needed for the accession into the alliance. A major contribution to the good preparation of the accession was brought by the strengthening of the domestic inter-institutional cooperation, structured as the National Commission for Romania's accession to NATO, and of the external cooperation with other candidate states in the Vilnius Group. Romania's substantial participation in peacekeeping operations under

---

<sup>901</sup> Luca, Ioan (Col.) Secretarul General al NATO, din nou la București (The NATO Secretary General again in Bucharest). *Observatorul Militar*, 7-13 aprilie 1998, no. 14 (433). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>902</sup> Spenlea, Florin (Lt) România este o țară cheie pentru N.A.T.O. (Romania Is a Key Country for NATO). *Observatorul Militar*, 14-20 iulie 1998, no. 28 (447). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>903</sup> Spenlea, Florin (Lt) România este o țară cheie pentru N.A.T.O. (Romania Is a Key Country for NATO). *Observatorul Militar*, 14-20 iulie 1998, no. 28 (447). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the aegis of NATO, the UN, and the OSCE and in the fight against terrorism added to the interoperability with allies and demonstrates the actual capacity to contribute to NATO objectives and missions.

In 2002, Romania established the Interdepartmental Commission for the Preparation of Romania's Integration into NATO. An important initiative is the 'Vilnius group', expressing the common solidarity of NATO candidate countries to cooperate in order to increase the chance for integration into the Alliance, built on the example of the Visegrád group. In addition to the European integration, Romania will seek support from all necessary states to achieve its goals with the Alliance. The support will come from France, Spain, Italy and also from Turkey. In 1993, following the establishment of the Economic Commission of the Black Sea Parliament, Turkish President Husamettin Cindoruk states that "[w]e believe that NATO will become consolidated through Romania's entering its structures, whereas the Black Sea would turn into a strong citadel"<sup>904</sup> and gives the Turkish support for Romania's integration into NATO. The strategy, initiated by President Emil Constantinescu, starts to turn Romania from a 'security needer' into a future 'security provider'. Romania started to take a leading role by proposing initiatives to NATO.

### **IV.2.3.3 After September 11**

In 2001, the international situation changed dramatically with the 9/11 event. The need for the United States to fight terrorism changed the paradigm security in the Middle East and the necessity to ensure closer bases in Europe and guarantee energy provisions. Romania acted as a de facto member of the Alliance during the 9/11 event and declared it acted in the spirit of the fifth article of the Alliance. Romania placed itself at the disposal of the United States and NATO "upon request to provide the facilities offered by the national air, land and maritime space, in support of a possible

---

<sup>904</sup> Chirieac, Bogdan. "Dacă securitatea României va fi amenințată, NATO va interveni" ("If the security of Romania will be threaten, NATO will intervin"). *Adevărul*, 8 octombrie 1993, no. 1076. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

response operation against terrorism.”<sup>905</sup> As a future NATO member Romania wanted to give the assurance that, it can become involved under the rules of NATO to take part in NATO’s missions and protect the Alliance members, reinforcing the words of the President of the US Committee for NATO Enlargement in 1998: “I wish that Romania shall be a de facto NATO member”.<sup>906</sup>

The 9/11 reinforced the need for the United States to have allies and to be helped in the fight against terrorism. The Eastern European countries are good allies, and in particular Romania. But this is also a chance for the countries of the Vilnius group and the United States to accelerate the integration and to help the candidate states by a financing programme for their army, after the 9/11 attacks. In 2002, at the NATO summit in Prague, the heads of states and governments of NATO member countries decided to invite Romania, together with six other states - Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia - to begin talks for accession to the North-Atlantic Alliance. On March 26, 2003 in Brussels, the ambassadors of the NATO member states signed the accession Protocol. After signing the Protocol, Romania gradually became involved in Alliance operations, by participating, as observers, in the works of most allied structures. As stated in the ‘*2005 Military Strategy of Romania*’, Romania needs “to intensify the efforts to join NATO”, in order “to benefit from and take part in collective defense”.<sup>907</sup> This is imperative for the country to achieve its national security objectives, as well as to promote and defend the country interests. Either way, for the Romanian government, “NATO integration is the first priority and it is the best option for Romania to

---

<sup>905</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 21 din 19 septembrie 2001 privind participarea României, împreună cu statele membre ale NATO, la acțiunile de combatere a terorismului internațional [online]. (Decision No. 21 of September 19th, 2001 on Romania’s participation, along with NATO member states, in the actions of fighting International terrorism). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.lista\\_mof?idp=7519](http://www.parlament.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.lista_mof?idp=7519)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>906</sup> Spencea, Florin (Lt) România este o țară cheie pentru N.A.T.O. (Romania is a key country for NATO). *Observatorul Militar*, 14-20 iulie 1998, no. 28 (447). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>907</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Military Strategy of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of National Defence, 2005h. [cited 25 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://se1.isn.ch/serviceengine/FileContent?serviceID=47&fileid=E196CACB-8952-4DF2-6816-21B3A4424FE4&lng=en>>. p. 4.

advance towards a collective security environment"<sup>908</sup> that makes default to it at this moment.

#### **IV.2.3.4 Romania and NATO**

Romania's foreign policy orientation and economic aspirations were cemented in 1993 by the signing of an EU association agreement, effective as of February 1995. Romania also gained full membership of the Council of Europe and secured the reinstatement of the most-favored nation preferential trading status with the USA in 1993, made permanent in 1996, after being on annual review. Yet, until 1996, the country's commitment to democratization and openness was more formal than real.

Romania's accession into NATO was chaotic and took a long time, as compared to the earlier and strong determination of the Romanian leaders, from 1990 on, to integrate as soon as possible in the Alliance. So, why did the Romania's integration take such a long time, at least 14 years, as compared to the other CEECs such as Hungary or Poland? As Larry L. Watts, a security sector reform consultant to the Romanian Presidency's National Security Advisor and former RAND consultant put it: "NATO enlargement has been a perplexing process, conforming poorly to any strategy that alliance theory might suggest. The course of Romania's candidacy provides a good example of the difficulty in applying theory to the process."<sup>909</sup> He explains that the NATO enlargement process, from the point of view of the Foreign Relations theory – from neorealist to liberal and interdependent theory – does not match a theoretical logic in the light of geostrategic approaches.<sup>910</sup>

##### ***IV.2.3.4.1 Foreign Relations Theories***

From Foreign Relations theories' point of view, Romania had to be integrated in the Alliance's first enlargement wave and not to be postponed until the second wave.

---

<sup>908</sup> Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>909</sup> Watts, Larry L. *Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus*. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 157.

<sup>910</sup> To see : Ibid. In.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

For the neorealist approaches, the enlargement should include states, which bring “the greatest capabilities to the alliance”.<sup>911</sup> On the other hand, Romania is the largest Eastern European state after Poland, in terms of military capabilities, territory and number of population. As explains Larry L. Watts, the integration of Poland and Romania had bring to the alliance the cover of the Border with the former Soviet space excepted 100 kilometers, instead of 1,000 kilometers due to the absence of the Romanian border.<sup>912</sup> Second, since 1990, the increasing political instability in the Balkans and the CIS - with Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Moldova, Albania, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia and others - and the mission of NATO to contain instability in the former Soviet empire, should accelerate the integration of candidates bordering this area.<sup>913</sup> Romania is a significant regional power, with no historical claims of any type concerning the former Yugoslavia. In addition, we can add that Romania had a certain experience in mediation within the region, gained in the twenties. With the growing number of conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East, “NATO’s Southern periphery—the Mediterranean basin together with the Black Sea and its hinterlands—is attracting growing attention”<sup>914</sup> and becomes of primary strategic importance. It strains logic to set aside valuable candidates from this important area. We would like to note here that, if “Turkey has emerged as a far more important” ally, it is “also a much more difficult security partner”, especially regarding the potential conflicts between Turkey and Greece.

For the liberal or independence theory, NATO’s enlargement should be focused on security cooperation and good neighborly relations, as well as on the creation of a security environment in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>915</sup> Romania has long been part of a number of regional initiatives to enhance regional security, even before the Second World War in the thirties. Romania signed treaty agreements and developed good neighborliness relationship with

---

<sup>911</sup> Ibid. In. p. 157.

<sup>912</sup> To see: Shelley, Mark R. NATO Enlargement: The Case for Romania. *Central European Issues : Romanian foreign affairs review*, 1997, vol. 3, no. 1.

<sup>913</sup> To see : Kay, Sean. *NATO and the Future of European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. p. 7 and 151.

<sup>914</sup> Lesser, Ian O. *NATO Looks South: New Challenges and New Strategies in the Mediterranean* [online]. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Organisation, 2000. [cited 28 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1126/](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1126/)>. p. 1.

<sup>915</sup> Watts, Larry L. *Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus*. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 158.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

neighboring countries – Bulgaria, Hungary, the Republic of Moldova, Russia, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine. Through its defense minister, Romania supports the necessity for NATO aspiring countries to be not only security consumers, but also security producers. The postponement of Romania's admission in the first wave, despite Romania signing the PfP in 1994, ignored the efforts made by the country. NATO candidates' accession process "ignored the premise of collective security between Hungary and Romania"<sup>916</sup> and the majority of European NATO members considered that "[t]he selection of the three new entrants also sparked contention, [...] pushed for the inclusion of Romania and Slovenia in the first trench alongside the central Europeans."<sup>917</sup> The postponement accentuated the regional instability that erupted Southwest (Yugoslavia - 1991) and the Northeast (Republic of Moldova - 1992) of the Romanian border.

During the Ceausescu period, Romania was a privileged partner of the West (especially of the United States) and benefited from "world-wide respect it had seldom enjoyed in its history"<sup>918</sup> for "splendid performances"<sup>919</sup>. As Micu Mircea wrote, "it indicates that Romania's relations with the transatlantic community were not completely frozen during its communist history."<sup>920</sup>

So, what was it that happened and led to the postponement of Romania's integration into NATO for the second wave? First, we need to underline, as demonstrated in the first part, the mutual influence between domestic and foreign policies. In this case, the domestic policy has an influence on the foreign policy behavior, as well as on the reaction of foreign leaders and chanceries.

---

<sup>916</sup> Kay, Sean. NATO Enlargement: Policy, Process, and Implications. In Michta, Andrew A. (Ed.), *America's new allies: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999. p. 176.

<sup>917</sup> Michta, Andrew A. *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999. p. 4.

<sup>918</sup> Brown, James F. *Eastern Europe and Communist Rule*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. p. 263.

<sup>919</sup> Shafir, Michael. *Romania: politics, economics and society: political stagnation and simulated change*. London: Frances Pinter, 1985. (Marxist Regimes Series). p. 193.

<sup>920</sup> Micu, Mircea. Romanian foreign policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### ***IV.2.3.4.2 Domestic Policy***

The difficult beginning of the new democracy, the contradictory signals concerning the real willingness to implement free-market economy rules as real democratic functioning, the lack of reforms led by former communists did not encourage the strong support of Western democracies. The process of the country's democratization regarding the human rights, the political opposition, the freedom of media, the military reforms and the civil-military relations raised questions for NATO representatives until 2000.<sup>921</sup> In the first years of democratic process, Romania gives contradictory signals concerning its willingness to implement the rules of democracy and free-economy market; in addition, the lack of political alternation until 1996 classified the country as being more subject to patronage rather than seeking to reform towards democracy. Compared to other CEECs, such as Poland and Hungary, the country did not build before the 89' Revolution an embryonic market economy behavior, and political opposition as *Solidarność* in Poland, 'Charter 77' in Czechoslovakia or 'democracy package' in Hungary. As for the Romanian economical situation after the 89' Revolution, this is characterized by bankruptcy due to Ceausescu's will to reimburse all foreign debt, irrespective of the costs for the country. For these arguments, Romania has to start from scratch in the political and economical field, and to experiment its own way of doing things. The other important problem was the country's image, as circulated by Western media and the U.S. media in particular, when covering the news related to Romania. The Romania's image "left in the American population [...] was one of excessive political image and ethnic conflict, abuse children, and stray dogs."<sup>922</sup>

The 1996 election brings alternation in the political system, but the inexperience of the new leader and the many parties in the coalition, forcing a constant trio with a government in permanent crisis, contributed to the problem related to the implementation of reforms and to corruption. In fact, the period 1996-2000 did not permit the successful reform of the public administration, of the diplomatic system and of the military and judicial institutions. The result was a poor economic result and the impossibility to curve down corruption. With the election of Emil Constantinescu and his clear foreign policy signal toward Western institutions, there came a strong

---

<sup>921</sup> Szemerényi, Réka A. *Central European Civil-Military Reforms at Risk*. New York: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1996. (Adelphi Paper).

<sup>922</sup> *Ibid.* p. 161.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

breakdown with NATO and he received the favorable vote of the Clinton administration.<sup>923</sup>

At the beginning of 1997, the Romanian economy was in a problematic situation, as were the economies of Albania and Bulgaria, while in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, the situation was considerably better. The Romanian military advantages were badly counteracted by the possibility to cover the cost of military reorganization. As Larry L. Watts says, “[d]uring 1997-2000, Romanian performance in military, political, and economic reform was disappointing.”<sup>924</sup> This situation created disillusion among the Western leaders.<sup>925</sup> In fact, in 1997, considering the lack of progress on NATO’s important points, i.e. human rights, human dignity, rule of law, transparency in government, and anti-corruption, Romania could not be invited with the Visegrád group country to be in NATO at the Madrid Summit.

### ***IV.2.3.4.3 Foreign Policy***

After the Revolution, the Romanian foreign policy gives contradictory signals regarding the country’s real position between the East and the West. Until 1993, the country seems to be more oriented towards the East rather than the West, independently from the leaders’ rhetoric arguing in favor of Romania’s European tradition.

The conflictual relation between Romania and Hungary concerning the minorities’ status, despite the positive signal given by both countries – military treaties and ‘open skies’ agreement – imposed a standby behavior. Romania’s response and double-speak during the Yugoslavian war in 1992 and the willingness to preserve the good neighborliness relations with Serbia discredited Romanian

---

<sup>923</sup> Emil Constantinescu’s travel in the United States.

<sup>924</sup> Watts, Larry L. Democratic Civil Control of the Military in Romania: An Assessment as of October 2001. In *Civil-Military Relations in Post Cold War Europe*. Lanham, MD: The Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2001a. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/cee/g102/G102.chap3/>>.

<sup>925</sup> To see: Pradhan, Sanjay (Team leader). Anticorruption in Transition: A Contribution to the Policy Debate [online]. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000. [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/contribution.pdf>>. \_\_\_\_\_. *Diagnostic Surveys of Corruption in Romania* [online]. Bucharest: The World Bank, 2001e. (Working Paper). [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/romenglish.pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/romenglish.pdf)>. Working Paper 28997.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

authorities. After 1993, the Romanian leaders understood the necessity to give strong positive signals to the West and to NATO in particular. After a strong assertion of the fact, that NATO and the European Union integration are the first priority of the Romanian foreign policy, both organizations started to look more seriously at Romania. Romanian leaders gave positive signs such as the historical approaching between the two states – Hungary and Romania – supported by France and Germany based on the example of the Franco-German reconciliation. Romania was committed to a neighborliness positive attitude by resolving potential conflict through agreement and negotiation. Aware of the country's position, Romanian leaders concluded several bilateral agreements and developed trilateral co-operation; moreover, they participated in regional organizations in order to promote peace and development. In the same way, Romania sought support from European states as well as from NATO members (that were also neighbors) to advance the Romanian integration into the alliance. In order to insist on the necessity to be 'in' versus 'out', Romania used this negative representation of Russia as "a significant part in the shaping of the country's attitude towards the transatlantic community".<sup>926</sup> The country reaffirmed its commitment to the Alliance during the Kosovo war in 1999, by supporting NATO and participating in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### **IV.2.4 NATO Membership**

Beyond the need for security, the partnership with the United States and the membership of NATO give Romania a regional leading position in the Southeastern, the Black Sea and Balkan regions.

For President Traian Basescu, Romania is "[l]ocated on (sic) the West of the Black Sea and at the mouth of the Danube, Romania is a

---

<sup>926</sup> Micu, Mircea. Romanian foreign policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2. p. 2.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

key gate of the Trans-Atlantic community to the Black Sea area."<sup>927</sup> Romania had been interested in the Black Sea area especially for economic purposes, since 1997. The strategic partnership with the United States offers Romania a better-defined regional role. "Romania is engaged in a strategic partnership with the United States. We consider this special relation crucial for the regional security and for promoting democracy in our immediate neighborhood", <sup>928</sup> says Traian Basescu.

For the United States as Poland for the northeastern area, Romania can "contribute with peace possibilities in spreading the democracy around Romania, mainly on the Black Sea".<sup>929</sup> For its regional leadership project, Romania gains the support of the United States. During a visit in January 2005, General James Jones, Commander of the U.S. European Command and Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), thanked the head of the Romanian state for Romania's bid to provide and support the U.S. both in Iraq and Afghanistan and for offering to provide for NATO bases on the Romanian territory.

Romania was an active partner with an aggressive regional assistance and security agenda. In the field of security, Romania participates in a number of Black Sea regional organizations and in an important number of peacekeeping operations (eight U.N. observation missions, two U.N. multinational Standby Force High

---

<sup>927</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Speech by H.E. Traian Basescu, President of Romania - The Black Sea Region: Advancing Freedom, Democracy and Regional Stability [online]. Trans. Alocutiunea presedintelui României, Traian Basescu, cu tema "Regiunea Marii Negre - Promovarea libertatii, a democratiei si stabilitatii regionale" la Council on Foreign Relations. - Washington D.C., SUA - (10 martie 2005) by Romania Embassy in Washington. București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.roembus.org/presidency\\_agenda/2005/visit\\_march\\_2005/10cfr/speech.htm](http://www.roembus.org/presidency_agenda/2005/visit_march_2005/10cfr/speech.htm)>.

<sup>928</sup> Băsescu, Traian. Speech by H.E. Traian Basescu, President of Romania - The Black Sea Region: Advancing Freedom, Democracy and Regional Stability [online]. Trans. Alocutiunea presedintelui României, Traian Basescu, cu tema "Regiunea Marii Negre - Promovarea libertatii, a democratiei si stabilitatii regionale" la Council on Foreign Relations. - Washington D.C., SUA - (10 martie 2005) by Romania Embassy in Washington. București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.roembus.org/presidency\\_agenda/2005/visit\\_march\\_2005/10cfr/speech.htm](http://www.roembus.org/presidency_agenda/2005/visit_march_2005/10cfr/speech.htm)>.

<sup>929</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *President Bush Welcomes President Basescu of Romania to the White House* [online]. Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2006e. [cited 17 September 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060727-5.html>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Readiness Brigade). The country is also a contributor to the operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and participates actively in the operation IRAQI Freedom for the war on terrorism, with the U.S. and NATO. This support for the alliance and the United States strengthens the relations between Romania and the United States. Romania started to be a reliable ally and a U.S. subsidiary for military action and security.

Romania's collaboration with the Alliance can be viewed at the 20<sup>th</sup> NATO summit, organized by Romania in Bucharest in 2008, an event with full of symbolism for Romania; a bridge between the East and the West, a link between NATO members and aspiring countries, a place for the culture of cooperation, advice on defense reforms and development of political dialogue. For Traian Basescu "[t]he Alliance has forged a culture of cooperation, advised on defense reforms and developed political dialogue."<sup>930</sup> He hoped that "NATO's contribution to stability and security will go a step further in Bucharest."<sup>931</sup>

For Romania, the Bucharest Summit "represented the biggest foreign policy event Romania ever hosted",<sup>932</sup> and "a new step completely new in the configuration of [...] Romania's identity as a state member of NATO [...] and close, actually, a extraordinary circle of efforts in order to mark our presence in the alliance".<sup>933</sup> The President Traian Basescu added in an interview:

the NATO summit in Bucharest is, of course, a large historical event, but also a natural crowning of a successful Romanian project - one targeting integration in a modern, democratic and effective way to ensure peace, security and prosperity in Euro-Atlantic space. Organizing this meeting for the Alliance in Bucharest is a confirmation of this success. At the same time, it is a materialization of a concrete goal which we proposed at the beginning of this mandate, objective that the National Security Strategy of Romania defined in clear terms: the construction of a new European and Euro-Atlantic identity of Romania. NATO summit in Bucharest scores, so, also from this

---

<sup>930</sup> Băsescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. NATO review, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART2/EN/index.htm>>.

<sup>931</sup> Ibid.

<sup>932</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania, an active ally within an active and solid Alliance*. s.d.-h, 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=4995&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

<sup>933</sup> Meleşcanu, Teodor. România este un contributor important la toate operațiile aliate [online]. (Romania is an important contributor to all allied operations). *Observatul militar*, 2008, vol. 13, no. 945. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/03.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

point of view, the full entrance of Romania into the track of normality as a member of the Alliance able to assume any responsibility and to meet commitments.<sup>934</sup>

The organization of the Summit close for Romania a long process of recognition as a NATO member, the role-played by Romania in the Alliance, as well the importance of the Romania geostrategical position, as a provider of security for the Black Sea and a leadership role for the Balkans.

Not only Romanian leaders underlined the importance of the Summit for the Alliance and the importance of Romania in its participation and organization, but also foreign leaders recognized the importance of the event and the decisions to take for the organization, as well the important role played by Romania. For the NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, the Summit was the biggest NATO's Summit ever organized "[i]n terms of the number of nations participating"<sup>935</sup>, but also for him the Summit "must advance NATO's transformation" and "the development of NATO's partnership relations".<sup>936</sup> For the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary and the Czech Republic thru a joint declaration confirmed that for them the summit hosted in Bucharest is "a moment of critical importance for stability not only for the entire transatlantic community, but way beyond."<sup>937</sup> Julian Lindley-French and James Townsend, members of the Strategy Advisory Group of the Atlantic Council of the United States underline that "is the time to ask difficult questions" and "comes at a moment when the collective will and conviction of the Alliance is being profoundly tested."<sup>938</sup> The Romania

---

<sup>934</sup> Petrescu, Ion (Col.). Presedintele Traian Băsescu: Summitul va da răspunsuri potrivite problemelor de importanță vitală pentru viitorul alianței Ibid. (President Traian Băsescu: Summit will give appropriate answers to vital questions for future alliance). Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/02.pdf>>.

<sup>935</sup> de Hoop Scheffer, Jaap Bucharest: a milestone in NATO's transformation [online]. *NATO review*, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART3/EN/index.htm>>.

<sup>936</sup> Ibid.

<sup>937</sup> Göncz, Kinga (Dr.) and Schwarzenberg Karel *The Bucharest Summit: NATO's New Perspective*. Prague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/issues\\_and\\_press/events\\_and\\_issues/press\\_releases/the\\_bucharest\\_summit\\_nato\\_s\\_new.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/issues_and_press/events_and_issues/press_releases/the_bucharest_summit_nato_s_new.html)>.

<sup>938</sup> Lindley-French, Julian and Townsend James Bucharest: Planning and Partnership for security effect in the 21st Century [online]. *NATO review*, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART6/EN/index.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

President confirmed that for Romania, the Summit "is also an opportunity to advance NATO's comprehensive contribution to international security".<sup>939</sup>

One of the main subjects favored by the Romanian President is the expansion of the Alliance in the East and the Southeast to other States sharing the same common values. "At the Summit in Bucharest we are hoping that we could invite Albany, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as members of the Alliance, and we encourage them to step up their preparations for this",<sup>940</sup> mentioned Traian Basescu. Therefore, Romania hope the Alliance to apply policy enlargement across the Black Sea region, toward first Georgia and Ukraine, as well later with the Republic of Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan as soon as possible the condition will be granted. He bolstered on the necessity for "NATO to reconfirm its engagement in the Western Balkans, by maintaining its presence in Kosovo and by enhancing partnerships with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia."<sup>941</sup> Romanian leaders as other states leaders underlined the important role-playing by NATO, "a robust organization" to maintain and face security challenges as well to develop collaboration with partners in Central Asia. The Chief of Romanian state did not say any word about the Kosovo independence, a topic on which one Romania Executive are in opposition with a large NATO members, likewise the United States.

The other subject is the strength of the Alliance and the capability to answer to new threats and challenges regarding security as terrorism, proliferation of mass destruction arms and regional instability. The Chief of State stated:

[w]e should start talking seriously about a new strategic outlook that will maintain the Alliance as a robust organization, capable of addressing evolving security challenges, both near and far, and prepared to enlist partner countries willing to contribute to set objectives and missions.<sup>942</sup>

In this line, he wishes that NATO would confirm its strong commitment in Afghanistan, refreshing the Alliance strategy within a stronger connection with partner<sup>943</sup> for security and renewed the UN – NATO's collaboration. He sent "out the message that a strong and

---

<sup>939</sup> Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. *Observatul militar*, 2008c, vol. 13, no. 945. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/11.pdf>>.

<sup>940</sup> Ibid.

<sup>941</sup> Ibid.

<sup>942</sup> Ibid.

<sup>943</sup> Australia, Japan, New Zealand and the Republic of Korea.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

active NATO reinforces a strong European Union and vice-versa”,<sup>944</sup> a continuation of the Romanian idea about the inseparable link between NATO and European Union security. Traian Basescu did not neglect to enhance Romania’s wish regarding the development of a supplementary NATO anti-missile defense system integrated with the U.S. one, as though the energy and environmental protections questions.

The Chief of State concluded that he wishes “the Bucharest summit could be a bridge [...] between our past achievements and new tasks.”<sup>945</sup>

---

<sup>944</sup>Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. *Observatul militar*, 2008c, vol. 13, no. 945. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/11.pdf>>.

<sup>945</sup> Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. NATO review, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART2/EN/index.htm>>.

### **IV.3 The European Union as a Western Dream**

We make Europe from one end to another, without the Iron Curtain, where all nations are masters of their destiny and worked together for progress and for peace.

General Charles de Gaulle<sup>946</sup>

Following the change behind the 'Iron Curtain', a joint European Communities - Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (EC-CMEA) started formal official relations between the European Council and the Soviet bloc in March 1987.<sup>947</sup> This was the beginning of the relation between the EC and Eastern Countries through economic instruments and the negotiation of bilateral Trade and Cooperation Agreements (TCAs) in June 1988. The first TCAs were made with Hungary (1988), followed by Czechoslovakia (1988), Poland (1989), and the USSR (1989) and later, from 1990, by the other CMEA countries. The acceleration of the Soviet bloc breaking-up pushed the EC "to give their support to the countries which have embarked upon the road to democratic change", and notified that "the Community is willing to implement still closer forms of co-operation with these countries".<sup>948</sup> It was necessary, at that time, to take further measures and to implement an aid program. In December 1989, the EC introduced the Program of

---

<sup>946</sup> De Gaulle words at the Craiova speech in Romania in 1968. Cited in Delaunay, Michèle. *Avis au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, familiales et sociales sur le projet de loi de finances pour 2009 - Tome I - Action extérieure de l'Etat, rayonnement culturel et scientifique* [online]. (Opinion on behalf of the Commission's cultural affairs, social and family on the finance law project for 2009). I vols. Paris Assemblée Nationale. 16 Oct. 2008, 2008. [cited 23 Apr. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/pdf/budget/plf2009/a1199-ti.pdf>>. 1199.. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>947</sup> Oudenaren, John Van. *Détente in Europe: the Soviet Union and the West since 1953*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991. p. 281.

<sup>948</sup> European Council. *Conclusions of the Strasbourg European Council: excerpt on countries of central and eastern Europe (8 and 9 December 1989)* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1989a. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://zwww.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=11183&lang=2>>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Community aid. The Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy Program (PHARE) initially established as a framework to provide financial and technical support for the economic restructuring of the two mentioned countries.<sup>949</sup> Later, from 1990, the program was extended as a specific instrument to all the CEECs - Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in 1990, as well the three Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 1991.

The community was in shock by the Soviet bloc's collapse. Despite first economic aids to economies gasping for air (Hungary, Poland, the USSR) and the granting of credits and important bounties particularly to Poland, "the West is far from leaving, the stakes being well beyond rescue emergency, whether it is necessary or not."<sup>950</sup> However, "the changes in Central and Eastern Europe are conducted at a pace that it is difficult to monitor and apprehend them."<sup>951</sup> At that time, first it was important to know if Western Europe was ready to pay the tow to Eastern countries, such as Hungary and Poland. Secondly, it was important to know in the near future if the Community, simultaneously and contradictorily in a rush to 'open to the East', will only choose simple free trade area collaboration or deeper collaboration with potential integration.<sup>952</sup> Frans Andriessen, Vice-President of the European Commission and Commissioner for External Relations and Trade Policy, remarked that "[t]he European Community, which

---

<sup>949</sup> European Council. Council Regulation (EEC) No 3906/89 of 18 December 1989 on economic aid to the Republic of Hungary and the Polish People's Republic [online]. (European Council). Brussels: European Council, 1989b. [cited 27 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type\\_doc=Regulation&an\\_doc=1989&nu\\_doc=3906](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=Regulation&an_doc=1989&nu_doc=3906)>.

<sup>950</sup> Cassen, Bernard. La Communauté européenne sous le choc [online]. (The European Community in shock). *Le Monde diplomatique*, no. 426, Septembre 1989, [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=11179&lang=1>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>951</sup> Andriessen, Hans H. J. J. Les changements en Europe centrale et de l'Est. *Le rôle de la Communauté européenne* [online]. (The Changes in Central and Eastern Europe). *NATO review*, 23 Oct. 2002, Vol. 38, 1. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 1990. pp. 1-6. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/revue/1990/9001-01.htm>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>952</sup> That was the questions raised in 1989 by the European politics. To see: Cassen, Bernard. *La Communauté européenne sous le choc* [online]. (The European Community in shock). *Le Monde diplomatique*, no. 426, Septembre 1989, [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=11179&lang=1>>

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

adjoins, is immediately affected. Peace and freedom reflect universal values, which can be contained by national borders."<sup>953</sup> We have to remember that the European Union was surprised by the acceleration of history and was not ready for the integration of Eastern European countries after the fall of the 'Iron Curtain'. In order to meet the new challenge, knocking at the doors of the CEECs as well as of the Balkan countries, the European Union will have to update its concepts and institutions.

In the new international situation after the Cold War, we are in "an area of interdependence"<sup>954</sup> and we can understand that what is happening in any ex-communist state in term of social, political and economical change can affect the neighboring countries either positively or negatively.<sup>955</sup> It is necessary to underline, as explained by Frank Schimmelfennig,<sup>956</sup> that the "[m]ember states on the eastern border of the EU are more sensitive to developments in Central and Eastern Europe than the more remote member states."<sup>957</sup> The "border states have a strong interest in enlargement"<sup>958</sup> and in general enlargement is not only about economical or political power, as explains Schimmelfennig, but also a means of "geopolitical interest"<sup>959</sup> according to Andrew Moravcsik. For geopolitical reasons and with the German reunification, some "states had reason to fear that future Central and Eastern European members would side with Germany and [...] making [...] a power

---

<sup>953</sup> Andriessen, Hans H. J. J. Les changements en Europe centrale et de l'Est. Le rôle de la Communauté européenne [online]. (The Changes in Central and Eastern Europe). NATO review, 23 Oct. 2002, Vol. 38, 1. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 1990. pp. 1-6. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/revue/1990/9001-01.htm>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>954</sup> Keohane, Robert Owen and Nye Joseph S. *Power and Interdependence*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1989].

<sup>955</sup> To see: Ibid. p. 9-17.

<sup>956</sup> Schimmelfennig Frank is professor of European politics at the Center for Comparative and International Studies within the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich.

<sup>957</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 50.

<sup>958</sup> Ibid.

<sup>959</sup> Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy). p. 26-29.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

shift in favor of Germany and the northeastern countries".<sup>960</sup> In fact, there are two points of view on the enlargement issue; one point is based on the economical side "emphasized by liberal intergovernmentalism";<sup>961</sup> another point is based on the geopolitical or ideological interest sustained by "Italy, Britain, and probably France".<sup>962</sup> The Union states have different interests, and in the case of "France, Greece, and Italy, all southern states, gave their special support to Bulgaria and Romania, southeastern candidates; whereas [...] northern states, most strongly advocated [...] the northernmost of the Central and Eastern European applicants".<sup>963</sup> Outside the scope of our study, it is nevertheless important to underline the power game of the Union's members in order to understand the different support to Romania and the progress made towards the accession.

From a geographical point of view, Romania is the only country of the CEECs without borders with the European Union before 2004 (figure 2). Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia had direct border with the Union and were, in the past, members of the Habsburg Empire. The Baltic States have maritime borders with Finland and Sweden, were part of the Prussian Empire and/or Polish Empire, and under the rule of the military Teutonic order. Bulgaria shares borders with Greece and was under Ottoman occupation for a hundred years. As we can see on a map, in 1990, Romania was geographically isolated from the European Economic Community. Romania only had borders with Central European States, with the Soviet Union States - later known as the CEI members, and with Balkan states such as the Yugoslav Republic and Bulgaria. This geographical situation will explain partially the delay of Romania's integration in the European Union, which will be compensated through alliances built by playing different cards, such as Latinity, Orthodoxy and pan-Slavism, as well as pan-Germanism.

At this time, after '89, it was easy to classify the Romanian state as being part of the Balkan countries rather than a part of Central and Eastern European ones. The particular history and geographical situation of Romania make this issue harder because

---

<sup>960</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. *The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. International Organization, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 53.

<sup>961</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

<sup>962</sup> Ibid. p. 53.

<sup>963</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the modern Romanian state was created with three older principalities: Moldavia<sup>964</sup>, Wallachia and Transylvania (figure 3).



**Figure 2: Europe in 1993.**<sup>965</sup>

If the unification of the Moldavia and Wallachia principalities was done in 1859, in fact, before 1919, a part of the current Romanian soil, Transylvania was part of the Hungarian kingdom member of the Habsburg Empire. This dichotomy makes the country's choice harder between the Westerner customs and the Oriental influences. The Romanian leaders will give themselves the task to position the country as an Eastern country and even more as a Central European country. The question in the beginning of nineties was to move "increasingly from the margins of the

---

<sup>964</sup> We will use the word of Moldavia to design the principality, the independent country. The world "Moldova" will be used to define the modern country know as the Republic of Moldova.

<sup>965</sup> Adaptated from: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Eastern Europe (Political) [online]. Oslo, NO: ReiseNett AS, 1993. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.reisenett.no/map\\_collection/europe/EasternEurope.jpg](http://www.reisenett.no/map_collection/europe/EasternEurope.jpg)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

European integration process towards full inclusion in its central embodiment, the EU".<sup>966</sup> Romania was "formally obliged to meet certain criteria and assume certain obligations before it will be admitted to the EU."<sup>967</sup> One can argue that the accession process of Bulgaria to the EU was an additional chance for Romania to be inside of the same process given the Romanian geographical position between Hungary, and Bulgaria.



**Figure 3: Romania in 19th century.**<sup>968</sup>

---

<sup>966</sup> Phinnemore, David. Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion? [online]. Paper presented at the Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.

<sup>967</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>968</sup> Romania in 19th century [online]. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <<http://www.wikipedia.org>>

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

From history, one can compare the Romanian current situation to its situation in the nineteenth century, when the Romanian kingdom imported the western democracy as well as the western institutions (European), and lived in a westerner style, especially represented by the French style. We will demonstrate in this chapter that the European Union's institutions will have a role in the transition of the political and economic reform processes in Romania, and the Romanian reform process will be done through the European integration.

The former Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Teodor Melescanu, explains that the European Union accession was a trigger of Romania's domestic reform:

[T]he goals of accession are similar with the goals of internal reform, in general, in Romania. In this context, the process of integration represents both a means and a catalyst to speed up the transition ... The conditions to be fulfilled, the measures to be implemented, the instruments to be used are, to a large extent similar, a very important interdependency linking the process of preparation for accession, on the one hand, and of reform, on the other. In other words, the accession is at the same time a consistent part, an instrument and an objective of the reform.<sup>969</sup>

In addition, in 1995, Adrian Nastase, former President of the Chamber of Deputies in the Romanian Parliament, reinforces that the accession to the EU "is to such an extent crucial to Romania that we could consider it to be an internal factor of our development."<sup>970</sup>

### **IV.3.1 Background on the European Union**

We can read, in the digital library documenting the history of European integration from the Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe, that

[t]hese dramatic changes [the Iron Curtain and the Communism fall] raised the issue of the reorganization of Central and Eastern Europe. The former satellite States of the USSR, concerned with their security, relied on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and, in particular, on NATO. In the Council of Europe, they found a support structure in which

---

<sup>969</sup> Meleşcanu, Teodor. The Accession to the European Union: The Fundamental Option of Romania's Foreign Policy. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, vol. II, no. 4. p. 27.

<sup>970</sup> Năstase, Adrian. *Politics in Transition*. *Central European Issues*, 1995, 1995b, vol. I, no. 1.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

to defend democracy and human rights. They received aid from the European Community, the organization to which they aspired to belong.<sup>971</sup>

But the main important point at the 'Beginning of the History',<sup>972</sup> here before noted,

[i]t was, above all, the reunification of Germany, following the fall of the Communist regime in East Germany that the Soviet Union was unable to prevent, which had a direct influence on European integration. In order to integrate a united Germany, it was vital to reinforce the European Community by establishing a European Union, which would comprise an Economic and Monetary Union as well as a political union. This would be the aim of the Treaty of Maastricht.<sup>973</sup>

### **IV.3.1.1 From the EEC to the EU**

The Union was created first in 1952, by the set-up of the European Steel and Coal Community (ECSC) with six states – Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, followed in 1957 by the signing of the Rome Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC). Nevertheless, in the mid sixties, a number of crises shook up the EEC. In 1965, the member states launched the European Communities at the Merger Treaty<sup>974</sup> (or Brussels Treaty) entered in force on July 1, 1967. The European Union (EU) was born on November 1, 1993, after the signing of the 'Maastricht Treaty' in 1992. The European Union, that we know in 2008, was created in more than 50 years with five majors step, from the foundation of the EEC with the signing of the 'Rome Treaty' on March 1957 – the Europe of the six – to – the Europe of the twenty seven – in January 2007, by the integration of the two members – Bulgaria and Romania. Through all this period, the European Union has developed

---

<sup>971</sup> Gerbet, Pierre. The collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. 2004-2008. Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe – CVCE. [cited 15 May 2008]. Hypertexte Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.

<sup>972</sup> I used this term here 'the Beginning of History' in opposition with the 'the End of History' of Francis Fukuyama.

<sup>973</sup> Gerbet, Pierre. The collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. 2004-2008. Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe – CVCE. [cited 15 May 2008]. Hypertexte Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.

<sup>974</sup> European Union. Treaty Between [...] (member States of the European Union) and The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania Concerning the Accession of The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union [online]. Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC), vol. 48, 2005, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:157:0011:0027:EN:PDF>>

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the concept, the rules and processes in constant adaptation with the European Union needs and projects. We can emphasize that the process of enlargement is not over and will surely continue in the future with the demand of others states such as Croatia, Turkey and others.

If the European Union was born in 1993, it is only in 1995 that European economically healthy democratic countries– Austria, Finland and Sweden - integrate in the Union through the fourth enlargement. How can we imagine the integration of the CEECs after 45 years of centralized economy and non-democratic regime? In one word, if the CEECs wished to be back in Europe, and more exactly in the European Union, the European Union was not ready, in all senses, to integrate these countries. The Eastern European countries were not ready in terms of political and economical processes to meet the criteria for enlargement. But, “[t]he European Union emerged from the Cold War as a force that seemed capable of reinforcing peace and security in a continent that had witnessed the deadliest violence seen anywhere on the planet during the twentieth century”.<sup>975</sup> To be able to adapt to the evolution of the Union, “[t]he Community of the Twelve decided that it would not admit any new member before the completion of the single market, officially set for December 31, 1992”.<sup>976</sup>

The period from 1987 to 1997 is called by the European Union – “The European Union in a Europe in the throes of change”<sup>977</sup> - with many issues to solve: the “single market” to come on the completion on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1993 with the free movement of goods, capital and services between the twelve Member States of the European Economic Community (EEC); “the reform of the Community budget”; “the economic and monetary Union”; the “treaty on European Union” within “the end of the Cold War and geopolitical change in Europe”. “The end of the Cold War and geopolitical change in Europe”<sup>978</sup> raises questions to the members of the European Community about the “[r]evolution and civil war in Europe”, the “[b]reak-up of the USSR

---

<sup>975</sup> Gallagher, Tom. *The Balkans in the New Millennium: In the Shadow of War and Peace*. London: Routledge, 2005a. p. 166.

<sup>976</sup> Duverger, Maurice. De la Communauté à la Confédération [online]. *Le Monde*, 7 June 1991, no. 14419. [cited 26 May 2008]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=16624&lang=1>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>977</sup> For this paragraphe, the references in quote comes from \_\_\_\_\_. *Historical Events*. 2004-2008. Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe - CVCE. [cited 25 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.

<sup>978</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and resurgence of national identities” as well as the “[r]eunification of a divided Germany” and the Yugoslav conflict. It will be necessary to meet the new world situation and to make “[t]he reshaping of Europe” through the update of institutions, from the CSCE to the OSCE, with a close collaboration with NATO and to give a “new impetus for the Council of Europe”, as well to regenerate the Western European Union (WEU) and to create the Eurocorps.

The period from 1998 to 2007 is called “the European unification”. The end of the nineties will represent the launch of the enlargement to the CEECs. It will be the historic ‘reunification’ of the two separate Europe, the end of the ‘divorce’ between the West and the East of Europe. The European Commission will adopt in 1997 the ‘*Agenda 2000: For a Stronger and Wider Union*’, an ambitious enlargement program which contained ten opinions on the applications for accession of the CEECs. After analyzing the capacity of each state to meet the Copenhagen criteria, the Commission considered that only a first group of six countries might be eligible to accede to the Union, in around 2002–2003. They suggested that negotiations should begin only with Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. In July 1997, the European Commission issued an initial negative opinion on the accession applications submitted by Bulgaria and Romania. In 1999, the Helsinki European Council will decide to open negotiations with six other applicants – Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia – and began them in February 2000.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***



**Figure 4: The European Union in 2008.<sup>979</sup>**

The Council also acknowledges the countries of the former Yugoslavia as 'potential candidates' for Union membership. In the case of Bulgaria and Romania, the European Council followed their particular road map in agreement with the two countries, with the objective of welcoming them as Member States in 2007. In 2001, the Nice Treaty was drafted in order to bring institutional reforms needed by the future Eastern enlargement.

On May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004, the fifth enlargement opened the European Union to Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia, as well as Malta and Cyprus. On February 22, 2005, the European Commission issued a favorable opinion on the applications submitted by Bulgaria and Romania for accession to the European Union in 2007, eventually in 2008 if needed (figure 4). For the period 2000-2006, a program of

---

<sup>979</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *European Union* [online]. England: Royal Greenwich Observatory, 2008j. Available from: <<http://www.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/europe/european-union/map.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

'Community assistance for reconstruction, development and stabilization' is also planned to prepare the next enlargement process with the South-Eastern countries, five Balkan countries - Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania -.

Nowadays, the European Union faces several questions as how far can the enlargement go, on the European neighborhood policy and the case of Turkey. The 'New Europe'<sup>980</sup> will also need to fulfill new geopolitical issues and, as Pascal Lorot writes it, "the Union (European Union) as much as became a supranational body which one can say that it has its own geopolitics."<sup>981</sup>

### **IV.3.1.2 European Union Enlargement Strategy**

The European Union (EU) views the enlargement process as a historic opportunity and the principal method to spread security at the Union doors. It was the way to develop in a near future democracy, stability and prosperity to the former communist countries of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. This enlargement was important because as Ulrich Beck<sup>982</sup> says "Europeanization means creating a new politics. It means entering as a player into the meta-power game, into the struggle to form the rules of a new global order".<sup>983</sup> It is a long process but the enlargement "could not, as a matter of fact, have been otherwise" and is "quite an extraordinary challenge for all the parties involved. For the European Union, it may be the most ambitious endeavor in its

---

<sup>980</sup> The 'New Europe' is a rhetorical term used by conservative political analysts in the United States, as Ronald Rumsfeld, to describe European post-Communist era countries. 'New European' countries were originally distinguished by their governments' support of the 2003 war in Iraq, as opposed to an 'Old Europe' noted as unsupportive of that war. Even initially, however, the term was not based solely on this fact.

<sup>981</sup> Lorot, Pascal and Thual François. *La géopolitique*. Paris: Montchrestein, 1997. p. 85. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>982</sup> Ulrich Beck is a German sociologist who holds a professorship at Munich University and at the London School of Economics.

<sup>983</sup> Beck, Ulrich. Understanding the Real Europe: A Cosmopolitan Perspective [online]. Paper presented at the Annual Neale Wheeler Watson Lecture at the Nobel-Museum on 1st June 2006. Stockholm: Watson Publishing International LLC. p. 8. [cited 14 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.shpusa.com/beck/BeckLecture.pdf>>. p. 7.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

whole history"<sup>984</sup> and an extraordinary luck for the CEECs to access to democracy and prosperity. The European Union at the doors of CEECs represented a power of attraction that cannot be missed. For Russia, representative of the former Soviet bloc in bankruptcy at the prosper European Union, the choice was rapidly done.

There was no another possible solution because "[t]he alternative solutions not being viable, the full accession to the EU of the current candidates is the only option left".<sup>985</sup> The "enlargement [, with the CEECs,] entails both opportunities and threats for the European Union"<sup>986</sup> and "will differ from previous ones both quantitatively and qualitatively"<sup>987</sup>.

Quantitatively, the enlargement is the biggest one ever done by the Union, and qualitatively because it will be addressed by countries in economic transition, with a low level of experience in democracy. It means both opportunities and threats. Opportunities for both candidate countries and the European Union, by the possibility to stabilize the region of Central and Eastern Europe, and to prevent the onset of various troubles, such as economic, environmental, ethnic or geopolitical ones. It also offers significant economic opportunities for both sides. Finally, it will enhance the global weight of the EU.<sup>988</sup> Some threats can appears in the improvement of the Union's ability to correct deficiencies, to admit the candidate countries with sufficiently quick planning, to resolve the potential problems linked with the adaptation of various European policies, the need for money and the necessity for the in-depth reform of the institutions.

The enlargement can be viewed as a European Union foreign policy tool, in the sense that the Union, by its power of attraction, got the ability to influence the domestic and foreign policies of aspiring members. Moreover, the Union can use political and economic reforms as a soft power (carrot) for permanent regional change, but also as hard-edged and coercive tools (a stick). The Permanent

---

<sup>984</sup> Dehousse, Franklin and Coussens Wouter. *The enlargement of the European Union. Opportunities and Threats* [online]. 2002. [cited 1 March 2008 12:45:20]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.irri-kiib.be/papers/PresEnlargementEU.pdf>>.

<sup>985</sup> Ibid. The enlargement of the European Union. Opportunities and Threats.

<sup>986</sup> Ibid. The enlargement of the European Union. Opportunities and Threats.

<sup>987</sup> Croft, Stuart, Redmond John, Ress Wyn G., and al. *The enlargement of Europe*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. p. 57.

<sup>988</sup> Dehousse, Franklin and Coussens Wouter. *The enlargement of the European Union. Opportunities and Threats* [online]. 2002. [cited 1 March 2008 12:45:20]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.irri-kiib.be/papers/PresEnlargementEU.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

bilateral agreements on trade, the permanent political dialogue, social and even security issues through stabilization and association agreements were other elements that can be viewed as EU foreign policy tools vis-à-vis the CEECs.

However, in the nineties, the Union is not a single power of decision, but an aggregation of different states with their own foreign policy and domestic agenda, Frank Schimmelfennig remarks that, “[s]ince its beginnings, European integration has been legitimated by the ideology of a pan-European community of liberal-democratic states”.<sup>989</sup> He adds that

the Central and Eastern European countries and their supporters in the Community did not possess sufficient material bargaining power to attain enlargement, they based their claims on the constitutive values and norms of the EU and exposed inconsistencies between, on the one hand, the EU's standard of legitimacy, its past rhetoric, and its past treatment of applicant states and, on the other hand, its policy toward Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>990</sup>

For him, the Union “could neither openly oppose nor threaten to veto enlargement without damaging their credibility as community members.”<sup>991</sup> In addition, the European Union will have to deal with different factions. Schimmelfennig explains that the EU faces two issues through “[t]he decision to expand the EU to the East”<sup>992</sup> and that it will bring various significant disagreements between member states. We see here the dependence of CEEC on the European Union decision to enlarge, but also the reciprocity with the dependence for the Union to enlarge to the Eastern European Countries. The Union cannot decide to close the enlargement due to different points of view, such as the necessity to maintain stability at the Union doors.

The first issue was whether (and when) the EU should commit itself to Eastern enlargement in general. Simply stated, one group of member governments (the ‘drivers’) advocated an early and firm commitment to Eastern enlargement, whereas other members governments (the ‘brakemen’) were reticent and tried to put off the decision (table 3).

---

<sup>989</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. *The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. International Organization, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 50.

<sup>990</sup> Ibid.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid.

<sup>992</sup> Ibid. p. 49.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

	<i>Limited enlargement</i>	<i>Inclusive enlargement</i>
'Drivers'	Austria, Finland, Germany	Britain, Denmark, Sweden
'Brakemen'	Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands	France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain

**Table 3: Member state preferences on enlargement.**<sup>993</sup>

The second important issue “concerned the selection of Central and Eastern European countries for accession negotiations.”<sup>994</sup> In general, “[t]he distribution of enlargement preferences largely mirrors the geographical position of the member states.”<sup>995</sup> As he explains, “[t]he countries of the ‘central region’ of the EU preferred a limited (first round of) enlargement, whereas the northern countries, except Finland, and the southern countries favored a more inclusive approach.”<sup>996</sup>

“Finally, in light of this argument, member states should be most interested in the membership of those countries with which they share a border or are in close proximity”,<sup>997</sup> Schimmelfennig affirms. For Andrew Moravcsik, “the imperatives induced by interdependence and, in particular, the [...] exogenous increase in opportunities for cross-border trade and capital movements”<sup>998</sup> will determine national preferences of European Union States. Moreover, we can add

that France, Greece, and Italy, all southern states, gave their special support to Bulgaria and Romania, southeastern candidates; whereas Denmark and Sweden, northern states, most strongly advocated the cause of the Baltic States, the northernmost of the Central and Eastern European applicants.<sup>999</sup>

---

<sup>993</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

<sup>994</sup> Ibid. p. 49.

<sup>995</sup> Ibid.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

<sup>998</sup> Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy). p. 26.

<sup>999</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. *The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 51.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The enlargement preferences have been affected by a final factor among the member states, pertaining to the 'geopolitical interests', according to Moravcsik's categorization.<sup>1000</sup> We can draw conclusions regarding the choice for European enlargement by citing Schimmelfennig:

In sum, no single factor explains the member states' enlargement preferences. The economic conditions emphasized by liberal intergovernmentalism go a long way in giving a plausible account of state preferences, but in some important cases (Italy, Britain, and probably France), geopolitical or ideological interests seem to have been decisive.<sup>1001</sup>

We can also add that historical and cultural factors will favor the member states' enlargement preferences, such as Austria with Hungary and the Czech Republic, France with Romania, and Italy with Slovenia.

### **IV.3.1.3 Obligation to Meet the EU Accession Criteria**

#### **IV.3.1.3.1 Conditions for Enlargement**

The enlargement can be viewed as a long and complex project, whose foundation started even before the fall of the 'Berlin Wall', through the different dialogues between the European Communities and the CMEA. The Treaty of Rome, signed on March 25, 1957, by the heads of government of France, Belgium, Luxembourg, West Germany, the Netherlands and Italy, entered into force on January 1, 1958, after being ratified by the six Member States. The treaty stipulates, in the article 237<sup>1002</sup>, the basic conditions for enlargement. These conditions have been taken back in the article O of the Treaty

---

<sup>1000</sup> Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy). p. 26-29.

<sup>1001</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. *The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 53.

<sup>1002</sup> European Communities. *Treaty establishing The European Economic Community* [online]. Brussels: European Union, 1957. [cited 28 May 2008]. Tagged Image File Format. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11957E/tif/TRAITES\\_1957\\_CEE\\_1\\_EN\\_0001.tif](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11957E/tif/TRAITES_1957_CEE_1_EN_0001.tif)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

on the European Union,<sup>1003</sup> signed in Maastricht on February 7, 1992. The new treaty stipulates that

[a]ny European State may apply to become a Member [of the Community in 1957] of the Union. It shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission and after receiving the assent of the European Parliament, which shall act by an absolute majority of its component members.

The conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails, shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the Contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.<sup>1004</sup>

In fact, put more simply, the website of the European Commission Enlargement stipulates that

[a]ny European country which respects the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law may apply to become a member of the Union. The Treaty on European Union sets out the conditions (article 6, article 49) [in the consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union]<sup>1005, 1006</sup>.

In brief, the European Union Enlargement states that any European country could apply to become a member of the Union if the country respects a minimum of principles set up by the Union. A quick, yet inexhaustive list of some of these principles include liberty, democracy, respect of the human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law...

If the country respects the here before elements, in order to apply, the candidate country could submit firstly an application to the Council of Europe, which can trigger or not the accession process of integration after the evaluation by the European Commission. To start

---

<sup>1003</sup> European Communities. Treaty on European Union [online]. Official Journal of the European Communities, vol. 35, [cited 28 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC\\_1992\\_191\\_\\_1\\_EN\\_0001.pdf](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC_1992_191__1_EN_0001.pdf)>

<sup>1004</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1005</sup> European Communities. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union [online]. 1993b. European Union. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002M/htm/C\\_2002325EN.000501.html](http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002M/htm/C_2002325EN.000501.html)>.

<sup>1006</sup> European Communities. Conditions for Enlargement [online]. 1993a. European Union. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/conditions-for-enlargement/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/conditions-for-enlargement/index_en.htm)>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

negotiations, the applicant country should respect the 'Copenhagen criteria', set in 1993 by the European Council in Copenhagen. These require the country's achievement of criteria such as stability of the institutions ensuring the necessary criteria of the Union, as well as the ability to cope with competitive pressure and the market forces with and inside the Union. Membership implies obligations to be able to fulfill in particular the adherence to the aims of political, economical and monetary union.<sup>1007</sup> Later on, in 1995, the Council made clear that the candidate country must be able to enforce the rules and procedures concerning the Union.

Most of these elements have been clarified over the last decade through the legislation of the European Council, the European Commission and the European Parliament, as well as by the case law of the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. However, there are sometimes slightly conflicting interpretations in current member states.

At the Copenhagen Summit in 1993, the European Council declared that "the associated countries of Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the Union"<sup>1008</sup> and in December 1997, the Luxembourg European Council "has taken the decisions necessary to launch the overall enlargement process"<sup>1009</sup> for all the CEECs and underlined that "[t]his enlargement [fifth] is a comprehensive, inclusive and an ongoing process, which will take place in stages; each of the applicant State will proceed at its own rate, depending on its degree of preparedness".<sup>1010</sup> They stipulate that the European Union will have to be prepared for enlargement with strengthened institutions. For this enlargement process, in 1997, in Luxembourg, the European Council decided to create a multilateral

---

<sup>1007</sup> To see: European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Conclusions of the Presidency - 21-22 June 1993*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1993. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf)>. p. 13.

<sup>1008</sup> European Commission. *Documents concerning the Enlargement Process with the fifth Enlargement countries*. 2010. European Commission. [cited June 15, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press\\_corner/key-documents/index\\_archive\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press_corner/key-documents/index_archive_en.htm)>.

<sup>1009</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

forum, the European Conference, that “will bring together the Member States of the European Union and the European States aspiring to accede to it and sharing its values and internal and external objectives”<sup>1011</sup>. To take part, the candidate country, as decided by the Council,

must share a common commitment to peace, security and good neighborliness, respect for other countries' sovereignty, the principles upon which the European Union is founded, the integrity and inviolability of external borders and the principles of international law and a commitment to the settlement of territorial disputes by peaceful means, in particular through the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in the Hague.<sup>1012</sup>

At a first meeting in London, in March 1998, it was necessary to put in place a process of accession and negotiation with equal treatment and no differentiation for each state.

The integration of the Eastern European Countries from the Ex-Communist bloc will take a long way – 15 years (1989-2004) at least for the first countries – because this process had never been done before and the tools and methods had not been there and will be built systematically in terms of law, working processes and building the institutions themselves. But also because each country, in its willingness to become a member, has to make its own ‘homework’ by the implementation of the necessary requirements for adhesion and to fulfill the membership criteria, laid down in Copenhagen. The question is: how can the candidate’s country implement thousands of rules, laws and regulations in one night? Considering the amount of job to be done, it will take time not only to implement them in the national sphere, but also to make it yours.

The process for all CEECs will be the same, more or less rapid, according to the country involvement and the possibility to achieve each step in time. As the German Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, said in Brussels in 1998, at the opening of the accession negotiations, after underlining the historical moment of the next European enlargement:

[d]uring the entry process also further the slogan is valid: ‘Differentiating, without to discriminate against’. The concrete negotiations

---

<sup>1011</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1012</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

are individually begun, led and locked. Who is better prepared, advances faster. The overhauling trace is open for everyone!<sup>1013</sup>

All the CEECs will have to meet the Copenhagen criteria, here before mentioned, and the 31 chapters in order to access the European Union membership. The chapters must be translated into the national language and adapted to the local laws and regulations. On the other hand, the national law has to be changed to allow the application of the chapters in the country. However "[t]hat is not a change if, among the countries in communist transition phase, those which were invited to begin the accession negotiations are geographically closest to the Union. It suits to specify that among these countries, the performance is not similar".<sup>1014</sup>

The accession process will be officially launched on March 30, 1998 for the CEECs, with Cyprus and Malta. The process of accession and negotiation will be done through a framework with the same criteria for each applicant state to implement and enforce the acquis. The negotiation process will allow, as an agreement between the EU and the candidate country, to take into consideration the particular needs for each country and, with bilateral inter-governmental conferences between candidates and the EU, to discuss the implementation of the Chapter and "bring together in one framework all the various forms of EU financial and other support".<sup>1015</sup> The accession process will be supported by different programs and aids to ensure the help from the European Union to the state candidate, and from time to time, there will be some special EU financial assistance to help several countries (Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia) for projects in a specific Chapter. A Chapter will be 'provisionally closed' when no further negotiation is needed and the candidate country accepts the EU common position. Nevertheless, the

---

<sup>1013</sup> Auswärtiges Amt. Redebeitrag aus Anlaß der Eröffnung des EU-Beitrittsprozesses [online]. (Speech contribution for the cause of the opening of the European Union entry process). Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt, 1998. [cited 25 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=17632&lang=3>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1014</sup> Dăianu, Daniel. Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne (Euro-Atlantic Dynamic, Reflexion and European's Options). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârneli Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Trans. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* by Chollot, Armelle Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. p. 76. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1015</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *European Commission Enlargement. Key documents* [online]. s.d. European Commission Enlargement. [cited 25 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press\\_corner/key\\_documents/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press_corner/key_documents/index_en.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

process can be re-opened until the new *acquis* will be adopted for the Chapter concerned or if the country fails to implement the commitments taken.

### ***IV.3.1.3.2 Enlargement Process***

The enlargement principles will be dual. First, the differentiation will distinguish between countries based on how well they met political and economic conditions to reform themselves. Secondly, the conditionality of the process, which benefits from trade aid, and eventually membership, is only limited, usually based on the country reform process.

The enlargement process has three distinctive phases:

- the pre-accession strategy
- the negotiations
- the ratification

#### *Pre – Accession strategy*

In June 1993, at the Copenhagen European Council, the Council declares that “the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union.”<sup>1016</sup> The Council set a number of political and economical criteria to achieve the process in order to successfully complete the applications membership. These criteria are known under the Copenhagen criteria and include the following points:

the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, the ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.<sup>1017</sup>

The European Union enters into negotiations with twelve countries: Bulgaria (14 December 1995), Cyprus (3 July 1990), the Czech Republic (17 January 1996), Estonia (24 November 1995),

---

<sup>1016</sup> European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Conclusions of the Presidency - 21-22 June 1993*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1993. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf)>.

<sup>1017</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Hungary (31 March 1994), Latvia (13 October 1995), Lithuania (8 December 1995), Malta (16 July 1990), Poland (5 April 1994), Romania (22 June 1995), Slovakia (27 June 1995), Slovenia (10 June 1996). The enlargement is also open to Croatia (3 October 2005), the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (8 November 2006) and Turkey (14 April 1987). In December 1997, at the Luxembourg European Council, the Council decides, "to launch the overall enlargement process".<sup>1018</sup>

In 2002, at the Copenhagen European Council,<sup>1019</sup> the Council concluded the negotiation accessions with ten applicants of the candidate countries. The Treaty of Accession with the 10 applicant countries - Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovakia - was signed on April 16, 2003 in Athens, for an accession planned on May 1, 2004. The Treaty of Accession was signed with Bulgaria and Romania, on April 25, 2005 in Luxembourg for the accession planned for January 1, 2007. In the case of Turkey, Croatia and Macedonia no accession date had been agreed upon and the Council progressed in relation to the membership criteria.

### *Negotiations*

On March 31, 1998, the accession negotiation started with six candidate countries – Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia. On October 13, 1999, the Helsinki European Council<sup>1020</sup> recommends the Union to open negotiations with the other CEECs – Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, and Slovakia - based on the Copenhagen political criteria. At the Brussels European

---

<sup>1018</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

<sup>1019</sup> European Parliament. Copenhagen European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12 and 13 December 2002 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002b. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1020</sup> European Parliament. Helsinki European Council - Presidency Conclusion - 11 December 1999 [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1999. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Council,<sup>1021</sup> on October 25, 2002 the Commission recommends to close negotiations with the ten candidate countries, leaving negotiations to be concluded with Bulgaria and Romania, and to be opened with Turkey at a larger stage. On December 17, 2004, the Brussels European Council<sup>1022</sup> announces the closing of negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania for signing the Treaty in 2005.

The negotiations took the form of a series of bilateral inter-governmental conferences between the EU member states and each candidate country. These bilateral negotiations were held at the level of Ministers or Deputies, i.e. Permanent Representatives for the member states, and Ambassadors or Chief Negotiators for the applicants. The negotiations were divided into 31 Chapters making the *acquis communautaire* and covered areas such as fishery, statistics, small and medium-sized enterprises, science and research, education, external relations, common foreign and security policy, consumers and health protection...

The Commission proposed a common negotiating position on behalf of the EU for each of the 31 Chapters of the *acquis*. The Council and the European Parliament were kept informed of the developments and then approved these positions unanimously. Each applicant country in turn produced a common negotiating position for each of the Chapters. A Chapter of the *acquis* was considered closed with a candidate country when the EU noted that the Chapter did not require further negotiation and the candidate concerned accepted the EU common position. The results of the negotiations are then incorporate into the Accession Treaty, which is submitted to the Council for approval and to the European Parliament for assent. Following the signing of the Accession Treaty, the treaty must then pass to the candidate countries for ratification in accordance with their own constitutional procedures.

---

<sup>1021</sup> European Parliament. Brussels European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 24 and 25 October 2002 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002a. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru021\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru021_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1022</sup> European Parliament. Brussels European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 16 and 17 December 2004 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2004a. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru1204\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru1204_en.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### *Ratification*

The ratification is an obligation for the future member of the European Union. The Europe Agreements require ratification by all the European Union member states, by the applicant's country parliament and by the European Parliament in order to be valid. If the ratification process is not complete, the full agreements could not come into force. In addition, the country has to ratify the Europe Agreement in order to obtain the necessary modification of the State Constitution.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Accession in Athens on April 17, 2003, the enlargement process is complete with the ratification on accession to the EU in each of the new member states. Popular referenda were held in nine out of the 10 new member states, with Cyprus ratifying the treaty according to its own domestic procedures on July 14, 2003. The referendum was held between March and September 2003, with Latvia being the last of the new member states to vote successfully on EU membership.

### ***IV.3.1.3.3 Accession Timetable***

"Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies (PHARE)" program started in 1989 for Poland and Hungary. The processes of adhesion started in December 1991 with the signing of an association agreement in Brussels with the Visegrád countries – Czechoslovakia (which will be split in 1993 in two different countries – the Czech Republic and Slovakia), Hungary, and Poland – and later on other countries, including Romania.

In 1995, at the Madrid Council, the "European Council stressed that the enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean without jeopardizing the *acquis communautaires* was both a political necessity and a historic opportunity for Europe, and it adopted a timetable and a preparation strategy"<sup>1023</sup>, stipulating that "[u]nder the common foreign and security policy, the Stability Pact for Europe was adopted in April; this was the concrete outcome of the

---

<sup>1023</sup> European Communities. General Reports 1995. Brussels: European Commission, 1995. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1995/summary1.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

European Union's first joint action and an unprecedented example of preventive diplomacy in Central Europe".<sup>1024</sup>

In 1996, the Commission promoted its support for regional cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe "defining the framework for its cooperation with the Central European initiative".<sup>1025</sup> We want to underline these following remarks:

[t]here were significant developments with a view to the enlargement of the European Union to include the associated countries of Central Europe and Cyprus (Malta having suspended its application for membership). [...] The Commission stepped up application of the pre-accession strategy defined by the Essen and Madrid European Councils, and its efforts were welcomed by the Dublin European Council, which also confirmed the timetable whereby negotiations will open six months after conclusion of the Intergovernmental Conference and be based on the results of the IGC [Intergovernmental Conference].<sup>1026</sup>

For the Commission, the year 1997 will witness the unification: "The way towards unification of the continent is now open: unification under the sign of democracy, liberty and prosperity"<sup>1027</sup> (as written in the preamble of the report), but also the role of the Union in the world.

As underlines the Commission:

*[t]his was a pivotal year for relations between the European Union and the countries of central Europe applying for membership. In December, following the conclusion of the Intergovernmental Conference and on the basis of the Commission's 'Agenda 2000' communication and its opinions on the accession applications of the 10 countries concerned, the Luxembourg European Council adopted the decisions required to set the enlargement process in motion. New guidelines for the PHARE program were also adopted by the Commission with the aim of reinforcing the pre-accession strategy.*<sup>1028</sup> (As it was in original text)

---

<sup>1024</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1025</sup> European Communities. General Reports 1996. Brussels: European Commission, 1996. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1996/summary1.htm>>.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1027</sup> European Communities. General Report 1997 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1997a. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1997/enm00097.htm>>.

<sup>1028</sup> European Communities. General Report 1997 - Chapter VI: Role of the European Union in the world [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1997b. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1997/enx60897.htm>>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The Commission will invite the candidate countries from Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia) and evaluate their capacity to adopt and implement the EU legislation named *acquis communautaires*, and give recommendations concerning the opening of negotiations with each candidate country. The Luxembourg European Council (December 1997) will invite the Commission to issue each year<sup>1029</sup> 'Regular Reports' on the accession process progress for each applicant country. The annual report will be used as a basis document for the Council in order to make its conclusions and to evaluate the countries' readiness for membership. In addition, the Commission will write a strategy paper in order to re-evaluate the accession needs and to have candidate countries' synthesis towards accession. The timetable for negotiations, elaborated for each country's accession, is related to the 31 Chapters of the *acquis communautaires*, which must be implemented before the accession.

In 1998, the Commission makes the historical decision to switch to the euro and to adopt the "single currency on 1 January 1999".<sup>1030</sup> In addition, the Commission's agreement with "the legislative proposals for the Agenda 2000 and the launch of the process of enlarging the European Union were the highlights of 1998. The Union has assumed a new role on the international stage."<sup>1031</sup>

The Commission underlines that

*[f]ollowing the decisions taken in December 1997 by the Luxembourg European Council, the process of enlarging the European Union was launched in March. The European Conference, bringing together the Member States of the Union and the European countries which are eligible to join and share its values and objectives, held its first meeting at Heads of State or Government level, while the process of accession to the European Union by the central European applicant countries and Cyprus was opened by a ministerial meeting, and accession partnerships with the countries of central Europe were established.*<sup>1032</sup> (As it was in original text)

The Reports on progress towards accession for each of the candidate countries concluded that, "whatever the place of the candidate countries in the accession process and in the negotiations,

---

<sup>1029</sup> From 1998 to 2003, and until 2005 for Bulgaria and Romania.

<sup>1030</sup> European Communities. General Report 1998 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1998. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1998/x0000.htm>>.

<sup>1031</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1032</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the major lesson of the reports transmitted to the European Council is that the rhythm of preparation for accession must accelerate if deadlines are to be met".<sup>1033</sup> The Commission will start the negotiation process, on March 31, 1998 for the six countries of the 'Luxembourg group' (Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Cyprus).

In 1999, "[t]he enlargement process entered a new phase, with a single framework for 13 applicant countries".<sup>1034</sup> The European Union treated some political concerns, as

[t]he preparations for accession of the 10 candidate countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey should be seen in the context of intensifying relations with other neighboring countries. The present enlargement process will have a profound impact on the EU relations with the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Albania as well as on the EU neighbors to the east, in Russia and Ukraine for example, and to the south.<sup>1035</sup>

The Union concludes that "[t]he enlarged Union will need deep relationships with its immediate neighbors".<sup>1036</sup>

2000 is the year of "the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Schumann declaration, the founding text of the Community structure; this event was marked by a number of tangible signs of progress in the European integration process"<sup>1037</sup>, and the signing of the Nice Treaty, adapted for a European Union functioning with 27 states. This year the Commission introduced the Enlargement Strategic Paper in order to monitor the evolution of candidates and to adapt the tools to the

---

<sup>1033</sup> European Commission. Composite Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1998a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/composite_en.pdf)>. p. 29.

<sup>1034</sup> European Communities. General Report 1999 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1999. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1999/index.htm>>.

<sup>1035</sup> European Commission. Composite Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/composite_en.pdf)>. p. 36.

<sup>1036</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1037</sup> European Communities. General Report 2000 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2000. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2000/index.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

enlargement needs. The European Council decided that the “[a]cceding countries will be required to apply fully the *acquis* of the European Union in force by the date of accession, except in those areas where transitional arrangements will have been granted”.<sup>1038</sup> The Council underlines that “[i]n some cases, such as recently for the chapter ‘environment’, positions taken by the candidates on new *acquis* can make it necessary to revisit a chapter”.<sup>1039</sup> As the Council stipulates,

[t]he Commission has been closely monitoring how candidate countries are meeting their commitments made in the accession negotiations. It is highly important that the commitments undertaken by the future Member States in the framework of the accession negotiations be implemented as foreseen. In order to assess precisely this situation, the Commission will continue to monitor this closely until the signature of the Treaty and report on this to the Council on the basis of current procedures.<sup>1040</sup>

The Commission decided some steps had to be taken, such as the monitoring and safeguards, and the necessity to follow up on the country’s evolution after enlargement. Six months before the accession, the Commission will ask for a ‘Comprehensive Monitoring Report’, and will put in action some specific Chapters safeguard clauses, because “in certain areas candidate countries need to continue efforts until they are in a position to apply fully the Community *acquis*”.<sup>1041</sup> Also, after the enlargement, the country in question will have to continue the strengthening of its institutions, and “[t]his is why the Commission has proposed to make available for the first three years after enlargement a special transition facility for institution building”,<sup>1042</sup> for the EMU and Euro, for the Schengen *acquis*, and for the European Economic Area.

In 2001, the Commission witnesses “a turning point for the European Union”, because this year represents “the culmination of work that had been in progress for several years”.<sup>1043</sup>

---

<sup>1038</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0700:FIN:EN:PDF>>.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibid. p. 23.

<sup>1040</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>1041</sup> Ibid. p. 28.

<sup>1042</sup> Ibid. p. 23.

<sup>1043</sup> European Communities. General Report 2001 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2001. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2001/index.htm>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The year 2002 “marked a historic turning point in the EU enlargement process”.<sup>1044</sup> The Commission adopted, in October, “an *'enlargement package 2002'* comprising a strategy paper and, for each candidate country, a regular report on progress towards accession.”<sup>1045</sup> And

*[o]n 12 and 13 December, the Copenhagen European Council, taking its cue from these recommendations, concluded accession negotiations with Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. The accession of these 10 countries should take place in 2004.*<sup>1046</sup> (As it is in the original text).

In addition, it was

*approved the Commission's communication on the 'road maps' for Bulgaria and Romania, including proposals for substantially increased pre-accession aid to those countries, and confirmed the goal of accepting them as fully-fledged EU members in 2007 subject to their progress on the accession criteria.*<sup>1047</sup> (As it is in the original text).

The year 2003, with the Treaty of Athens, “marked a major milestone, the build-up to enlargement was also making itself felt in 2003 in a number of areas.”<sup>1048</sup> This year marked “the culmination in legal terms of the successful accession negotiations (concluded in Copenhagen in December 2002) with the 10 countries due to join the Union on 1 May 2004 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia).”<sup>1049</sup> The commission stipulates that the political terms are also very important, “as shown by the very prompt endorsement of the principle of accession by the future Member States, nearly all of which have formalized their commitment through referendums, giving the seal of popular approval to their accession.”<sup>1050</sup>

The Commission Report concludes on the European Union process that

---

<sup>1044</sup> European Communities. General Report 2002 - Chapter V: Enlargement [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2002. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2002/pt0704.htm>>.

<sup>1045</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1046</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1048</sup> European Communities. General Report 2003 - The European Union in 2003 - Overview [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2003. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2003/index.htm>>.

<sup>1049</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1050</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

*[p]reparations within the Union for the arrival of the new Member States intensified as the year progressed, with changes both to the way in which the institutions' departments operate and to their program of language training. Enlargement was also one of the reasons why the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission concluded an inter-institutional agreement aimed at promoting the objective of 'better lawmaking'. The 'enlargement' dimension was also increasingly visible in the formulation of many Community instruments: this was true in terms of both content, as in the case of the adjustment of the financial perspective and reform of the common agricultural policy, and modus operandi, with representatives of the future Member States being involved in the proceedings of the committees and other bodies participating in the consultation process; in operational terms too, more Community programs have been extended to include the new Member States, particularly as implementation of the sixth research framework program gets under way.<sup>1051</sup> (As in the original text).*

In 2004,

*[w]ith the accession of 10 new Member States on 1 May and the signing of a new Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe six months later, the year 2004 proved that, for all the difficulties, it is possible to enlarge and consolidate the European Union at the same time.<sup>1052</sup>*

This year has major developments: "the arrival of 10 new Member States and the signing of the Treaty on the Constitution"<sup>1053</sup> and the creation of a European Foreign Minister position. "Javier Solana was reappointed to his dual function of Secretary-General of the Council and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy".<sup>1054</sup> The report underlines that "[w]ith its newly expanded external frontiers, the European Union sought to give greater substance to the neighborhood policy it has been gradually developing over the past two years."<sup>1055</sup>

2005, an important year, witnesses the European Union Council's operations with 25 members. The European Parliament and the European Commission president will also hold office for five years for the first time. "The halting of the process of ratifying the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe following the 'no' votes in the referendums in France and the Netherlands was a defining

---

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1052</sup> European Communities. General Report 2004 [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2004. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2004/index.htm>>.

<sup>1053</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1055</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

moment".<sup>1056</sup> This situation did not block the European Union functioning. This year marks "the relaunch of the Lisbon strategy in its three dimensions — economic, social and environmental — [...]".<sup>1057</sup> There was also a series of initiatives in the Union, such as the one for a 'better lawmaking' program in the Union and a foreign policy initiative "to give effect to the highly ambitious Hague program".<sup>1058</sup> The Hague program was adopted by the EC, and sets out ten priorities, in the area of freedom, security and justice, for the next five years up to 2010, "with detailed proposals for EU action on terrorism, migration management, visa policies, asylum, privacy and security, the fight against organized crime and criminal justice."<sup>1059</sup> This program turns this plan into concrete actions, including a timetable for their adoption and implementation. At the same time, the EU wants to strengthen "partnerships with [...] strategic allies such as the United States and pursuing an open dialogue with major new partners such as China and India".<sup>1060</sup> This is the year of the Romanian and Bulgarian accession treaty signing for accession into the Union on January 1, 2007, if the safeguard clause is not applied.

The year 2006 was mainly "shaped by the major initiative, [...] the review and revision of the Lisbon agenda"<sup>1061</sup> and the fact that the project for a treaty for the European Constitution is going slowly. The European Union's strategy for growth is still on, as is the security strategy program. The EU agreed, "that the European Union needed to take steps to reinforce its external action and the link between internal and external policies"<sup>1062</sup> to be viewed as a global partner.

---

<sup>1056</sup> European Communities. General Report on the Activities of the European Union [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Commission, 2005a. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2005.pdf>>. p. 9.

<sup>1057</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1058</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>1059</sup> European Communities. The Hague Programme - Ten priorities for the next five years [online]. 2005b, 2005. European Commission. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/news/information\\_dossiers/the\\_hague\\_priorities/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/information_dossiers/the_hague_priorities/index_en.htm)>.

<sup>1060</sup> European Communities. General Report on the Activities of the European Union [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Commission, 2005a. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2005.pdf>>. p. 11.

<sup>1061</sup> European Communities. General Report on the Activities of the European Union [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006b. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2006en.pdf>>. p. 11.

<sup>1062</sup> Ibid. p. 145.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Thus, the EU decides on a new foreign policy strategy, especially for its relations with China.

The year 2007 marks “the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaties of Rome founding the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community”.<sup>1063</sup> Also in 2007, January 1 marks the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union. An important event is the signing of “the new ‘amending’ Treaty”<sup>1064</sup> that needs to be completely ratified before the following June 2009 Parliamentary elections. Also, the Union has to face internal and external challenges, such as those regarding the development of an European energy policy, while for external challenges it “recommend[s] enhancing regional cooperation as part of a ‘Black Sea synergy’ ”<sup>1065</sup> wanting “to play a key role in facing up to the problems of climate change”.<sup>1066</sup> On the foreign policy side, the Union wants to play as the role of a global partner in the global economy, contributing to the international solidarity and security in the world through multilateral cooperation. Hence, “[a] strategic partnership with Africa was also relaunched at the EU--Africa summit held in Lisbon in December”.<sup>1067</sup>

### **IV.3.2 From Cooperation with the EEC to the Accession in the EU**

#### **IV.3.2.1 Economic and Commercial Cooperation from 1967 to 1995**

Romania was the first Eastern country to have cooperation relations with the European Economical Community (EEC), started under the Ceausescu regime. The first official relation started in 1967, by initiating a series of trade negotiations with the ECC. In 1974, the Romanian Socialist Republic had a preferential trading

---

<sup>1063</sup> European Communities. General Report on the Activities of the European Union [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of The European Communities, 2007a. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2007en.pdf>>. p. 11.

<sup>1064</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1065</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1067</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

status with the EEC and was one of the first and only Eastern Europe Communist states, in 1980, to sign an economic co-operation agreement on Industrial Products with the European Community and to establish a joint commission for trade.<sup>1068</sup>

[...] the signing of two agreements between Romania and the EEC, in the Romanian capital on July 28th, was nonetheless an important event. [...] the difference is that it is the first time that a member state of Comecon, the Soviet-dominated organization for economic co-operation among communist states, has concluded a general trade agreement with the EEC. [...] Nobody now expects such a treaty to emerge in the foreseeable future.<sup>1069</sup>

However, the agreement was suspended for political reasons in April 1989, i.e. mainly the failure to comply with human rights and the stubbornness of the Romanian government to maintain a pure Stalinist regime instead of implementing a way of liberalism as the other Warsaw pact members. There was an important political step when Romania created with the European Economic Community (EEC) a Joint Committee and "acknowledged 'de jure' the European Economic Community as a subject of international law".<sup>1070</sup>

### ***IV.3.2.1.1 New Starting Point***

Just after the Revolution, on January 14, 1990, Romania received the visits of the European Commission's Vice-president, Frans Andriessen, who expressed the European Community support for the democratic processes in Romania. At the same time, Romanian authorities sent a letter to Catherine Lalumière, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, and to the president of the Committee of Ministers of the European Council, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, to acknowledge the willingness to be admitted in the

---

<sup>1068</sup> European Council. Council Regulation of 16 December 1980 on the conclusion of the Agreement on the Establishment of the Joint Committee and the Agreement on trade in industrial products between the European Economic Community and the Socialist Republic of Romania. Brussels: European Economic Community, 1980. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.legaltext.ee/text/en/U71030.htm>>.

<sup>1069</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Bear-baiting in Bucarest. *The Economist*, 2 Aug. 1980.

<sup>1070</sup> Pascariu, Gabriela Carmen. A Study on Romania's situation in the process of accession to the European Union [online]. Paper presented at the IP "European Intergration" on 3-14 September 2001. Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Economia: Centrul de Studii Europene. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.cse.uaic.ro/\\_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf](http://www.cse.uaic.ro/_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf)>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

European Council.<sup>1071</sup> In 1990, in March, a mixed Romanian - EEC Commission meeting takes place in Brussels about diplomatic relations and economic, financial and technical help from European commission members to the country. April 1990 marked the start of the activity of the first Romanian Ambassador to the European Community.<sup>1072</sup> In June, Romania ratified the foundation of the agreement establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in its capacity as founding member of the above-mentioned institution.<sup>1073</sup> In June 1990, a permanent delegation of the European Commission opens in Bucharest. In September of the same year, the PHARE program was extended to other CEECs, including Romania.

In February 1991, the European Economic Community (EEC) signed a Trade and Co-operation Agreement with Romania, after other CEECs, to increase within five years the limits imposed in trade relations and to extend cooperation in the fields of energy, banking sector, tourism and education. Later on in February 1993, Romania's officials signed the European Association Agreement, known as the European Agreement,<sup>1074</sup> establishing an association between the EEC and the country. This agreement will come into force only in February 1995. The same agreement was also signed with other CEECs. The President of the European Community Council, Niels Petersen, says on this occasion that:

[t]he signing of the agreement is a testimony to our confidence in the continuation and completion of Romania's economic and political reforms process that is has so courageously committed to and which, from the very beginning, received the Community's full support. Through this action, Romania will resume its place in the new architecture taking shape in Europe following the Community's initiative [...] The agreement is a message of

---

<sup>1071</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. p. 39-40.

<sup>1072</sup> Ibid. p. 40.

<sup>1073</sup> European Communities. Agreement establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development - EBRD [online]. Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC), [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<<http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/prepareCreateTreatiesWorkspace/treatiesGeneralData.do?step=0&redirect=true&treatyId=532>>

<sup>1074</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Europe Agreement establishing an association between EEC and Romania* [online]. s.l.: European Economic Communities, 1991f. [cited 24 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231\(20\)#top](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231(20)#top)>. L 357 , 31/12/1994 P. 0002 - 0189.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

confidence in your country's future and in our common future, a message that I would like to send to the Romanian people.<sup>1075</sup>

The Romanian Prime minister added on his part that

[t]he agreement is, first of all, a political action marking a new beginning in Romanian-Community relations. It is the result of Romania's progress towards democratization, the establishment of the rule of law and the transition towards the market economy, without which the signing of the agreement would not have been possible.<sup>1076</sup>

During the same year, in April 1993, the chief-negotiator of the European Community, Daniel Guggenbuhl, declares during his visit that "through the association agreement to the European Communities, Romania is part of the European family".<sup>1077</sup> Also in October, the Commission of the European Parliament ratified the Association Agreement between Romania and the EEC. They "consider the association agreement with Romania as an essential element of stability and security in the Balkans"<sup>1078</sup> and an important element of strategy for the countries' stabilization in the context of the Yugoslavian war at the border of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. The country completed here the first step of the foreign policy goal after the Revolution, the recognition of the country as a member of the European family and started serious discussions about the accession process, independently from the difficulties due to the beginning of the democracy implementation.

### ***IV.3.2.1.2 Difficulties Due to the Country's Behavior***

The advanced relations with the EEC during the communist period turn out to be a handicap at the beginning of the nineties, due to the Romanian government's behavior and the miners' riots incidents in 1990 and 1991. The EEC was divided on the aid to

---

<sup>1075</sup> Cercelescu, Gheorghe. *România în noua arhitectură a Europei* (Romania in the new European framework). *Adevărul*, 2 februarie 1993, no. 865. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>1076</sup> *Ibid.* Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>1077</sup> Ciocărlie, Alin Theodor. *România văzută de peste Atlantic* (Romania view from the other part of the Atlantic). *Ibid.*, 3-4 Aprilie 1993, no. 917. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>1078</sup> Andon, Alexandra. *România - element esențial al stabilității în Balcani* (Romania - essential element of the Balkan stability). *Ibid.*, 27 octombrie 1993, no. 1092. Translated by Alina Coman.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Bucharest<sup>1079</sup> or its suspension. On June 16, 1990, the EEC suspends its economic cooperation.<sup>1080</sup>

[...] Romania still does not take advantage of the Western assistance coordinated for the realization of the reforms in Eastern Europe. [...] The EEC officially agreed Monday [17 September 1990] to extend this program to GDR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, after Poland and Hungary.<sup>1081</sup>

Romania was the only state, in 1991, together with Albania, not to have made an agreement (Economic and Commercial Co-operation Agreement) at this time with the EEC, because of the incidents on the domestic scene that damaged Romania's image toward democracy. In the meantime, Romania takes part in all European initiatives, along with other CEECs. Romania also organized in Snagov the first meeting of the Ministers of Reform from CEECs including the Soviet Union, with representatives of the European Community and foreign diplomats.

The European Community supervises the Eastern European Countries, and in particular Romania. In January 1991, a delegation of the Romanian Parliament presented a report on the miners' riot events (1990) to the president of the Parliamentary Assembly and to the General Secretary of the European Council. In January of the same year, Romania got the observatory status to the European Council, together with some other CEECs. In the same month, Romania got the final decision to benefit from the aid of the European Community, for economic assistances and facilities. Romania obtained the status of 'Special guest' in February 1991 for the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council. In December 1991, Romania's officials proposed the beginning of negotiations to become a full-right member of the EEC, together with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but the proposal was turned down. Romania was only authorized to start preliminary negotiations.

The Romanian first steps within the European Community are damaged by Romania's bad image, here before explained in the 'Change into Continuity' part. Romania will be monitored and it will take huge efforts to be admitted at the same level as the Visegrád states. Moreover, Romania had serious problems with the European

---

<sup>1079</sup> Reuters. La CEE divisée sur l'aide à Bucarest (EEC divided on aid to Bucharest). *Le Monde*, 18 Jun. 1990.

<sup>1080</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. La CEE suspend sa coopération économique (ECE suspends its economic cooperation). *Le Monde*, 16 Jun. 1990.

<sup>1081</sup> A.F.P. La CEE va signer un accord de coopération économique avec Bucarest (The EEC will sign an economic cooperation agreement with Bucharest). *Ibid.*, 19 Sep. 1990. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Union agenda, as did Bulgaria. The two most Eastern states did not have borders with the Western part of the European Union, and by the geographical situation, it was classified more as Balkan countries rather than East European countries. This situation delays the negotiations with the EU. For example, at its beginning, the PHARE program did not plan full funds for Romania and Bulgaria.

As Lucian Boia, Romanian historian wrote: “[t]he first difficulty with Romania is deciding where it belongs on the map of Europe. In which zone are we to place it: Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Central Europe?”<sup>1082</sup> Romania is made up of three different parts belonging to different sensitivities and “Romania is, at one and the same time, Balkan, Eastern European and Central European, without belonging wholly to any of these divisions”.<sup>1083</sup> Nevertheless, as “the result of a long history and many human and cultural contacts, Romania is in many ways a Balkan country”.<sup>1084</sup> This classification – Balkan – was underlined by the refusal of the Visegrád group to include Romania as a member upon the submitted request by Romania to take part along with Central European states. This refusal was also due to the Romanian-Hungarian minorities problems; this ‘incident’ pushed Romania eastward.

During the Annual Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the Executive Secretary of the Commission, Gerald Hinteregger, evaluated that Romania was late in the development of economic reforms. Romania must contribute to creating all conditions to stabilize its macro-economy, to fight inflation, to reduce the budget deficit and to open and increase relations with international trade.<sup>1085</sup> Romania will have to report along with the other countries of CEE for the accession process. However, due to the first problematic years (1990 and 1991) and the undemocratic election process in 1992<sup>1086</sup>, Romania will be more under the control of the European institution and will have to make more efforts than the other countries. In order to complete the process accession, Romania had to reshape the country’s image in three ways:

---

<sup>1082</sup> Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 11.

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1085</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. p. 52.

<sup>1086</sup> To see as undemocratic by the leaders of Western democratic states.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

- first, Romania will have to demonstrate that it is a true democratic country;
- second, to prove the capability to make reforms towards a free-market economy;
- third, to be perceived as a European Country or as a Central and Eastern European Country and be dissociated from the Balkan countries, which will handicap the Romanian accession.

### ***IV.3.2.1.3 The First Efforts***

Romania immediately set the objective to draw nearer the European Community and built aggressive diplomatic actions. The Romanian authorities wrote a letter to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe requesting collaboration, while in 1992 they did the same with the Western European Union organization, by sending a letter to the General Secretary of this organization. This organization made a documentation visit in November 1991, in Bucharest, and was received by president Ion Iliescu, the Prime minister and the Foreign minister and parliamentarians. However, in general, Romania was criticized on its political and economic behavior. In May 1992, at a Strasbourg session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, the institution underlined that Romania cannot be a full-right member; while Catherine Lalumière specified that the Communist heritage was still present in the country.

The Romanian government under Theodor Stolojan (16 October 1991 – 19 November 1992) decided to create a special interministerial committee in order to interface with the European Community and the European States for the negotiation of the association agreement and to make efforts towards building the relations between Romanian and the European Community. The Committee, created in 1992 by a special decision, will be under the supervision of the Minister of Trade and Tourism, Constantin Fota, and will have representatives of all eleven government ministries – Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Defense... - and representatives of agencies such as the Romanian Agency for

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Development and the National Romanian Agency for Privatization.<sup>1087</sup> This committee will function until 1995, the year of the official application for European Union accession.

In 1994, the result of the conference '*The European Union after Maastricht and the perspective of reports development with the Associated countries*' at the Euro-Atlantic Center in Bucharest states that the Association agreement is "an intermediary stage towards accession". The Minister of international trade and European Affairs from Belgium, Robert Urbain, states that "the privatization, liberalization of foreign and monetary exchanges must take place at a constant pace. Both Parliament, and the public opinion, must be convinced that these are necessary, though temporarily painful"<sup>1088</sup> because "nobody makes investments in a country with such inflations".<sup>1089</sup>

At the same time, on 9 May 1994, in Luxembourg, the Council of Ministers of the Western European Union (WEU) adopts the Kirchberg Declaration emphasizing the establishment of an association status with WEU for the CEECs, including Romania.<sup>1090</sup> In addition, on May 17, the President of the European Parliament, Egon Klepsch, stated that

[t]he European Community is highly interested in the relations with Romania. Your country is important in the region, having a special role for the stability in the area. At the moment, Romania is, nevertheless, in an exposed position, because of the war with former Yugoslavia.<sup>1091</sup>

---

<sup>1087</sup> Guvernul României. Hotărâre nr. 1 din 4 ianuarie 1992 privind unele masuri referitoare la negocierea acordului de asociere a României la Comunitățile Europene (C.E.) și la intensificarea cooperării cu țările Asociației Europene a Liberului Schimb (A.E.L.S.) [online]. (Decision No. 1 of 4 January 1992 on certain measures relating to the negotiation of Association of Romania to the European Communities (EC) and to intensify cooperation with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA)). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 1992. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.htm\\_act\\_text?id=11942](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=11942)>.

<sup>1088</sup> Terenche, Critiana. Ministrul Belgian Al comerțului și afacerilor europene, în România (Belgium Minister of Commerce and Trade in Romania). România liberă, 18 februarie 1994, no. 1183. p. 8. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>1089</sup> Terenche, Critiana. Ministrul Belgian Al comerțului și afacerilor europene, în România (Belgium Minister of Commerce and Trade in Romania). România liberă, 18 februarie 1994, no. 1183. Translated by Alina Coman.

<sup>1090</sup> Western European Union. Kirchberg Declaration (9 May 1994) [online]. Brussels: Press and Information Service, 1994. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=6366&lang=2>>.

<sup>1091</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Egon Klepsch la București (Egon Klepsch in Bucharest). *Adevărul*, 17 mai 1994, no. 1259. Translated by Alina Coman.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

During this period, Romania received support from European Union countries for the accession in the Union. In relation with particular old foreign political links, Germany shows a strong interest for the rapid accession of Romania in the Union, as well as France, which declared that Romania was a privileged partner and militating for a non-discriminating treatment for all CEECs including Romania. However, David Phinnemore argues, in 2003, in his paper presented at the conference '*Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform*', that for Romania's accession, after the Moscow coup of August 1991, the Community was more accommodating toward CEECs. The immediate consequence was the signing of the European Agreement with Romania, in 1993, and Romania "became involved in the various mechanisms of the so-called 'structured relationship' involving the CEECs in political dialogue with the EU, despite the protests from the Visegrad-4."<sup>1092</sup>

We see two points here: the first is that the Romanian domestic scene have an influence on the foreign policy toward the EU. Second, that the international events in the Eastern zone (CIS and Balkan) drive the EU decision toward the enlargement process. We can say that there is a dependence relation between the Romanian domestic policy and the EU accession process through the foreign policy action, as well as between the international events and the EU 'foreign policy' toward the CEECs.

### **IV.3.2.2 Association Period: From 1995 to 2000**

#### ***IV.3.2.2.1 The European Agreement***

In February 1995, the 'European Agreement' came into force for Romania. The 'European Agreement' is the "legal framework of relations between the European Union and the Central and Eastern European countries".<sup>1093</sup> "These agreements were adapted to the

---

<sup>1092</sup> Phinnemore, David. *Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion?* [online]. Paper presented at the *Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform*, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.

<sup>1093</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Europe agreement* [online]. European Commission Enlargement (Ed.), *Glossary*. s.l.: European Commission Enlargement, s.d.-a. [cited 26 Feb. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/glossary/terms/europe-agreement\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/glossary/terms/europe-agreement_en.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

specific situation of each partner state while setting common political, economic and commercial objectives. In the context of accession to the European Union, they formed the framework for implementation of the accession process".<sup>1094</sup> The European Agreement is considered as the first step of the pre-accession stage, a fundamental legal instrument of the pre-accession strategy, providing "a framework for Romania's gradual integration into the Community".<sup>1095</sup> The agreement in force for a 10-year period committed the parties to gradually eliminate the customs duties and administrative obstacles and to bring the gradual alignment of the legislative framework with the community regulation. This agreement also entails the commitment to carry out the free circulation of goods, people, services and capital.

At the same time, the European Agreement planned the development of institutional structures as a key role in the development of the partnership.<sup>1096</sup> It will be settled:

- at political level, with the Joint Parliamentary Association Committee,
- at ministerial level, with the Association Council,
- at technical level, with the Association Committee.

Nevertheless, "the new institutionalized framework"<sup>1097</sup> brought by the European Agreement created the conditions for:

- the participation of Romania in the political dialogue between the European Union and the associated countries,
- the development of trade relations, by facilitating the access of Romanian products on the EU internal market,

---

<sup>1094</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

<sup>1095</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Europe Agreement establishing an association between EEC and Romania* [online]. s.l.: European Economic Communities, 1991f. [cited 24 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231\(20\)#top](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231(20)#top)>. L 357 , 31/12/1994 P. 0002 - 0189.

<sup>1096</sup> For more detale, to see the Europe Agreement signed between Romanian and the EEC: \_\_\_\_ Ibid.

<sup>1097</sup> Pascariu, Gabriela Carmen. A Study on Romania's situation in the process of accession to the European Union [online]. Paper presented at the IP "European Intergration" on 3-14 September 2001. Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Economia: Centrul de Studii Europene. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.cse.uaic.ro/\\_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf](http://www.cse.uaic.ro/_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf)>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

- the inclusion of Romania in the development projects of the trans-European infrastructure, transport, communication, power...
- the participation of Romania in community programs in the fields of culture, research, education, environment...<sup>1098</sup>

### ***IV.3.2.2.2 Romania's Accession Requirements***

On June 22, 1995, in Snagov, the Romanian state commission elaborated the '*National Strategy of Preparation for Romania's accession to the European Union*'. There, the President, political leaders, the presidents of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, and the Prime Minister signed the political declaration for the country's accession to the EU. Afterwards, the Romanian Prime Minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu (19 November 1992 - 11 December 1996), sent, on 22 June 1995, a request to the President-in-Office of the Council of the European Union (EU) in which he officially submitted Romania's application for accession to the EU.<sup>1099</sup> The candidature was accompanied by the document on '*the National Strategy Preparing Romania's Accession to the European Union*'.

The Council of the European Union would evaluate Romania's official application for accession to the EU in order to decide if Romania meets the conditions to begin the accession as defined in Copenhagen in 1993. The political conditions stipulated that the country could guarantee the stability of democratic institutions, the rule of law, the human rights and the respect for and protection of minorities. The economic criteria must be aligned with a functioning market economy able to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the Union. In addition, last but not least, the candidate country has to be capable to fulfill the obligations of the Union as member.

The evaluation report - '*Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union*' - established in July 1997, was not favorable. The conclusion of the commission was without concession and stated that

---

<sup>1098</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1099</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Application by Romania for accession to the European Union* [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1995. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

[t]he European Commission emphasizes the progress made by the country in order to comply with the political and economic criteria. However, it considers that Romania is experiencing serious problems in transposing the Community acquis into national law and reaches the conclusion that the accession negotiations will be opened as soon as the country has made sufficient progress to meet the accession terms set by the Copenhagen European Council.<sup>1100</sup>

Therefore, after the Commission Opinion Report, Romania could not be in the group of countries able to start negotiations. In addition, as the report says, Romania has to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria in the political and economic fields before starting negotiations. However, in addition, Romania will also have to fulfill the newly added criteria at the Madrid European Council (1995),<sup>1101</sup> on the obligation to strengthen its administrative capacity to implement and enforce the acquis by national measures contributing to the same objective of the Union, with a process of legislative and administrative simplification – in brief, to have in place similar structures as the European ones.

The report underlined that Romania will “pursue the consolidation and development of the rule of law, political pluralism, the separation of powers, free elections, respect for human rights and the establishment of a market economy compatible with the principles governing the European Union”.<sup>1102</sup> To reinforce the above-mentioned point, Adrian Nastase writes in 1995, that “[t]he totality of the states which, after the Second World war, were subject to the influence of the USSR and which, after the Cold War, have escaped from the gravitational space of the Soviet ex-empire and regained

---

<sup>1100</sup> European Commission. Commission Opinion on Romania's application for membership of the European Union: Introduction and Conclusion (15 July 1997) [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997b. [cited 26 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/commission-opinion-romania-application-membership-european-union-introduction-conclusion-july-1997-030008028.html>>. Text n°8028.

<sup>1101</sup> European Parliament. Madrid European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 15 and 16 December 1995 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1995. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/mad1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/mad1_en.htm)>.

<sup>1102</sup> European Commission. Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997a. [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op_en.pdf)>. DOC/97/18.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

adhesion with the European traditional values,"<sup>1103</sup> want to be again in the club of the European nations.

The integration process for Romania will be blocked for a period, until the Copenhagen criteria will be achieved. Romania will be evaluated during a pre-accession strategy defined in 1994 during the Essen European Council. Romania will not be able to start negotiations along with the countries proposed for the beginning of negotiations. We can explain Romania's difficult accession to the EU by the lack of radical domestic reforms implemented rapidly after 1990, and if some were successfully completed during Constantinescu's presidency, it was not enough. "An explanation for the pattern of successes and failures is found in the way economics and politics interacted with the strategies of central reformers during the reform years."<sup>1104</sup> As state Andrei Schleifer and Daniel Treisman for Russia, but it can also be applied to Romania, the "[s]tabilisation could have occurred more quickly"<sup>1105</sup> especially under Constantinescu's presidency because if Romania's political leaders "had sufficient determination to resist the pressures of self-interested lobbyists [...] the leadership did not establish control over a corrupt bureaucracy."<sup>1106</sup> The question is "[w]hy do countries adopt particular reforms at particular times?" Schleifer and Treisman explain<sup>1107</sup> that it is the result of the implication of three different factors describe as the interests of actors, the nature of political institutions, and the policy of individual reformers.<sup>1108</sup>

The interest, or better said the lack of interest, explains the postponement or delay of reforms due to the opposition of the more powerful coalition led by the former communist 'nomenklatura', because "- like many other times of uncertainty and transition - was one in which major beneficiaries of inefficient policies were both receiving huge monetary benefits and heavily discounting the future."<sup>1109</sup> In fact the reforms will be done only when "the distribution of interests or the distribution of power changes". In addition,

---

<sup>1103</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Le rôle de l'Europe dans la future architecture européenne (The role of Europe in the future European Architecture). Romanian Journal of International Affairs, 1995, 1995a, vol. 1, no. 1-2.

<sup>1104</sup> Schleifer, Andrei and Treisman Daniel. *The Economics and Politics of Transition to an Open Market Economy: Russia*. Trans. *Environnement économique et politique de transition vers l'économie de marché : La Russie* by OECD. Paris: OECD Publishing, 1998. (Development Centre Studies). p. 13.

<sup>1105</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>1106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1107</sup> To see the chapter one -Economic Transition in Russia- in Ibid. p. 11-23.

<sup>1108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1109</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

institutions have an important impact on the success of reforms through the level at which they isolate policy makers from the population and group of interest. As it was during most of Constantinescu's presidency, "if government and economic decision makers are convinced reformers while interest groups and the population oppose change, then insulation may help reform measures".<sup>1110</sup> Nevertheless, independently from the other items, one of the most important is the individual as leader. "The success or failure of economic reform depends in part upon the particular policies chosen by the individual [leader] reformer."

In 1997, at the Luxembourg European Council, in response to the 'Agenda 2000', the European Council decided on a new phase, with the launching of "the overall enlargement process"<sup>1111</sup> that benefited Romania, despite the Commission's opinion on Romania's fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria. The issue for the Council was not to block the accession, but to delay it for a period in order to give time to the CEECs to be ready. In fact, the issue was for the Council "to avoid notions of 'ins' and 'outs' and renewed differentiation in the EU relations with the applicant countries".<sup>1112</sup>

### ***IV.3.2.2.3 Government Initiative***

In order to be in phase with the accession demand, Romania setup special plan for integration in European Union. Upon a special decision, in March 1995, the Romanian government, led by Nicolae Vacaroiu under the presidency of Ion Iliescu, created an Interministerial Committee for the European Integration.<sup>1113</sup> The Prime Minister with the participation of from the Senate, the Chamber

---

<sup>1110</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>1111</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

<sup>1112</sup> Phinnemore, David. Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion? [online]. Paper presented at the Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.

<sup>1113</sup> . HOTĂRÂRE nr.140 din 9 martie 1995 privind constituirea și functionarea Comitetului Interministerial pentru Integrare Europeană [online]. (Decision nr. 140 from 8 March 1995). București: Guvernul României, 1995. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.hp\\_act\\_text?idt=5675](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.hp_act_text?idt=5675)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

of Deputies, the Presidency, and the Commission representatives led this committee to elaborate the National preparation Strategy for Romania's accession to the European Union. Other state institutions were also represented, such as the Romanian Academy, employers' unions and trade unions, as well as chambers of commerce and industry... A Department for European Integration was set up, under the direct subordination of the Prime Minister, whose main objective was to draft and coordinate the integration policy and sectorial sections for European Integration<sup>1114</sup> within ministries and specialized institutions such as the central administration and prefect's offices, in order to coordinate, supervise, and control. But, it is only under the Victor Ciorbea government (December 1996 – 30 March 1998) and Gavril Dejeu government (March – 17 April 1998), led by the new president Emil Constantinescu, that the position is represented by a Minister Delegate for the European Integration, i.e. Alexandru Herla (12 December 1996 to 17 April 1998). In the next government, led by Radu Vasile (17 April 1998 – 13 December 1999) and subsequently by Alexandru Athanasiu (13 December to 22 December 1999), the special position of Minister for European Integration disappears and will only reappear in the first Adrian Nastase government, after the elections in 2000. In addition, other mechanisms were set up, in 1995 at the parliamentary level, for the implementation of the '*Association Agreement*' and the '*National Preparation Strategy for Romania's Accession to the European Union*', such as a Joint Commission of the two Chambers of the Parliament, a Legislative Council to monitor the implementation of the *acquis communautaires*, and a bilateral mechanism at various levels that we mentioned before. In addition, the government encouraged, supported nongovernmental institutions, and initiated forums and discussions on paper, but the implementation will be difficult in reality.

In brief, the Romanian government instituted some initiatives and structures to prepare the success of Romania's accession to the EU on paper. In fact, the reality was different, with numerous application and coordination problems. The Romanian initiatives and structures were not so efficient.

During this time and aware of the country's image, the Romanian diplomacy was very active to promote the country's

---

<sup>1114</sup> . HOTĂRÂRE nr.140 din 9 martie 1995 privind constituirea și functionarea Comitetului Interministerial pentru Integrare Europeana [online]. (Decision nr. 140 from 8 March 1995). București: Guvernul României, 1995. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.htm\\_act\\_text?id=5675](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=5675)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

accession to the European Union as well to NATO, through numerous and various actions. Indeed, Romania has to respect the Union rules and, as stipulated at the Luxembourg European Council, members "must share a common commitment to peace, security and good neighborliness, respect for other countries' sovereignty, the principles upon which the European Union."<sup>1115</sup> To comfort the accession process and because it was a condition of the European Union as well NATO, Romania spent time and energy to solve conflicts and secure borders with its neighbors. Romania will try to solve the neighboring conflicts in a peaceful way by negotiations and treaties. It will take time, but the result will be aligned to the European Union rules. We point out here the influence of the European Union process toward the resolution conflict with neighbors. Romania has a conflictual situation with a central European state - Hungary - due to a particular territorial and historical situation, as well as with the Eastern Countries - Moldova and Ukraine. In 1996, Romania made a big step by signing a treaty with the Republic of Hungary. This treaty is based on the model of the French-German reconciliation, and was treated in an international meeting held in Bucharest on March 15-16. This meeting was associated with the Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation.

The Romanian Presidents will use the traditional and historical links with European states to gain support toward the accession process. The link with the Latin countries will be used, first France as well as Spain and Italy, but also the links with German countries, given the strong royal link and the Saxon minorities. The new Romanian president, Emil Constantinescu (28 December 1996 – 20 December 2000), requested the support for accession into the EU as well as NATO to European state leaders, and in particular to France. The French president promised, during his visit to Romania in 1997, to strongly support the Romanian candidature to NATO and EU. Jacques Chirac, French President says "[y]ou can count on the support of France. If you wish it, [France] will do its best to help you surmount any difficulty. Within the European Union, as well as within

---

<sup>1115</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Atlantic Alliance, France wants to be your lawyer, your friendly lawyer".<sup>1116</sup>

The frequent changes in the government and government structures, the delays in the process of institution democratization, the absence or failure of a long-term development strategy of the government, in brief the vacillating steps made by Romania in the implementation of reforms did not help Romania, and pushed the country to the second rank of accession candidates. But "Romania managed to cope with internal turbulence in the form of strikes and the external crisis in the Western Balkans without departing from democratic practices and respect for the rule of law",<sup>1117</sup> wrote the European Commission.

### ***IV.3.2.2.4 Charming Attitude***

Romania and Romanian officials will develop an effort to prove that Romania is a European country that deserves to come back in the 'club' after forty-five years of 'Communism domination'. They will 'charm' the European state representatives of the Union to get support for the accession process.

On March 24, 1997, Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin, present at the Royal Institute of International Relations of Brussels, explains the Romanian position toward the European Union.<sup>1118</sup> One sees through this speech that the Minister reviews various points to

---

<sup>1116</sup> Chirac, Jacques. Discours de M. Jacques Chirac, Président de la République, sur les relations franco-roumaines et la coopération culturelle et économique, sur la démocratisation de la Roumanie et sur l'élargissement de l'OTAN et de l'Union européenne à la Roumanie, Bucarest le 21 février 1997 [online]. (Speech of Mr. Jacques Chirac, Bucharest on 21 February 1997). Paris: Président de la République, 1997. [cited 27 May 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.vie-publique.fr/cdp/977007800.html#>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1117</sup> European Commission. Composite Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/composite_en.pdf)>. p. 15.

<sup>1118</sup> In this page all citations in quotation marks come from the paper presented in French by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Severin, Adrian. L'integration de la Roumanie dans l'UE et l'OTAN (Romanian Integration into EU and NATO). Paper presented at the Un acquis pour la sécurité en Europe on 24 mars 1997. Bruxelles: Institut Royal des Relations Internationales. pp. 17-30. p. 17-30.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

argue for Romania's accession to the European Union, but also in NATO, as being "a natural and legitimate option". More exactly, he often spoke about the general to come down to the particular: Romania. The Minister insisted on the fact that "integration in the Union" will transform deeply the Romanian society. Adrian Severin also binds "the project of accession" with the internal transformation of Romania and he specifies that with the accession into the European Union, as well as into NATO, will be a "strategic anchor of the transformation according to the European devoted model." The Minister argues that the political operation of Romania is aligned to the European one, which for him is an additional argument in favor of Romania's accession to the European Union. He underlined that, if the negotiations for all the Eastern European countries must start simultaneously, each one will go at its own rhythm and rejoin European Commission idea. He underlines in his speech the domestic dependence of Romania toward the accession process and that this will shape the country reformation.

Adrian Severin insisted on the historical chance of Europe, in this enlargement, to have the contribution of Romania, which can bring a lot to Europe in terms of geopolitics' advantage. He specifies that the operation and concerns of Romania are the same as the ones of the European Union countries' and that Romania already started its integration through regional organizations (CFETA, BSEC, SECI, ...) and its active participation in several projects (project of coordination – Southeast European Co-operative Initiative). The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs specified that their collaboration would change Europe, because that represents "a tool for approval of the methods and procedures of work inside the Union". In addition, it will affect the behavior of the states by bringing together the "economic systems", "justice and home affairs", and their "foreign policy". In addition, he insists on certain questions raised by the European Union by reassuring the Union states. He specifies that "[w]e will act, also, with determination and, if I may, with inventiveness, to supplement this regional multilateral step of a network of partnership relations of good vicinity".<sup>1119</sup>

The Minister underlined that Romania is "the crossroads of several geographic axes" and "strategic interests". Adrian Severin specified that his country can "bring the reinforcement of stability and safety of the continent" and make "steps at the local regional level", positioning Romania as an important actor for the region, which it does not name, for the moment and which can be the Balkans or the

---

<sup>1119</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Black Sea area... In his opinion, the actions of Romania in this local regional area "are perceived by Romania as complementary actions and not as substitutes with the fundamental objective of integration to the European Union, an organization which encourages and supports these actions".<sup>1120</sup> He wanted to justify Romania's current and future initiatives by saying that what they are doing is not out of personal interest, but it is for us all, thus marking the following remark while taking for granted that the European Union is an "Organization which encourages and supports these actions."

In a few words, he said that the accession is "a natural and legitimate option" because Romanians are the same as any other European people, and that this process will enable the country to reform more quickly while contributing to the stability not only of the area, but also of the "entire continent". He finished his pleading by specifying, "that these historical meetings will bring to Romania the act of justice which it well deserves after a half of century of waiting and sacrifices".<sup>1121</sup> As we see, Romania made many efforts to shape the country's image from the Balkan idea to the future European Union state, and from a disorganized country to a country on the way to fulfill the Copenhagen criteria. Romanian leaders present a future possible strategy to the European Union within Romania's accession, and argue on the strength of having it in the Union vis-à-vis the instabilities and problems in the Southeast of the European Union.

The Luxembourg European Council of December 1997 decided to accelerate the process of accession, by launching the "overall enlargement process". "The accession process will be launched on 30 March 1998 by a meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the fifteen member states of the European Union, the ten Central and East European applicant States and Cyprus".<sup>1122</sup> However, the Council "points out that all these States are destined to join the European Union on the basis of the same criteria and that they are participating in the accession process on an equal footing."<sup>1123</sup> Therefore, Romania wins another step in the accession to the European Union. Romania succeeded in convincing the Union about the strength of the country in the reform process in order to, meet the European Union criteria. Officials also insisted on the regional situation to press the

---

<sup>1120</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1121</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1122</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

<sup>1123</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

negotiation with the Union by focusing on factual geopolitical elements.

### **IV.3.2.3 Accession Period: From 2000 to 2007**

The European Council met in Helsinki, on 10-11 December 1999, and adopted the Millennium Declaration, "recalling that compliance with the political criteria laid down at the Copenhagen European Council is a prerequisite for the opening of accession negotiations"<sup>1124</sup> and decided to open accession negotiations with Romania, as well as with other states - Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Slovakia - by stating that, "in the negotiations, each candidate state will be judged on its own merits". The European Council consolidated the principle of differentiation.<sup>1125</sup> The European Union launched, on February 15, 2000, the process of negotiation for accession.

As David Phinnemore argues, we can say that, "obviously, the Kosovo conflict in 1999 prompted the EU to open accession negotiation with Romania".<sup>1126</sup> In fact at that time, "[v]arious explanations exist for the decision of the European Commission" and "[f]or some, the decisions of the European Commission and the European Council were a 'reward' for Romania's support for NATO; for others they were compensation for NATO's decision not to issue new invitations to join at its Washington Summit in spring 1999, despite the alleged promise to do so at Madrid two years earlier".<sup>1127</sup> We can conclude that, whatever the reason of the Council, "the fact is that had there been no Kosovo, then Romania may not have opened accession negotiations in 2000".<sup>1128</sup>

---

<sup>1124</sup> European Parliament. Helsinki European Council - Presidency Conclusion - 11 December 1999 [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1999. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm)>.

<sup>1125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1126</sup> Phinnemore, David. Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion? [online]. Paper presented at the Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.

<sup>1127</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1128</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

In 2003, Romania arrived at a turning point, having to conclude in one year, between October 2003 and October 2004, the rest of the acquis in order to be admitted into the Union in 2007. In order to better understand, we will briefly specify the Commission's work methods to establish reports on candidate countries. The Commission for the European Council as well as NATO will use formal and official ways to get country information, but will also rely on the civil society, represented by organizations such as International Organizations (IOs), Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). As the Commission wrote

[t]he report draws on numerous sources of information. The candidate countries were invited to provide information on progress made in preparations for membership since the publication of the last Regular Report. [...] The Commission also drew on assessments made by various international organizations and in particular on contributions from the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the international financial institutions as well as nongovernmental organizations.<sup>1129</sup>

In this particular case, we will see the increasing importance of non-state actors – IO's, NGOs as well as FDI representatives – in creating the necessary consequences in the process of Romania's International Relations. This situation has imposed to the Romania foreign policy a necessary restructuration and innovation as we explain in the chapter 'The Comeback' of first part 'Change into Continuity'.

### ***IV.3.2.3.1 Government***

The special position for European Integration will reappear during the first Adrian Nastase government (28 December 2000 – 20 June 2003) in the form of a Ministry for European Integration within the negotiation obligations vis-à-vis the Union. In the next period (20 June 2003 – 10 March 2004), the position will be split in two ministries, one for the European Integration and the other for the negotiations with European Union.<sup>1130</sup>

---

<sup>1129</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/romania\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/romania_en.pdf)>. COM (99) 510 - 12069/99. p. 5.

<sup>1130</sup> Information consolidated and translated from Stan Stoica's book. Stoica, Stan. *România după 1989. O istorie cronologică* (Romania From 1989: A Chronological History). București: Editura Meronia, 2007. p. 254-265.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

One may be surprised that, after the official request for application, the Romanian government did not create immediately a Minister for European Integration and even suppressed the position linked with European integration during two governments, under the presidency of Emil Constantinescu, from April 1998 to December 2000. The most complete and largest government, under the presidency of Emil Constantinescu, was from December 1996, just after the elections, to April 1996, with a minister for reforms, a president of the reform commission, a minister delegate for European integration, as well as a minister delegate for national minorities issues, led by Tokay Gyorgy (12 December 1996 to 17 April 1998). Nevertheless, all these ministers disappeared in the next government (17 April 1998 to 22 December 1999), and reappeared with the minister delegate for national minorities issues, led by Eckstein-Kovacs Peter (22 December 1999 to 28 December 2000).

It is only in 2001 that the new government led by Adrian Nastase created a Ministry for European Integration, led by Hildegard Carola Puwak (from its creation until 20 June 2003).<sup>1131</sup> This ministry had a legal entity, a budget and its own personnel and had several duties, obligations and powers, and was supposed to operate in collaboration with other ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Public administration. At the same time, this is a symbol and an effort to achieve the European Union accession. The ministry will work in coordination with the Institute of European Affairs, created in 1998, with "the three-fold mission, namely research, training in European Affairs and translating the *acquis communautaire*".<sup>1132</sup>

It is interesting to underline that the cabinet composition must reflect, in general, the preoccupation and the priority of the government. In margin of our thesis work, we can nevertheless

---

<sup>1131</sup> Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 1075 din 25 octombrie 2001 privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Integrării Europene* [online]. (Decision No. 1.075 of 25 October 2001 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of European Integration). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001d. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.htm\\_act\\_text?id=30290](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=30290)>.

<sup>1132</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *ORDONANȚĂ nr.15 din 29 ianuarie 1998 privind înființarea, organizarea și funcționarea Institutului European din România* [online]. (Decree nr. 15 from 29 January 1998). București: Guvernul României, 1998. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hpertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.htm\\_act\\_text?id=374](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=374)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

answer this question because several studies<sup>1133</sup> underline the fact that “the way jurisdictions are defined or divided has a substantial impact on how policy is formulated and implemented”.<sup>1134</sup> In addition, “the change even in one portfolio is meaningful because it affects both the cabinet structure and cabinet decision-making process. The introduction or abolition of a ministry changes how policy areas are defined and who the principal decision-makers are.”<sup>1135</sup> We can say that the cabinet composition “has the potential to affect the political balance in the executive by empowering or weakening certain bureaucratic and political interests”.<sup>1136</sup> This statement helps us to understand the way that various Romanian governments treated the European Union accession, in our opinion, with more or less involvement.

The 2003 Report stipulated that the Romanian institutions, such as Parliament, had some problems in that they cannot operate correctly because of “a large number of complex and politically sensitive issues”,<sup>1137</sup> the “limited Parliament’s ability to effectively scrutinize legislation”,<sup>1138</sup> and the lack of expert personnel. In a new sentence, the Report concludes that “[e]xternal oversight of Parliament’s activities by civil society remains limited in practice and committee meetings are generally closed Parliament to the public”.<sup>1139</sup>

During these years, there was crisis in the Nastase government and the government was restructured in June 2003, from 23 down to 14 ministers, but with the creation of a Minister Delegate in charge, without formal legal basis, which remained to approximately the same point in the government as before. However, the government

---

<sup>1133</sup> Several studies went out by the OCED, the World Bank, and other International Organisations.

<sup>1134</sup> Protsyk, Oleh. *Reforming Cabinets in Post-Communist Countries: Political Determinants of Cabinet Organization and Size* [online]. Paper presented at the Enhancing the Capacities to Govern: Challenges Facing the Countries on 8-10 April 2003. Bucharest: Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPACEE). p. 17. [cited 27 June 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/nispacee/unpan009006.pdf>>.

<sup>1135</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1136</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1137</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003. p. 14.

<sup>1138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1139</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

made efforts of “transparency for the decision-making process”<sup>1140</sup> and to associate the civil society in the democratic process. Corruption is denounced and the Minister of European Integration, Hildegard Puwak, has to step down from her position because of suspicions about illegal use of European funds, explained and described, here before, in the first part.

The Romanian government does not make enough efforts to meet all Copenhagen criteria, because of the specific behavior of the Romanian governmental elite, more focused on their personal interest or enrichment versus the country’s and citizens’ interest. In order to achieve the Romanian goal of accession in the European Union, the Ministry of European Integration organized several national debates in order to mobilize the government and the civil society. It organized, in February 2002, the Convention concerning the future of the European Union, with representatives from the government and from the civil society (NGOs, media) and a debate on ‘*Defining and dividing competencies between EU members states and the EU*’ in March,

In the foreign policy field, Romania seeks support from other European countries, such as Italy (with Berlusconi’s visit in April) to reaffirm the country’s support for Romania’s accession, and from Spain (Nastase’s visit in November).

The government adopted a new program for the period 2002-2003 (November 2002-December 2003) on harmonizing the legislation with the EU. The government continued to work in close collaboration with the European Union institutions and committees to accelerate the accession progress and to resolve issues in selective *acquis*. In order to implement correctly their actions, the government presented another revised ‘*National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis*’ (NPAA), to the EU, “in which it outlines its strategy for accession, including how to achieve the priorities of the Accession Partnerships”.<sup>1141</sup>

---

<sup>1140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1141</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/grpoups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN008693.pdf>>. COM(2002) 700 - SEC(2002) 1409.

***IV.3.2.3.2 The Country's Efforts***

Romania and its political elite made a huge effort to access to the European Union. First, the political class was unanimously in favor of the Romanian accession to the EU; second, the population was also in favor of the EU accession, as soon as possible. "Romania started the transition with a major handicap and had large difficulties with this demolishing of its political and economic past, although, in a paradoxical way, the quasi-majority of the population wished the end of Ceausescu's regime".<sup>1142</sup>

Earlier in the political process Romania, the change, in political leader at the election of 1996, 2000 and 2004, reinforce the progression of the country toward democracy, but never change the global Romanian will for EU accession. The European Commission also concluded that, "following the arrival [1996] in power of a new government indicates that Romania is on its way to satisfy the political criteria"<sup>1143</sup>. For Cristian Preda<sup>1144</sup>, "[t]he topic of integration almost became an obsession in Romania"<sup>1145</sup> and underlined that

[o]ne witnesses at the same time a true subordination to the requirements of the Union, so much so that various ministers grade their policies according to the progress report of the negotiations status. This situation is dangerous, but it should be understood that after the fall of Communism, Romania did not have any other resource, and that it is under the impact and with the support of Europe that it could be modernized.<sup>1146</sup>

The situation is similar with that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where "[t]he West [was] perceived [...] like 'the world of civilization' by the

---

<sup>1142</sup> Dăianu, Daniel. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* (Euro-Atlantic Dynamic, Reflexion and European's Options). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârneli Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Trans. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* by Chollot, Armelle Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. p. 78. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1143</sup> European Commission. *Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union* [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997a. [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op_en.pdf)>. DOC/97/18. p. Conclusion.

<sup>1144</sup> Critia Preda is editor of the Romanian magazin Political Studies (*Studia Politica*), was state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of the Francophonie from September 2005 to February 2007.

<sup>1145</sup> Kalinowski, Wojtek and Pech Thierry. *La Roumanie entre Europe et Amérique - Entretien avec Cristian Preda*. *La Vie de Idées*, Décembre 2005/Janvier 2006, 2006, no. 8. p. 70. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1146</sup> *Ibid.* Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

extra-Western political intellectuals and actors, which supports this vast movement of export".<sup>1147</sup> "[I]n Europe, with the advent of the principle of nationalities which involved a burst of the great empires (Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian)", for Bertrand Badie, specialist in international relations and professor at the Institute of Political Studies of Paris, Romania continues to live a "Westernization of the political order".<sup>1148</sup>

We can see that "the European model became the reference of the public life in Romania"<sup>1149</sup>. We can underline too that "[f]or a country like Romania, the blocking of enlargement for some reason or another would be a terrible blow, because the Romanians put their hope in an increasingly organic relation with the EU".<sup>1150</sup> "This political logic of dependence is very visible with regard to the importation of Western political-institutional models".<sup>1151</sup> Bertrand Badier specifies that "this Westernization is also (and perhaps above all) related to strategies of actors who draw on the advantages of their role of importers".<sup>1152</sup>

However, the road to the European Union was chaotic with many traps, and the importation of the democratic model was not easy for Romania. The effort made by Romania received some reward; The networking with the European Union's officials and with the European political leaders was functioning very well and helped the country to get support from various European countries such as France, Finland, Germany, Italy, and Spain... Second, the Council was

---

<sup>1147</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *La diffusion de l'Etat-nation: Bertrand Badie - L'Etat importé* [online]. (The dissemination of the nation-state: Bertrand Badie - The State imported). Paris: Université Paris 1 - Panthéon - Sorbonne, 2006k. [cited 13 November 2006]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1148</sup> Badie, Bertrand. *L'Etat importé. Essai sur l'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique* (The imported State. The Westernization of the Political Order). Paris: Fayard, 1995. (L'espace du politique).

<sup>1149</sup> Kalinowski, Wojtek and Pech Thierry. *La Roumanie entre Europe et Amérique - Entretien avec Cristian Preda. La Vie de Idées*, Décembre 2005/Janvier 2006, 2006, no. 8. p. 70. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1150</sup> Badie, Bertrand. *L'Etat importé. Essai sur l'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique* (The imported State. The Westernization of the Political Order). Paris: Fayard, 1995. (L'espace du politique).

<sup>1151</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *La diffusion de l'Etat-nation: Bertrand Badie - L'Etat importé* [online]. (The dissemination of the nation-state: Bertrand Badie - The State imported). Paris: Université Paris 1 - Panthéon - Sorbonne, 2006k. [cited 13 November 2006]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1152</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *La diffusion de l'Etat-nation: Bertrand Badie - L'Etat importé* Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

a 'trap'. The academic analysis argues that the EU decisions were not necessarily made "based on hard-nosed cost-benefit analyses"<sup>1153</sup> but were driven by "rhetorical entrapment".<sup>1154</sup> The council reiterates the necessary enlargement in Copenhagen (1993), in Luxembourg (1997) and in Helsinki (1999), saying that is "continuous, inclusive and irreversible"<sup>1155</sup> and that "Bulgaria and Romania are part of the same inclusive and irreversible enlargement process" with "the objective [...] to welcome Bulgaria and Romania as members in 2007"<sup>1156</sup>, confirmed by the 'One Europe' declaration.<sup>1157</sup> The risk was to dissatisfy Romania, to isolate the country and to turn the situation instable. Even if results were not there, Romanian officials could argue that the country needed more effort and investment to cover the gap in order to meet the Copenhagen criteria. The Council understood that Romania needed more effort, the decision was to grant more technical and financial support to the country, in order to help officials, and institutions reach the expected level. The Union could not do in another way, because many other candidates knocking at the Union's doors could be disappointed and there was the risk to turn them to a more isolated situation or towards another radical solution, in particular the countries at the Union border such as the Balkan ones.

The international situation changed in 2001, and the European geopolitics becomes different with a high emphasis on the Balkan situation at the European doors and on the Middle East. The unstable situation in the Balkans, with the Muslim issue and terrorism, highly

---

<sup>1153</sup> Phinnemore, David. Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion? [online]. Paper presented at the Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.

<sup>1154</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1155</sup> European Parliament. Copenhagen European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12 and 13 December 2002 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002b. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1156</sup> European Parliament. Thessaloniki European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 19 and 20 June 2003 [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2003. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/the\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/the_en.pdf)>. p. 16.

<sup>1157</sup> European Parliament. One Europe [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002c. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.abfonlari.gov.tr/pdfdocumentary/zirveler/2002Copenhagen11-12%20Aralik%202002OneEurope.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

increased Romania's potential in this area, especially regarding the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship. Moreover, the energy issue becomes a foreign policy issue - an economic-war tool - for the supplier countries such as Russia, and the guarantee of the control of the supplying road became crucial for the EU as well as for some other countries. The Constanta port and Romania's geographical situation are a potential solution and help for the Union. In fact, Romania becomes the crossroad of different interests, and the involvement of the Romanian diplomacy in this area, as explained here before in part one, starts to bring back dividends. Can one remember the Constantinescu project 'Romania at a Crossroad' (România la răscruce), at the end of the nineties?

### ***IV.3.2.3.3 Evaluation***

For the Commission, "[e]nlargement is a top priority for the European Union" and "[t]o be able to develop messages effectively, opinion leaders require a flow of objective up-to-date information".<sup>1158</sup> The Commission also asked for an Enlargement Strategy Paper in order to monitor the complexity of the negotiating process and to help the Union "make a decision on the necessary institutional reforms"<sup>1159</sup> in order for the enlargement process to succeed. In addition, the Union "requires a communications strategy spread over a number of years to keep citizens of the EU and the candidate countries informed and to ensure their participation in the process and finally win their support for it".<sup>1160</sup>

The Luxembourg European Council decided for a reviewed procedure, in order to regularly monitor countries' accession progress in accordance with the Copenhagen criteria and the Union *acquis*. The Commission will have to report each year, with the method adopted by the 'Agenda 2000', through Regular Reports on CEECs' progression toward accession preparation and progress from 1998 to 2005,

---

<sup>1158</sup> European Commission. Communication Strategy for Enlargement [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement\\_process/past\\_enlargements/communication\\_strategy/sec\\_737\\_2000\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement_process/past_enlargements/communication_strategy/sec_737_2000_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1159</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2000/strat-en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2000/strat-en.pdf)>. p. 3-5.

<sup>1160</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

including Romania. The 'Agenda 2000' allowed for the evaluation of the "applicant States' ability to meet the economic criteria and fulfill the obligations deriving from accession"<sup>1161</sup>. Different reports will succeed and turn around the different Copenhagen criteria as well as the capacity to implement the *acquis communautaire*, and the political criteria, the economic criteria, the ability to assume the obligations of membership. These important points will be evaluated each year in each country, in order to monitor the evolution and the coming closer toward the accession.

The Luxembourg European Council decided that

From the end of 1998, the Commission will make regular reports to the Council, together with any necessary recommendations for opening bilateral intergovernmental conferences, reviewing the progress of each Central and East European applicant State towards accession in the light of the Copenhagen criteria, in particular the rate at which it is adopting the Union *acquis*[.] [...] The Commission's reports will serve as a basis for taking, in the Council context, the necessary decisions on the conduct of the accession negotiations or their extension to other applicants. In that context, the Commission will continue to follow the method adopted by Agenda 2000 in evaluating applicant States' ability to meet the economic criteria and fulfill the obligations deriving from accession.<sup>1162</sup>

In addition, the Cardiff European Council specifies that

The Union's priority is to maintain the enlargement process for the countries covered in the Luxembourg European Council conclusions, within which they can actively pursue their candidatures and make progress towards taking on the obligations of membership, including the Copenhagen criteria. Each of these candidate countries will be judged on the basis of the same criteria and will proceed in its candidature at its own rate, depending on its degree of preparedness. Much will depend on the efforts made by the candidate countries themselves to meet the criteria. All will benefit from strengthened relations with the EU including through political dialogue and tailored strategies to help them prepared for accession.<sup>1163</sup>

On the above-mentioned basis, the Commission will present a series of Regular Reports on Romania's progress toward accession in

---

<sup>1161</sup> European Parliament. Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>.

<sup>1162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1163</sup> European Parliament. Cardiff European Council - Presidency Conclusions (Cardiff, 15-16 June 1998) [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1998. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/54315.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/54315.pdf)>. p. 22.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

1998, in 1999, in November 2000, in November 2001, in 2002, in 2003, in 2004 and in October 2005.

At the starting point in 1997, the Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union stipulated that Romania was not ready, because the country was experiencing serious problems in implementing the Copenhagen criteria, despite the political will in favor of the European Union integration. Regarding the political criteria, the report says that this "current improvement in Romania, following the arrival in power of a new government, indicates that Romania is on its way to satisfy the political criteria".<sup>1164</sup> With reference to the economic criteria, one reads that "Romania has made considerable progress in the creation of a market economy, but it would still face serious difficulties to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium term".<sup>1165</sup> Insofar as the ability to assume the obligations of membership, the Commission writes, "Romania has neither transposed nor taken on the essential elements of the *acquis*, particularly as regards the internal market. It is therefore uncertain whether Romania will be in a position to assume the obligations of membership in the medium term".<sup>1166</sup> The Commission underlines that "[m]ore generally, substantial administrative reform will be indispensable if Romania is to have the structures to apply and enforce the *acquis* effectively".<sup>1167</sup>

### *The Previous Reports*

The previous reports - 1998 and 1999 - underline that if

Romania has made progress in addressing certain aspects of the short term (sic) Accession Partnership priorities in economic reform and administrative capacity [...]. The internal market priorities [...], the justice

---

<sup>1164</sup> European Commission. Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997a. [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op_en.pdf)>. DOC/97/18. p. Conclusion.

<sup>1165</sup> Ibid. Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union.

<sup>1166</sup> Ibid. Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union.

<sup>1167</sup> Ibid. Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and home affairs priorities [...] and those in the environment have not been satisfactorily addressed.<sup>1168</sup>

Only "six countries, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Slovenia and Slovakia should be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium-term".<sup>1169</sup> In general, the report concludes, "Romania's situation has deteriorated due to the government's lack of commitment to structural reforms and it still has a long way to go".<sup>1170</sup> The Commission concluded that "Romania cannot be considered as a functioning market economy and it is not able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium term"<sup>1171</sup> and does not achieve the Copenhagen economic criteria. Progress was even made in the privatization of several large state companies (the carmaker Dacia ...), and "restructuring and privatizing the state-owned financial market".<sup>1172</sup> The "macroeconomic instability and legal uncertainty" helped attract more Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). In one word, "[t]he insufficient administrative capacity is currently a major constraint in the accession preparations".<sup>1173</sup> For the 'National Programs for the Adoption of the Acquis', "the [Romanian] Government also recognises (sic) the need to ensure a better link between the process of defining objectives for the short and medium term accession priorities and the budgetary planning and programming".<sup>1174</sup>

When analyzing the Human Rights conventions ratified by the candidate countries in June 1999<sup>1175</sup>, Romania signed almost all the

---

<sup>1168</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1998b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/romania\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/romania_en.pdf)>. p. 53.

<sup>1169</sup> European Commission. Composite Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1998a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/composite_en.pdf)>. p. 8.

<sup>1170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1171</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/romania\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/romania_en.pdf)>. COM (99) 510 - 12069/99. p. 32.

<sup>1172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1173</sup> Ibid. p. 78.

<sup>1174</sup> Ibid. p. 82.

<sup>1175</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

conventions in advance, as compared, for example, with Czech Republic, Estonia or Poland.

### *Reports From 2000 up to 2005*

Each year, the global conclusion of the report is that, on the one hand, "Romania continues to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria"<sup>1176</sup> and "can therefore be judged as having met the 1999 Accession Partnership's short-term priorities"<sup>1177</sup>, and that "Romania's democratic institutions are well established, but the process of decision making remains weak. Despite the initiatives taken over the last year, the government has continued to rely on legislating by ordinances and consultation on draft legislation should be substantially improved".<sup>1178</sup> On the other hand, Reports stipulate, "Romania cannot be regarded as a functioning market economy and is not able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium term. It has not substantially improved its future economic prospects"<sup>1179</sup> until the 2004 report. Reports underline that the country has serious problems and difficulties in implementing the acquis, even if "Romania has

---

<sup>1176</sup> To see the Reports' Commission from 2000 up to 2005

European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000c. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000\\_Regular\\_Report.pdf](http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000_Regular_Report.pdf)>. COM(2000) 710 - C5-0610/2000 - 1997/2172(COS). p. 14.

European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2001b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2001/ro\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2001/ro_en.pdf)>. SEC(2001) 1753. p. 15.

European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN008693.pdf>>. COM(2002) 700 - SEC(2002) 1409. p. 20.

European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003. p. 12.

<sup>1177</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000c. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000\\_Regular\\_Report.pdf](http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000_Regular_Report.pdf)>. COM(2000) 710 - C5-0610/2000 - 1997/2172(COS). p. 87.

<sup>1178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1179</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

continued to advance with the adoption of the *acquis*”, the achievements have been mixed<sup>1180</sup>, with problems in decision-making concerning the implementation of the reforms needed, because many institutions required to ensure reforms implementation do not exist or are too weak to be effective.

### ***2000 Report***

The 2000 period was a turning point in the accession process, following the Helsinki decision to open the negotiations with all CEECs following the political Copenhagen criteria. At the same time, the European Council decides to issue each year an Enlargement Strategic Paper in order to evaluate the accession progress for all CEECs.

In 2000, the report on Romanian’s progress towards the accession stipulates that

[i]n accordance with this approach, the assessment of progress in meeting the political and *acquis* criteria (including Romania’s administrative capacity to implement the *acquis*) focuses on what has been accomplished since the last regular report, complemented with a view of the global situation for each of the aspects discussed.<sup>1181</sup>

In 2000, 23 chapters were opened in addition to 4 more others: statistics, culture and audio-visual policy, competition policy, and telecommunications.

The global conclusion of the report is that, on the one hand, “Romania continues to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria”<sup>1182</sup> and “can therefore be judged as having met the 1999 Accession Partnership’s short-term priorities”<sup>1183</sup>, except for the high levels of discrimination concerning the treatment of the Roma population. As the Commission underlines,

Romania’s democratic institutions are well established, but the process of decision making remains weak. Despite the initiatives taken over the last year the government has continued to rely on legislating by ordinances and consultation on draft legislation should be substantially improved.<sup>1184</sup>

---

<sup>1180</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

<sup>1181</sup> Ibid. p. 87.

<sup>1182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1184</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

On the other hand, the report stipulates, "Romania cannot be regarded as a functioning market economy and is not able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the medium term. It has not substantially improved its future economic prospects".<sup>1185</sup> If "Romania has adopted economic programs and strategies, in agreement with the international financial institutions and the EU", the Commission underlines that, in the ability to assume the obligations of membership, "there are serious difficulties in implementing these agreements as well as in deciding on key medium-term reforms", because "[m]any institutions required to ensure the functioning of a market economy either do not exist or are too weak to be effective."<sup>1186</sup>

Regarding the administrative capacity to apply the *acquis*, "Romania has continued to advance with the adoption of the *acquis* – although the achievements over the last year have been mixed".<sup>1187</sup> In certain sectors, such as company law and competition, transport, internal market legislation, VAT and excise duties, "both legal transposition and the setting up of the necessary administrative structures are advanced. At the same time there is a worrying lack of progress in certain key areas"<sup>1188</sup> such as the internal market, industry policy, telecommunications, justice and home affairs, financial control, budgetary procedures or even no progress at all such as in agriculture, environmental sector and employment and social affairs.

For the Accession Partnership, several short-term priorities have to be met regarding the political criteria, with the necessity to address several points as well in the economic criteria and in the internal market by the need to fully implement the Accession Partnership Priorities. Priorities such as Agriculture, Transport, Employment and Social Affairs, Environment, Justice and Home Affairs, Reinforcement of administrative and juridical capacity, need huge efforts. The medium-term priorities also have to be achieved in the political criteria, in transport, in energy, in customs and in Justice and Home Affairs.<sup>1189</sup> The report stipulates that "[i]n general the Romanian NPAA is a well structured and readable document. It provides a useful overview of Romania's pre-accession strategy and also functions as a coordination tool for Romania's own accession

---

<sup>1185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1186</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>1187</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

<sup>1188</sup> Ibid. p. 88-89.

<sup>1189</sup> Ibid. p. 90-93.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

preparations".<sup>1190</sup> However "[i]n several sectors, the targets set are ambitious, which gives rise to doubts as to the ability to meet all the deadlines".<sup>1191</sup>

### ***2001 Report***

In 2001, "since the opening of the accession negotiations in February 2000, substantial discussions on the individual chapters of the acquis started and by September 2001 negotiations on 15 chapters had been opened."

In 2001, the report on Romania's progress towards the accession stipulates that, by the end of September 2001, 8 chapters were provisionally closed: fisheries, statistics, small and medium-sized enterprises, science and research, education, external relations, common foreign and security policy and consumers and health protection.

The report says, "Romania continues to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria" and that "significant progress have been made especially in the field of human rights" and in that of minorities' rights. The report emphasizes that "[t]his efficiency of the legislature has improved considerably as has the overall functioning of government" but "corruption remains a serious problem that is largely unresolved".<sup>1192</sup> Moreover, the Commission notices the lack of progress in the public administration reforms with "the independence of the judiciary". The country has to make efforts to implement the defined strategies.

As in the previous years, the Commission underlines that even if

Romania has made progress towards establishing a functioning market economy and although it would not, in the medium term, be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union, it has taken measures that would allow to develop its future capacity, provided that it keeps to the engaged economic reform path.<sup>1193</sup>

---

<sup>1190</sup> Ibid. p. 94.

<sup>1191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1192</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2001b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2001/ro\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2001/ro_en.pdf)>. SEC(2001) 1753. p. 30.

<sup>1193</sup> Ibid. p. 40.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Romania has “serious economic imbalances with high inflation [...] in a difficult social environment” linked with a weak administration and a considerable reform agenda. Romania has to enforce the plan recommended by international institutions. However, there are still serious economic imbalances, with high inflation and an increasing current account deficit, in a difficult social environment. As for the administrative capacity to apply the *acquis*, the 2001 report stipulates that, on the one hand, some efforts are needed to reach “the standards generally applicable in the Community”<sup>1194</sup>, and on the other hand, “[a] related concern is the ability of Romanian institutions to effectively manage the increased levels of EU funding”<sup>1195</sup>. In general, “Romania has continued to make progress with the adoption of the *acquis*”<sup>1196</sup>. The conclusion of the Commission is that “[t]he overall capacity of the public administration to implement the *acquis* remains limited and represents a major constraint on Romania’s accession preparations”.<sup>1197</sup>

### *2002 Report*

The report of the European Commission for Enlargement says that “Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia fulfill the political criteria”<sup>1198</sup> and “have reached a high level of alignment with the *acquis* and have made considerable advances towards ensuring adequate administrative and judicial capacity”<sup>1199</sup>. The Commission considers that “these countries will have fulfilled the economic and *acquis* criteria and will be ready for membership from the beginning of 2004”.<sup>1200</sup> The report adds that “[t]hese [Bulgaria and Romania ] countries should focus further efforts on the areas identified in the Regular Reports [...] because Bulgaria and Romania fulfill the political

---

<sup>1194</sup> Ibid. p. 96.

<sup>1195</sup> Ibid. p. 42.

<sup>1196</sup> Ibid. p. 98.

<sup>1197</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2001a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2001/strategy\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2001/strategy_en.pdf)>. p. 56.

<sup>1198</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0700:FIN:EN:PDF>>. p. 21-22.

<sup>1199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1200</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

criteria but do not fully meet, to various extents, the economic and acquis criteria."<sup>1201</sup>

The report underlines that Romania has

made considerable progress in the negotiations. All negotiating chapters have now been opened [...] almost [...] with Romania. [...] [W]ith Romania[, It] should be possible to open the last four chapters before the end of this year, thus fulfilling the Laeken European Council's objective to have all chapters opened with these two countries in 2002.<sup>1202</sup>

The Report stipulates that Romania and Bulgaria have set the date of accession for 2007. Only 13 Chapters have been provisionally closed with Romania, in comparison to Bulgaria, which has providently closed 22 chapters. The closed chapters are: Company Law, Fisheries, Economic and Monetary Union, Statistics, Social Policy and Employment, Industrial Policy, Small and Medium-sized, Enterprises, Science and Research, Education and Training, Consumers and Health Protection, External Relations, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Institutions. Romania still has 14 chapters to close and four other chapters to open: Free movement of services, Agriculture, Financial and Budgetary provisions and others. The Commission decided to increase the technical and financial help for both countries and to focus on their roadmaps. The Commission underlines that it "will strongly support the two countries in achieving this objective [2007 accession], which will continue to be guided by the principles of differentiation and own merits"<sup>1203</sup> and "[a]s the accession negotiations with all twelve negotiating candidate countries are an inclusive process, the Accession Treaty should acknowledge that the results reached in the negotiations with those candidates which will not join in the first round of enlargement will not be put into question".<sup>1204</sup>

A revised Accession Partnership was adopted in January 2002 between Romania and the EU, in order to jointly identify the next steps required for Romania to achieve the accession process in time.

### 2003 Report

In 2003, the "[a]ccession negotiations are well advanced with Bulgaria and Romania, and will continue on the basis of the same principles that guided the negotiations with the ten acceding

---

<sup>1201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1202</sup> Ibid. p. 30.

<sup>1203</sup> Ibid. p. 36.

<sup>1204</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

countries, without calling into question the results already achieved".<sup>1205</sup> The Report shows that "Bulgaria and Romania [...] have moved forward on the three sets of criteria – the political, economic and acquis criteria – established by the 1993 Copenhagen European Council".<sup>1206</sup>

Romania continues to fulfill the political criteria, but the Report stipulates that the country "still needs to develop a strategy to address reform of the policy and legislative process"<sup>1207</sup> and that "[c]orruption [...] continues to be widespread and affects all aspects of society".<sup>1208</sup> For the first time the Report concludes that "Romania can be considered as a functioning market economy once the good progress made has continued decisively"<sup>1209</sup>. But "[i]n addition, a vigorous and sustained implementation of its structural reform program is required in order for Romania to be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union in the near term".<sup>1210</sup>

The 2003 Report stipulates that in the administrative capacity to apply the acquis

Romania has made steady progress with the adoption of the acquis and is on track to transpose the required legislation before the planned date of accession provided the current pace of progress is maintained. Weaknesses in the legislative process mean that the quality of legislation transposed is uneven and in some cases revisions will be needed before laws can be implemented.<sup>1211</sup>

The Report must underline that it is not enough and

[i]n a number of important sectors, there has been a continued gap between progress in legal transposition and the limited overall capacity of the public administration to implement and enforce the newly adopted

---

<sup>1205</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0676:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2003) 676 final. p. 3.

<sup>1206</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>1207</sup> Ibid. p. 27.

<sup>1208</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003. p. 32.

<sup>1209</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>1210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1211</sup> Ibid. p. 124.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

legislation. This represents a major constraint on Romania's accession preparations and to address this issue will require a comprehensive, structural reform of both the public administration and the judicial system.<sup>1212</sup>

But "[d]epending on further progress in complying with the membership criteria, the objective is to welcome Romania as a member in 2007."<sup>1213</sup>

What is the difference between the Report and its specific words and the reality? What does the Report say exactly and what is the Romanian interpretation?

In 2003, we can read in the national and foreign media that "Romania hasn't obtained the status of functional economy this year" as confirmed Enrico Pasquarelli, chief negotiator for Romania with the European Commission, in an interview for Mediafax agency in Brussels.<sup>1214</sup> In addition, according to Pasquarelli, the report indicates that Romania is closed to this status, but that it's still not a functional market economy. However, the Head of EC Delegation in Romania, Jonathan Scheele, underlines that

'if ambiguities due to syntactic formulations are still there, the text in English continues to be the reference text.' [...] 'Romania can be considered as a functioning market economy once the good progress made has continued decisively'.<sup>1215</sup>

However, the Prime Minister does not understand the text in the same way and "PM Adrian Nastase stated yesterday that this translation was incorrect and that the correct version was, in his opinion, the following: 'Romania is considered as a functioning market economy and this status will be confirmed through measures we'll continuously take'."<sup>1216</sup>

We can also read in *Adevarul*, a Romanian daily newspaper that Romania will have to wait for one more year regarding its hope that the EU would grant it the much-wanted status of functioning market economy, a criteria that must be compulsorily complied with in order

---

<sup>1212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1213</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

<sup>1214</sup> Macovei, Vlad, Palade Gabriela, Moise Lidia, *and al.* Palma cu mănășă de mătase [online]. (A slap with a velvet glove). *Evenimentul zilei*, 7 november 2003, no. 3515. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/632730/Palma-cu-manusa-de-matase/#>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1215</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1216</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

to access to the EU.<sup>1217</sup> And the report underlines that Romania is 'almost' on the verge of having a market economy, a formula that is mentioned in the 2001 report for Bulgaria, which has been granted this status since 2002.<sup>1218</sup>

We can see here the difference of interpretation between the European Union officials and the Romanian government official. The Romanian government does not make enough efforts to meet all the Copenhagen criteria. Moreover, we can see that, year by year, Romania advances only under the pressure of the European Union and its officials. Romania, as usual, passes in full force the step of the accession process instead of making real improvements of the criteria.

At the date of the 2003, Report, Romania had opened 30 negotiating chapters and 20 had been provisionally closed "although delays have been noted in certain specific areas".<sup>1219</sup> The following chapters remain to be concluded: Free movement of persons, Freedom to provide services, Competition policy, Agriculture, Transport policy, Energy, Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments, environment, cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs, and Financial and budgetary provisions.

So, Romania is not 'in' yet, but also not 'out' and the conclusion is, as the Commission underlines, that nothing changed in the negotiation process and countries continued to be evaluated "on the basis of the same principles that have guided the accession

---

<sup>1217</sup> To see : Reuters. Presa europeana - convinsa ca Romania nu are economie de piata [online]. Adevărul, 7 nov. 2003, no. 4156. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/2003/presa-europeana-convinsa-ca-romania-nu-are-economie-de-piata.html>>.

<sup>1218</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003.

<sup>1219</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0676:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2003) 676 final. p. 30.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

negotiations until now, whereby each country is judged on its own merits".<sup>1220</sup>

### ***2004 Report***

The situation is critical because 2004 will be the last chance for Romania to expect to be in the Union soon. As the President of the Institute for Marketing and Public Opinion Polls (IMAS) and today a Parliamentarian deputy for the Social Democrat Party, Alin Teodorescu, stipulated in his interview with "22 Magazine" (Revista 22), the political leaders and the civil society must understand that the next year, 2004, will be as important as the Soviet Ultimatum in 1940. For Alin Teodorescu, Romania will be at a very important crossroad of its history, to be 'in' or 'out' the Union, because "the Romanian government must close all chapters for the accession to the European Union".<sup>1221</sup>

Some civil society leaders, such as Alin Teodorescu, want to alert and to convince political leaders and the civil society about the importance of the current period for Romania. He tackles the difficulties the country will face in the coming year to conclude its accession negotiations, and recalls that the extremist parties represent a real danger for the parliamentary elections of 2004.<sup>1222</sup>

The Commission underlines that

[t]he enlargement of the EU to ten new Member States on 1 May 2004 has further strengthened the unity of the European continent. The historical and political arguments in favor of this enlargement are

---

<sup>1220</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003. p. 11.

<sup>1221</sup> Palade, Rodica and Teodorescu Alin. Urmeaza 12 luni cruciale pentru Romania [online]. (12 crucial months will follow up for Romania). *Revista 22*, 14 Oct. 2003-20 Oct. 2003, 2003, no. 710. [cited 03 March 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=643&nr=2003-10-21>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1222</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

compelling: it enhances peace, prosperity, stability and security and has also produced substantial economic benefits.<sup>1223</sup>

We can read, in the 2004 Report that “[t]his year’s Regular Reports’ assess Bulgaria and Romania’s ability to assume all obligations of membership by accession”.<sup>1224</sup> For Romania, “27 chapters have been provisionally closed”,<sup>1225</sup> but “three chapters remain to be negotiated (competition, environment, and justice and home affairs) as well as parts of Chapter 31 (Other)”<sup>1226</sup> and must be finished by the end of 2004.

The Report evaluates every year the Copenhagen criteria and we can read:

Bulgaria and Romania continue to fulfill the Copenhagen political criteria. Improvements need to be made in particular in the reform of their public administration, the functioning of their judicial system, and the fight against corruption.

Bulgaria and Romania fulfill the criterion of being a functioning market economy. [...] the vigorous implementation of Romania’s structural reform program should enable them to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union

Bulgaria and Romania have continued to make good progress in adopting the *acquis* and have generally fulfilled their commitments made in the negotiations. They are on track to complete the required legislative transposition by accession provided that the current pace of progress is maintained. They need to continue their efforts to develop sufficient administrative and judicial capacity to implement and enforce the *acquis*.<sup>1227</sup>

As it was usually done for the previous 10 CEECs,

---

<sup>1223</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2004:0657:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2004) 657 final. p. 2.

<sup>1224</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>1225</sup> European Commission. Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004c. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_ro\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_ro_2004_en.pdf)>. COM(2004) 657 final - SEC(2004) 1200. p. 12.

<sup>1226</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2004:0657:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2004) 657 final. p. 3.

<sup>1227</sup> Ibid.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

[t]he Commission will make every effort in order to meet the European Council's objective to bring the negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania to a successful conclusion in 2004, on the basis of own merits, with a view to signing the Accession Treaty as early as possible in 2005.<sup>1228</sup>

However, the Commission used specific safeguard clauses with Romania and it will recommend

to the Council at any time before the entry into force of the Accession Treaty to postpone the envisaged date of accession of Bulgaria or Romania by one year to January 2008 if there is clear evidence that there is a serious risk that Bulgaria or Romania will be manifestly unprepared to meet the requirements of membership by 1 January 2007 in a number of important areas.<sup>1229</sup>

In addition, "until accession, the Union will continue to help Bulgaria and Romania in their preparations for membership through the pre-accession strategy".<sup>1230</sup>

The Report also stipulates that, after the accession, upon joining the Union, the country will have to continue to reinforce "administrative and judicial capacity", to make the necessary work to fulfill the Schengen acquis, and "will need to apply to join the European Economic Area (EEA)".<sup>1231</sup>

### **2005 Report**

For Romania and Romanians, there was no other solution than to be in the EU by January 2007. They did not accept the idea of a possible postponement of the accession date. As in 1993, Romanian had its own way of seeing the situation; they will not accept the additional delay. In one respect, it is positive, because Romania will make all necessary efforts to meet the objectives with the help of the European Union institutions and personnel, of course. The Minister of European Integration, Anca Boagiu, says in an interview prior to the release of the 2005 Report, that she has "recently attacked her colleagues in the Romanian Parliament for failing to adopt vital laws to bring domestic law in line with the EU acquis".<sup>1232</sup> "I had to pull that alarm signal, in order to accelerate the amount of activity in

---

<sup>1228</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>1229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1231</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

<sup>1232</sup> EurActive Romania. Interview with Romania's minister for European integration Anca Boagiu [online]. EurActive, 24 October 2005. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/interview-romania-minister-european-integration-anca-boagiu/article-146369>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Parliament”,<sup>1233</sup> she says. “[A]lways said that the process of European integration is a team process. In addition, the Romanian Parliament is part of this team. [...] The national priority is Romania's accession on 1 January 2007”, she added.<sup>1234</sup> From her “point of view, all other things are secondary to that”.<sup>1235</sup>

The Minister recognizes that there is a lot to do, especially with the institutions that will replace the EU technical assistance after the accession. In addition, the minister underlines that Romania’s negative image “is the poor communication of the identity and progress of this country [Romania].”<sup>1236</sup> The minister says that “Romania will join the European Union on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007! It is our objective, everybody assumed it and there is no plan ‘B’ ”.<sup>1237</sup> The majority of Romanian officials share this opinion. The 2005 Report started by the fact that “[t]he accession negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania were concluded in December 2004 and a Treaty of Accession was signed in April 2005 with a view to welcoming both countries as members as from January 2007. This Treaty is currently being ratified”.<sup>1238</sup> The Report continues to monitor Romania in order to be ready on January 1, 2007 and to evaluate the help and funds needed to achieve these goals.

The Commission reviews again the Copenhagen criteria and “confirms its earlier assessment that Bulgaria and Romania meet the political criteria for membership. Nevertheless, further efforts are needed in particular to strengthen the rule of law, by improving public administration and the justice system and by fighting corruption effectively”.<sup>1239</sup> The Commission confirms that,

as regards the economic criteria, Bulgaria and Romania fulfill the requirement of being a functioning market economy. [...] Romania’s vigorous implementation of its structural reform program should enable them to withstand competitive pressure and market forces within the Union.<sup>1240</sup>

---

<sup>1233</sup> As is true for most Romanian officials, Anca Boagiu does not accept the idea of postponing accession by a year. *Ibid.*

<sup>1234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1238</sup> European Commission. Enlargement Strategy Paper [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005a. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0534:FIN/EN/PDF>>. COM(2005) 534 final. p. 2.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>1240</sup> *Ibid.*

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The Commission also confirms that "Romania has reached a considerable level of alignment with the *acquis* in most policy areas. Efforts to strengthen overall administrative capacity should continue with a view to properly implementing the adopted legislation". But "Romania needs to make increased efforts in certain areas in order to complete its preparations for accession"<sup>1241</sup> and "must take immediate and decisive action to address issues of serious concern if it is to be ready by the envisaged date of accession"<sup>1242</sup> in particular in agriculture, in the taxation area, in the regional policy and coordination of structural instruments, environment and finally, in justice and home affairs, especially for the preparation of the Schengen *acquis*. Romania has to continue to make efforts in order to achieve all goals to be ready for the January 2007 accession.

### *The Last Step*

The Treaty of Accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union<sup>1243</sup> was signed on April 25, 2005 in Luxemburg<sup>1244</sup>, after the approval of the European Commission<sup>1245</sup> (February 22, 2005), the European Parliament (in April 13), and by EU Council (in April 25, 2005). The Treaty must be, in the period 2005-2006, ratified by Member States (EU-25), as well as by the two countries, Bulgaria and Romania. However, the Commission writes that the full preparations of the two countries for EU accession have not yet been

---

<sup>1241</sup> European Commission. 2005 Regular Report on Romania [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005b. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy\\_documents/2005/sec1354\\_cmr\\_master\\_ro\\_college\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy_documents/2005/sec1354_cmr_master_ro_college_en.pdf)>. SEC(2005) 1354. p. 78.

<sup>1242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1243</sup> European Union. Treaty Between [...] (member States of the European Union) and The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania Concerning the Accession of The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union [online]. Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC), vol. 48, 2005, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:157:0011:0027:EN:PDF>>

<sup>1244</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *România a semnat Tratatul de Aderare la Uniunea Europeană* [online]. (Romania signs the treaty of adhesion to the European Union). Vol. 2008. Bucureşti: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2005j. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=25988>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1245</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Avizul Comisiei Europene privind aderarea României și Bulgariei la UE* [online]. (European Commission Opinion on Romania and Bulgaria adhesion to EU). Bucureşti: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2005g. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=25429>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

completed; therefore, the Commission is continuously monitoring the situation. As says Commissioner Olli Rehn<sup>1246</sup>,

Bulgaria and Romania have achieved significant progress so far in the preparations for accession. But, the jury is still out. In the months to come particular attention must be paid to actual implementation and enforcement of the reforms. The issues presented in our reports should be taken very seriously and used as an incentive for speeding up the reforms, if Bulgaria and Romania want to be ready for accession on 1 January 2007.<sup>1247</sup>

The Commission decided to link the accession process of the both countries, Bulgaria and Romania, together. Romania as Bulgaria will be continuously evaluate by the commission in order to be sure that the countries meet the requirements of membership, otherwise the accession will be postpone until 2008. The Commission issued two different reports in 2006, to monitor the efforts made by the country in order to meet the requirements. For the Commission, Romania with Bulgaria "made far-reaching efforts to adapt their legislation and administration to the laws and rules of the European Union" and will be in position "to take on the rights and obligations of EU membership on 1 January 2007."<sup>1248</sup> The Commission acknowledges the progress made by Romania concerning the reform of the justice system, the fight against corruption, as well as in some other points.<sup>1249</sup> The Commission underlines also that "Romania has yet to translate about 8 % of the *acquis* (around 7 000 pages) and to revise about 12 % (around 11 500 pages)"<sup>1250</sup> before the accession. The Council, after approval by the General Affairs and External Relations Council, confirms the accession of Bulgaria and Romania into the European Union. The report states that

Bulgaria and Romania have made considerable efforts to complete their preparations for EU membership since the Commission issued its last

---

<sup>1246</sup> Olli Rhen has been Commissioner since November 2004, being the member of the European Commission responsible for Enlargement.

<sup>1247</sup> European Union. Bulgaria and Romania move closer to accession goal [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2005a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/05/1344&format=PDF&aged=1&language=>>.

<sup>1248</sup> European Communities. Monitoring Report 2006. Brussels: European Commission. 2006, 2006c. (Monitoring Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2006/sept/report\\_bg\\_ro\\_2006\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2006/sept/report_bg_ro_2006_en.pdf)>. COM(2006) 549 final. p. 7-13.

<sup>1249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1250</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

report in May. Bulgaria and Romania are sufficiently prepared to meet the political, economic and acquis criteria by 1 January 2007.<sup>1251</sup>

The Commission, in view of the progress reports, decided, "to set up a mechanism for cooperation and verification of the progress in the areas of judicial reform and the fight against corruption, money-laundering and organized crime."<sup>1252</sup> Moreover, upon the request of the EU-25 ministers, the Commission decided to build a monitoring system by regular reports to ensure that the two countries apply the Community acquis correctly in accordance with the Accession Treaty's provisions, as well as the option to use the safeguard measures and other necessary 'accompanying measures'. As stated by the Commission, the "[s]afeguard mechanisms of last resort which are triggered either to prevent or to remedy particular problems or threats to the functioning of the Union. Any measures taken should be proportional to the corresponding shortcomings."<sup>1253</sup> The safeguards can be invoked in three domains, such as economics (Article 36)<sup>1254</sup>, internal market clause (Article 37)<sup>1255</sup> and justice and home affairs clause (Article 38)<sup>1256</sup>, up to 3 years following the accession. The Commission underlines that the safeguards clauses are the same as the ones for the other member States, which joined the Union in 2004.<sup>1257</sup> After the accession, Romania will benefit from specific funds in structural and agricultural areas. Of course, the EU will supervise the use of these funds.

---

<sup>1251</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>1252</sup> European Communities. General Report on the Activities of the European Union [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006b. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2006en.pdf>>.

<sup>1253</sup> European Communities. Accompanying measures in the context of Bulgaria's and Romania's accession [online]. Brussels: European Communities, 2006a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/347&format=PDF&aged=1&language=>>.

<sup>1254</sup> European Union. Protocol Concerning the conditions and arrangements for admission of the republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union [online]. Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC), vol. 48, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:157:0029:0045:EN:PDF>>. p. 40.

<sup>1255</sup> Ibid. p. 40-41.

<sup>1256</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>1257</sup> To see: European Communities. Accompanying measures in the context of Bulgaria's and Romania's accession [online]. Brussels: European Communities, 2006a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/347&format=PDF&aged=1&language=>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

### ***IV.3.2.3.4 Corruption***

We decide to speak again about corruption in this chapter, in addition to the first part, because this issue becomes a crucial point in Romania's accession to the EU and an important issue for the Union vis-à-vis the integration process and the Union's institutions. The Commission has repeatedly identified corruption as a serious problem in at least half of the candidate states of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). In his speech marking the release of the 2002 Regular Reports on candidates' readiness for accession, Commission President Romano Prodi explained that corruption is an 'extremely serious' problem that must be tackled before accession.<sup>1258</sup>

In fact, corruption is considered by Susan Rose-Akerman<sup>1259</sup> as "the single most significant obstacle to both democratization and economic development".<sup>1260</sup> In addition, "corruption corrodes democracy"<sup>1261</sup>, "undermining the most fundamental principles of democratic governance. Corrupt practices remove government decisions from the public realm to the private, diminishing openness and accountability."<sup>1262</sup> We can add the reflection of Wayne Sandholtz and Rein Taapegera that "[d]emocratization seems particularly vulnerable to the corrosive effects of corruption in the countries that were part of the Soviet Union or were dominated by it."<sup>1263</sup> They

---

<sup>1258</sup> Prodi, Romano. Elargement - the final lap [online]. Brussels: European Parliament, 2002. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/02/463&format=PDF&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>.

<sup>1259</sup> Susan Rose-Ackerman is the Henry R. Luce Professor of Jurisprudence (Law and Political Science) with joint appointments between Yale Law School and the Yale Department of Political Science. She holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Yale University.

<sup>1260</sup> To see: Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

<sup>1261</sup> For this statement, see Johnston, Michael. *Public Officials, Private Interests, and Sustainable Democracy: When Politics and Corruption Meet* [online]. In Kimberly, Ann Elliot (Ed.), *Corruption and the Global Economy*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1997. And Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

<sup>1262</sup> Sandholtz, Wayne and Taapegera Rein. *Corruption, Culture, and Communism* [online]. *International Review of Sociology - Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, March 2005, 2005, vol. 15, no. 1. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=1&hid=17&sid=60b9c3e0-2a38-4749-a184-53b6851c1bb3%40sessionmgr3>>.

<sup>1263</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

further argue that the transition toward democratic political forms and market-oriented economies did not - indeed, could not - obliterate corruption in post-communist societies. On the one hand, cultural orientations change slowly, lagging behind even the most comprehensive political and institutional shifts. On the other hand, the process of privatization itself opened myriad opportunities for corruption, especially since the administrators of the former system frequently devised and managed the privatization schemes.<sup>1264</sup>

For the Commission, corruption becomes a crucial issue linked with the European Union future, because

[s]ince the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, organized crime within the European Union has changed its face. New players from the East, new relationships between different actors give the phenomenon a new dimension. This scourge endangers stealthily the European construction itself. If nothing is done, the mafias will be those to benefit from the construction of Europe until it collapses. If the EU fails, Member States will not emerge unscathed. They will lose authority. But while official institutions hesitate, the power must busy. It will be busy then, probably through corruption created in the form of operating principles by criminal organizations...<sup>1265</sup>

This question is not only linked with Romania, but with other CEECs too. Even, if various EU authorities – the Commission, OCSE, and GAFI - legislated on the issue of corruption and organized crime, we can witness a difference between the rule of law and reality in Europe. There was a lot of criticism regarding the Union accession control process, especially before Bulgaria's and Romania's accession signature agreement. For example

[n]or has the Commission provided any indication of what level of corruption might disqualify a country from being eligible for EU membership. For example, though the Commission has repeatedly judged corruption to be 'systemic' in Romania, the Regular Reports find that the country has continued to fulfil (sic) the political criteria – rather than the economic or administrative ones – set in Copenhagen.<sup>1266</sup>

---

<sup>1264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1265</sup> Chef d'Escadron Mabrier, Patrick. Depuis la chute du Rideau de fer, quelle politique l'Union européenne met-elle en oeuvre face à la criminalité organisée d'Europe de l'Est ? [online]. (Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, what policy the European Union puts it out front to organized crime from Eastern Europe?). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique, Jan. 2005. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2005. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/mabrier.htm>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1266</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2004. Political Corruption* [online]. London: Transparency International and Pluto Press, 2004a. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2004#download](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2004#download)>. p. 122-123.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

In 2005, Daniel Lebegue, president of the French representation of Transparency International, underlines the corruption risk of the EU enlargement and the lack of resources related to this issue. He explains that the enlarged

European Union [...] is more exposed to risks of corruption and money laundering than it was at 15, because many of the new member states remain in a poor situation. There is the European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF), but it's missing the necessary overall framework. The European Union should develop larger scale-training missions and evaluation.<sup>1267</sup>

From 1999 to Romania's accession in 2007, many scandals with political leaders and business people corruption's affairs show up and defrayed the media chronicle. "[C]orruption in Romania has followed a noteworthy trend, increasing from 1999 to 2002 and then declining thereafter."<sup>1268</sup>

The last report of the Commission (September 2006) stipulates that

[h]owever, there needs to be a clear political will to demonstrate the sustainability and irreversibility of the recent positive progress in fighting corruption. In the Parliament there has (sic) been some attempts to substantially reduce the effectiveness of such efforts. Corruption remains a concern in particular within the local government.<sup>1269</sup>

### **IV.3.3 European Union Membership**

There were still questions and issues with Romania at the end of December 2006, and the Commission estimated that some criteria were not applied correctly. The Monitoring Report of the end of 2006 on the status of preparations for EU membership of Bulgaria and

---

<sup>1267</sup> Lebègue, Daniel. La corruption en Europe [online]. (Corruption in Europe). 2005. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/corruption.htm>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1268</sup> Burduja, Sebastian I. Assessing Corruption in Romania. An integrationist story [online]. Жe: Stanford's Student Journal of Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Spring 2006, 2006, vol. 2, no. Spring 2006. [cited 24 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://zhe.stanford.edu/spring06/corruption.pdf>>. p. 52.

<sup>1269</sup> European Communities. Monitoring Report 2006. Brussels: European Commission. 2006, 2006c. (Monitoring Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2006/sept/report\\_bg\\_ro\\_2006\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2006/sept/report_bg_ro_2006_en.pdf)>. COM(2006) 549 final. p. 5.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Romania stipulates that “[t]hey [Bulgaria and Romania] have reached a high degree of alignment.”<sup>1270</sup> Regarding the political criteria, Romania has intensified reforms of the judiciary, and numerous issues came up quantitatively and qualitatively, but Romania has made progress in reforming the justice system and it needs to continue to improve the fight against corruption, as well as against human beings trafficked by organized crime. For the economic criteria, Romania is a functioning market economy with some improvements in the public expenditure and tax revenue. Romania has made a considerable level of alignment regarding the transposition and implementation of the EU laws and standards.<sup>1271</sup>

“However, the Commission also identifies a number of areas of continuing concern, and also areas where the Commission will initiate appropriate measures to ensure the proper functioning of the EU, unless the countries take immediate corrective action”<sup>1272</sup>, the Commission report states. The Council has decided to apply some measures as “safeguard measures, financial corrections of EU funds, competition policy measures and infringement procedures”<sup>1273</sup> based on the *acquis*. The Report concludes, “Bulgaria and Romania have made far-reaching efforts to adapt their legislation and administration to the laws and rules of the European Union”<sup>1274</sup> and “[a]s a result of the progress made, Bulgaria and Romania will be in a position to take on the rights and obligations of EU membership on 1 January 2007.”<sup>1275</sup> After a long and chaotic road, Romania becomes member of the European Union on January 1, 2007, with safeguard clauses and transitional arrangements.<sup>1276</sup> As a normal practice, the Commission decided to monitor Romania’s progress on the application of the law (the *acquis communautaire*) to ensure that the measures needed to be implemented<sup>1277</sup> by the country are being met

---

<sup>1270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1271</sup> To see : Ibid.

<sup>1272</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>1273</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>1274</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>1275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1276</sup> Transitional arrangements are for example, restrictions on free movement of workers, on access to road transport networks; provisions on veterinary, phytosanitary and food safety rules.

<sup>1277</sup> To see : European Commission. Progress Report on the Cooperation and verification mechanism – procedural aspects [online]. (European Commission). Brussels: European Commission, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/08/523&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. p. 5.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

in the areas of judicial reform, fight against corruption and organized crime.<sup>1278</sup>

In order to smooth the entry, the EU decided to implement a Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM)<sup>1279</sup> for Romania, as well as for Bulgaria, to help them to address “these outstanding shortcomings”. Through the CMV, the Commission set criteria benchmarks for assessing the progress made on various issues, and the publication, twice a year, are based on contributions from the Romanian authorities, the Commission's services, Member States' experts as well as technical experts and the civil society. For the Commission, Romania has to improve the following four areas:

1. Ensure a more transparent, and efficient judicial process notably by enhancing the capacity and accountability of the Superior Council of Magistracy. Report and monitor the impact of the new civil and penal procedures codes.
2. Establish, as foreseen, an integrity agency with responsibilities for verifying assets, incompatibilities and potential conflicts of interest, and for issuing mandatory decisions on the basis of which dissuasive sanctions can be taken.
3. Building on progress already made, continue to conduct professional, nonpartisan investigations into allegations of high level (sic) corruption.
4. Take further measures to prevent and fight against corruption, in particular within the local government.<sup>1280</sup>

---

<sup>1278</sup> To see : European Communities. Report From the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Romania's progress on accompanying measures following Accession [online]. Brussels: Commission of The European Communities, 2007b. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<[ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat\\_general/cvm/docs/romania\\_report\\_20070627\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat_general/cvm/docs/romania_report_20070627_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1279</sup> European Union. Commission Decision 2006/928/EC of 13 December 2006 establishing a mechanism for cooperation and verification of progress in Romania to address specific benchmarks in the areas of judicial reform and the fight against corruption [online]. Vol. L 354. Brussels: European Communities, 2006a. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:354:0056:0057:EN:PDF>>.

<sup>1280</sup> To see : European Commission. Progress Report on the Cooperation and verification mechanism – procedural aspects [online]. (European Commission). Brussels: European Commission, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/08/523&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The first set of progress reports was published in June 2007, the second set on 4 February 2008, the third on 23 July 2008 and the fourth on 12 February 2009.

For the Commission, the evaluation process gives good results and, as the Commission states in 2007, “[i]n the first six months of accession, Romania has continued to make progress in remedying weaknesses that could prevent an effective application of EU laws, policies and programmes.”<sup>1281</sup> Romania escaped from the economic, internal market, justice and home affairs as well as the agricultural safeguard clauses, but not from the food safety safeguard measures, as well as the transitional arrangements in agricultural fund and food safety.<sup>1282</sup> The last report from the Commission, in the spring of 2009, states that the country develops the effective administrative and judicial systems they need to deliver on the obligations of membership. The last report concludes:

The next assessment of progress by the Commission in summer 2009 will show to which extent Romania has been able to successfully address the shortcomings identified in the reform of the judiciary and to produce convincing and tangible results in the fight against corruption.<sup>1283</sup>

The European Union Commission confirmed that the progress on judicial reform, corruption and organized crime is well going. The Romanians will soon enjoy their full rights as EU citizens.

### **IV.3.3.1 The Foreign Policy**

With the entrance of Bulgaria and Romania on January 1, 2007, the European Union changed its geography but not its neighborhood. The fifth enlargement, in 2004, has profoundly affected the European Union’s external relations and brought new links with different third

---

<sup>1281</sup> European Communities. Report From the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Romania's progress on accompanying measures following Accession [online]. Brussels: Commission of The European Communities, 2007b. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat\_general/cvm/docs/romania\_report\_20070627\_en.pdf >. p. 20.

<sup>1282</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>1283</sup> European Communities. Interim Report From the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Romania's progress under the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism [online]. Brussels: Commission of The European Communities, 2009. [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0070:FIN:EN:PDF>. p. 3.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

countries with new European Union's relations network. The change of the geographical border of the Union "is probably the most important of all foreign policy implications of enlargement",<sup>1284</sup> as well as the impact of new members on the EU foreign policy decision-making and leadership. In 2007, the new members Bulgaria and Romania bring the Black Sea and the Republic of Moldova to the EU neighborhood, together with their network relations. The two new members bring some new issues to the EU's doors: direct instable areas represented by frozen conflicts in the Republic of Moldova, as well as several other conflicts over the Black Sea with Georgia and Caucasian countries. We can underline what Stephen Blank<sup>1285</sup> wrote, i.e. that "[i]nstability in the Black Sea region of southeastern Europe, an area that now includes the Transcaucasus, (sic) calls the durability of any European order into question."<sup>1286</sup>

The 2004 enlargement already focused attention of the EU on the new neighborhood issue. During the period of Romania's accession, the European Union re-defines a new 'European Neighborhood Policy' (ENP)<sup>1287</sup> applicable on January 1, 2007 and created a new instrument - the 'European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument' - in lieu of various geographical programs with eastern neighbors and Russia, as well as with southern Mediterranean neighbors. According to the European Union's official site, the objective is to share the benefits of the EU's enlargement with neighboring countries to avoid the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbors (figure 5). This new program is intended to strengthen the prosperity, stability and security at the European borders.<sup>1288</sup> This program also enhances cross-border cooperation.

---

<sup>1284</sup> Hill, Christopher. The geopolitical implications of enlargement. In Zielonka, Jan (Ed.), *Europe unbound: enlarging and reshaping the boundaries of the European Union*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002. p. 97.

<sup>1285</sup> Stephen Blank is professor of national security affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College.

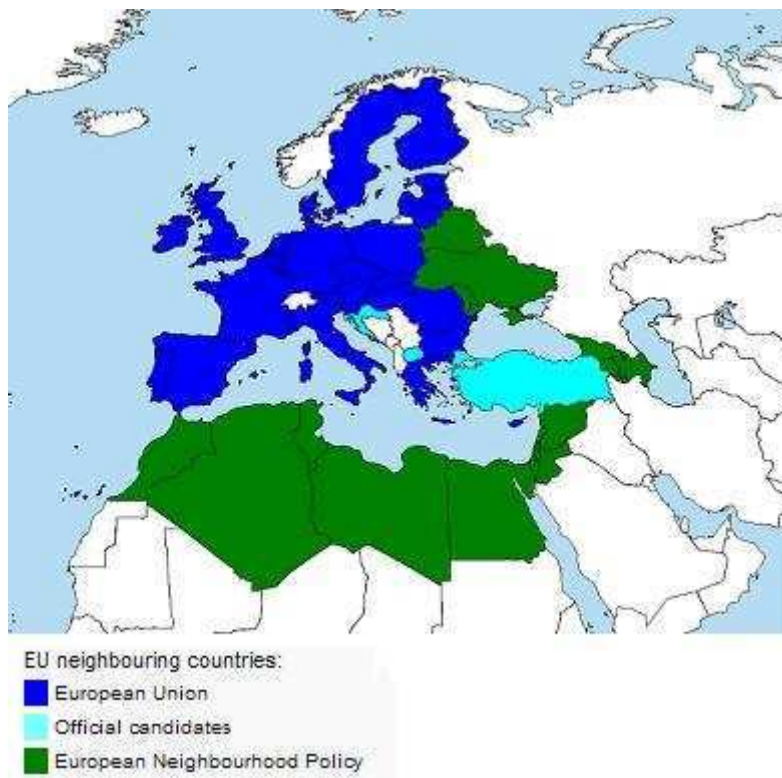
<sup>1286</sup> Blank, Stephen. *Russia and the Black Sea's Frozen Conflicts in Strategic Perspective*. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 2008, vol. 19, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2008].

<sup>1287</sup> European Union. Regulation (EC) No 1638/2006 Of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC)*, vol. L 310, 2006, [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj\\_l310\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj_l310_en.pdf)>

<sup>1288</sup> European Commission. *The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy ? 2008*. European Commission. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The borderline with the Balkan countries is not new, i.e. Slovenia and Greece are countries that border the Balkan areas. However, as the difference with Romania, the immediate neighbors of Slovenia and Greece are enough stable countries compared with Serbia and Kosovo 'problems'. Concerning the Black Sea area, the new members, Bulgaria and Romania, will bring another configuration of the borderland to the European Union. Moreover, Romania is directly involved in the border management of the EU, considering the large border along countries recognized to be the origin of organized crime and human trafficking. As EU member, Romania had to assess the efficiency of the border control measures as an integral part of the 'Justice and Internal Affairs' chapter and then was affected by the border control concerning the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Serbia, as well as the control of the land coast and sea borders on the Black Sea. As in the case of NATO, several countries are potential sources of hostile reaction to the EU enlargement or non-enlargement.



**Figure 5: EU Neighboring Countries.**

Turkey is a candidate with the most serious geopolitical issues raised by enlargement. Turkey had aspired to become a member of

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the European Union since 1964.<sup>1289</sup> The country, a member of NATO, is a bridge between the Middle East and the Caucasus, and an important actor in energy transportation. Turkey's accession talks have since been dogged by a number of domestic and external problems. The question raised regularly is the capability for Ankara to implement the *acquis communautaire*, especially in the fields of human rights and minorities, as well as on other external problems such as the separation of Cyprus.

The next enlargement toward more Eastern countries can be viewed as an aggressive attitude especially toward Ukraine, the historic cradle of the Slavic spirit, and toward the Caucasus, a strong interest for Russian influence. In addition, the endless postponement of Turkey's accession to the EU can bring tension and conflict, and create an alliance change in the Black Sea, pushing Turkey more close to Russia and Transcaucasian states.

Romania brings to the European Union several new foreign policy concerns. Romania, as other eastern countries, can play a role toward the European foreign policy. As a European Union member, Romania will have to implement the European Union policy toward close neighbors. At the same time, Romania will be part of the definition process concerning the neighbors' policy and will be able to present the Romanian point of view as well as to influence decisions. Romania long ago and just after the Revolution built, at various occasions, a litmus-test speech upgrading his geographic and geopolitical position, and brought the Black Sea area on the map of international politics. Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase stated in 1991 that

Romania contributes to the dynamic development of its relations with neighboring countries, by accomplishing important regional cooperation projects in the Balkans, in the Black Sea area and among Danube states. Romania's genuine interest for efforts and initiatives promoting security and cooperation in the Mediterranean area, to which it gives support, is placed within the same context.<sup>1290</sup>

---

<sup>1289</sup> European Parliament. *Information Note on the Work of The EU-Turkey Parliamentary Committee* [online]. 13 Jul. 1973 ed. Brussels: European Parliament,, 2004b. (Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/euro/jpc/turk/history2004\\_turkey\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/euro/jpc/turk/history2004_turkey_en.pdf)>. FdR 536724 - PE. 342.075.

<sup>1290</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO* (White Book: Romania - NATO). București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a. p. 81. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Later on, the project 'Romania, at a Crossroad' (România la răscruce) was boomed with no large success during the Constantinescu presidency concerning the future geopolitical oil context<sup>1291</sup>. During the 1990's Kosovo war led by NATO, Romania remains a vector of stability in the area. After 9/11 and the intervention in the Middle East for the fight against terrorism, Romania becomes an important element of stability and regional leader within NATO. On various occasions, Romanian leaders shared their political view concerning the Black Sea and the Balkans in order to develop democracy, stability and security over the regions, taking for granted that strong economic and democratic neighbors would be beneficial for Romania. During the pre-accession period, the country developed foreign policy lines toward the Balkan countries, as well as toward the Caucasus, creating significant links with Georgia and other Transcaucasian states. Moreover, Romania created, in the near eastern neighborhood, a situation of dialogue notwithstanding the border conflict with Ukraine, and the 'reunification' project with the Republic of Moldova. Romania has always networked with Russia, Turkey and other states around the Black Sea. In addition, Romania became a leader in regional initiatives and programs for the promotion of peace, democracy, economic development and security. In Europe, Romania enjoyed good relations with all countries, developing bilateral relations and trilateral co-operation agreements.

As for NATO, Romania has its own ideas about its role regarding the foreign policies actions. Romania, as far as we know, tried in the nineties to attract the EU's attention to the Black Sea area. We can see that Romania did not invent new policies, but seems to be following a general path implemented a long time ago and taken over by the Union in the recent years. After the signature of the accession treaty, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania developed a collaboration process at the European Union level in order to adapt the Romanian political objectives to the European ones,<sup>1292</sup> and/or to make the European Union sensitive to Romania's foreign policy.

Romania became aware that its foreign policy would adjust after January 1, 2007. As for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Romania acquired a leading position in the Black Sea area and

---

<sup>1291</sup> To see the Part I of the thesis: *Change into Continuity and A Necessary Rupture*.

<sup>1292</sup> To see : Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. Raport privind politica externă a României 2005-2008 [online]. (Report concerning Romanian foreign policy 2005-2008). București: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mae.ro/poze\\_editare/2008.11.25\\_RpMAE\\_2005-2008.pdf](http://www.mae.ro/poze_editare/2008.11.25_RpMAE_2005-2008.pdf)>.

## From Isolation to Interdependence

towards its Balkan neighbors. Romania was more involved in the last years in national and European debates on energy security, promoting Romania's position and relations with the Caucasus and advocating for providing alternative routes of transport of hydrocarbons to the European Union (figure 6), by bypassing Russia. Romania made the necessary transition phase aiming at carrying out the priority projects for Romania, such as PEOP and Nabucco (figure 7).

Romania has intensified discussions within the EU concerning the neighborhood in the East and the Southeast – Balkans - of the Union, such as the dialogue with the Republic of Moldova for special partnership. The implication for the EU in the resolution of the Moldovan conflict and a position toward Pridnestrovie (Transnistria)<sup>1293</sup>, which is supported by Russia, can be driven by the Romania, foreign policy. Romania experience and the ability to revolve different is a valuable help for the EU, especially considering, as says Blank, a "continuing Western neglect of or inability to resolve outstanding issues, such as the ongoing frozen conflict in Moldova and the Caucasus."<sup>1294</sup>



**Figure 6: European Access to Russian and Caspian Crude.**

<sup>1293</sup> For explanation to see the next chapter : The Neighborliness.

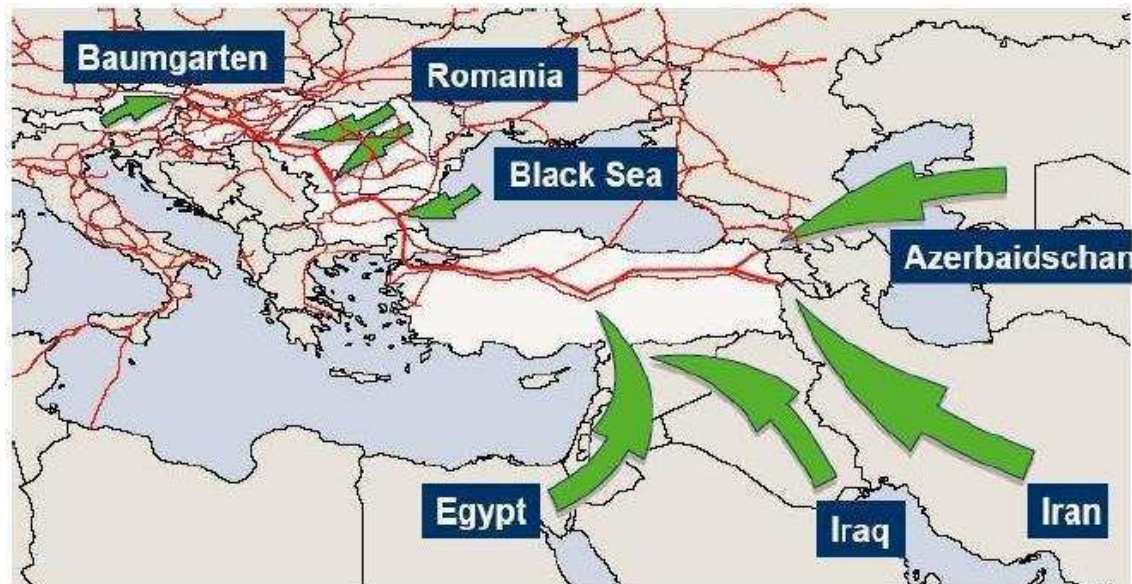
<sup>1294</sup> Blank, Stephen. Russia and the Black Sea's Frozen Conflicts in Strategic Perspective. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 2008, vol. 19, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. p. 28.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Ukraine developed stable relations with the EU through Poland's special relation, because the Romania – Ukraine relations are jeopardized by the different conflicts between the two countries. The MFA underlines that Romania always developed a good neighborhood relationship, trying to resolve problems with neighboring countries by negotiations or in the framework of international laws.

Romania had advocated from many years on the necessity to collaborate with Russia on the energy issue, despite the up-and-down relations between the two countries. Considering the recent issue with energy and its use by Russia as an economical war tool, the Romanian view for alternative solutions get all sens. In addition, the large Russian investment in energy projects in Bulgaria, the Balkan countries and Romania impose a more pragmatic approach with Russia. For Romanian leaders, Russia is also an inescapable actor for the Black Sea development and collaboration.



**Figure 7: Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project and Gas Supply Sources for Nabucco.**<sup>1295</sup>

The MFA writes in its report that "[t]he main objective of Romania's policy towards Russia [...] has been taking an active and pragmatic behavior in order to relaunch and catalyzing relationships

---

<sup>1295</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project Gas Supply Sources for Nabucco* [online]. Oslo, NO: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, s.d.-d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/development/Gas\\_Supply\\_Sources\\_20080220\\_518.jpg](http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/development/Gas_Supply_Sources_20080220_518.jpg)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

in a spirit of trust and mutual benefit, from the continuity achieved at high-level dialogue".<sup>1296</sup>

Already after the revolution, Romania insisted on the necessity to develop economic relations not only with the East of Europe, but also with the Middle East, Central Asia, Latin America, Africa and Asia. This path was also applied in recent years through the economic diplomacy, which fit well with the EU's foreign policy objectives and the ENP.

In the context of European Union membership, Romanian political leaders decided to 'fight' for position in the European Institution to rank high and strategical position. Recently, an important lobby was realised for the post commissioner on Agriculture. As the Romanian Foreign Minister Cristian Diaconescu says, "as this is a position of major importance, [...] I believe that through the combined efforts of those with competencies and responsibilities as far as foreign policy is concerned, we can obtain that seat",<sup>1297</sup> because obtaining this position was considered important for Romania. In the result of Romania's lobby within their foreign policy<sup>1298</sup> among EU member, Dacian Cioloș former Minister of Agriculture between October 2007 and December 2008 was nominated commissioner on Agriculture on November 2009.<sup>1299</sup>

With the EU's new diplomatic service, the European External Action Service (EEAS), introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, the EU intended to have a greater role in foreign policy and to answer to Henry Kissinger's famous question, 'Who do I call if I want to speak to Europe?' Romania decided before the creation of the service, to play an important role by favorating its position and to get the best position as possible. For exemple, Romanian leaders was looking for a

---

<sup>1296</sup> Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. Raport privind politica externă a României 2005-2008 [online]. (Report concerning Romanian foreign policy 2005-2008). București: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mae.ro/poze\\_editare/2008.11.25\\_RpMAE\\_2005-2008.pd](http://www.mae.ro/poze_editare/2008.11.25_RpMAE_2005-2008.pd)>. p. 42. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1297</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. No gifts in Foreign Policy [online]. *Radio Romania International*, Sept. 4, 2009. Bucharest: Radio Romania International, 2009d. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rri.ro/art.shtml?lang=1&sec=11&art=24750>>.

<sup>1298</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania to Lobby for Agriculture Commissioner [online]. *EurActive*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2009g. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/romania-lobby-agriculture-commissioner/article-185006>>.

<sup>1299</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

EU foreign policy position thru their challenger, Adrian Severin. Unfortunately for Romania due to EU political question, Romania did not reach its goal. Regardless, Romania looks to favour its position in the EEAS, by lobbying for the EU ambassador representation in the People's Republic of China, an important representation, in the person of its actual ambassador and Viorel Isticioaia-Budura.

## **IV.4 The Neighborliness**

Besides, did not they [Romanians] say  
that their best neighbor is the Black Sea?

François Després, 1996<sup>1300</sup>

On the border land, Romania has Central and Eastern European neighbors from the Visegrád group on the west side, Hungary; Balkans countries on the south side as Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; on the north side with Ukraine, and on the Eastern side the Republic of Moldova and again Ukraine with borders land. As well, Romania neighbors on the Black Sea side with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Ukraine,<sup>1301</sup> also neighbors' relations in the Caucasus, represented by the Russian Federation and Georgia (figure 8). Two neighbors of Romania were new independent states – Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova –. Romania's neighbourhood relationships were burdened with unresolved historical tensions and lost of territories after the Second World War. The Romania's post-communist neighbourhood policy would have potentially conflicting elements concerning the building relations with neighbors, and supporting the Romanian minorities.

It is not our goal to intend to develop fully the neighborliness theme that can need a different thesis work in itself, but we understand the need to underline this aspect of the Romania's foreign policy in its importance concerning the country's international relations objectives. We will see the significant incidence of neighborliness on the Romania's accession to NATO and EU, as an importance on the leadership will towards the Black Sea. In the same way, we will grasp the Romania's dependence vis-à-vis neighbors in its foreign policy as the interdependence with some states as

---

<sup>1300</sup> Després, François. La politique étrangère roumaine à l'épreuve de ses contradictions. (The Romanian foreign policy test of his contradictions). In Pélissier, Nicolas (dir.), Marrié Alice (dir.) and Després François (dir.) (Eds.), *La Roumanie contemporaine : approches de la "transition"*. Paris: Éd. l'Harmattan, 1996. (Aujourd'hui l'Europe). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1301</sup> To see: Labrecque, Georges. *Les frontières maritimes internationales: géopolitique de la délimitation en mer* (International Maritimes Borders). 2nd ed. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004 [1998]. (Collections Raoul-Dandurand). p. 275.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Bulgaria, Ukraine and later on some others as the republic of Moldova.

After the 89' Revolution, we assist at two new phenomenons. The first one, in the consequences of the situation let by the previous communist government under Ceausescu leadership. The second is the reappearance, after the Soviet-communist domination of Eastern Europe, of all dormant questions – minorities, territorial claims, borders –. The situation left by the Ceausescu's regime on international scene at the end of 89' was catastrophic, and did not spare the neighbors states. Independent, Romania as during communism domination limited economical relation with other Eastern European Countries in the frame of CEMA, as a non-engagement with the Warsaw pact even if Romania was a full right member. The international community, particularly Hungary and West Germany, criticized systematization as a blatant attempt to forcibly assimilate all national minorities by Romanianization.

We want to remember rapidly some important points expressed after the 'Iron Curtain' fall, and implicit for countries accession to the both organizations, NATO and EU.

For example in the Charter of Paris for a new Europe signed by Romania in 1990, the rules recalled in accordance with the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and commitments under the Helsinki Final Act, that signers accepted:

to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State , or from acting in any other manner inconsistent with the principles or purposes of those documents. We recall that non-compliance with obligations [...] constitutes a violation of international law.<sup>1302</sup>

As well the Charter of Paris obliges states "to settle disputes by peaceful means".<sup>1303</sup>

As we can read in the NATO Handbook:

Aspirant countries are expected to achieve certain goals in the political and economic fields. These include settling any international, ethnic or external territorial disputes by peaceful means; demonstrating a commitment to the rule of law and human rights; establishing democratic

---

<sup>1302</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Charter of Paris for a new Europe* [online]. Paris: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1990b. [cited 14 April 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1990/11/4045\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1990/11/4045_en.pdf)>. p. 5.

<sup>1303</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

control of their armed forces; and promoting stability and well-being through economic liberty, social justice and environmental responsibility.<sup>1304</sup>



**Figure 8: Romania and its Neighbors.**<sup>1305</sup>

In addition, from the Copenhagen criteria's of European Union:

Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a

---

<sup>1304</sup> NATO. *NATO Handbook* [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>>. p. 66.

<sup>1305</sup> Adapted from Marin, Lucian E. *Black Sea Map* [online]. s.l.: WorldPress.com, s.d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <<http://eldib.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/black-sea-map.gif>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union.<sup>1306</sup>

For these organizations, here before named, some rules were important and must be applied before the integration process:

- First, the recognition of the state frontiers determined after the Second War World;
- Second, the right of minorities in the state land – also important and part of the U.S. foreign policy -;
- Third, the resolution of differences thru peaceful manner;
- Fourth, the good neighborliness.

### **IV.4.1 Bulgaria**

During the early 80s, the relations between Romania and Bulgaria were based on regular visits between heads of state to avoid tensions. Romania was a totalitarian state than Bulgaria, which was a more committed member of the Warsaw Pact. At that time, the two countries called for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. However, toward the end of eighties, both countries have accused each other of chemical pollution of the environment on the Danube line affecting each country. This situation deteriorating personal relations between the two leaders, Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov<sup>1307</sup>, which accentuated their differences, linked with severe accusations on both side. However, during the eighties, Bulgaria has remained neutral in the dispute between Romania and Hungary concerning the treatment of Magyar ethnic minorities.

Another point of hiding problem between the two countries was the question of the Dobrojea region (figure 9). This territory alternated between the medieval Byzantine and Bulgarian empires until its fall in 1411 to the Ottoman Empire. It remained under Turkish rule until 1878, when Romania received the Northern part to guaranty access to the see for the country, and Bulgaria the smaller

---

<sup>1306</sup> European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Conclusions of the Presidency - 21-22 June 1993*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1993. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf)>. p. 13.

<sup>1307</sup> Zhivkov Todor was a dominant figure as a communist politician and leader of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for about thirty-five years, from March 4, 1954 until November 10, 1989.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Southern Dobruja (Treaty of Berlin, 1878). After the Second Balkan War<sup>1308</sup> Bulgaria lost Southern Dobruja to the benefit of Romania (Treaty of Bucharest, 1913). Nevertheless, on September 1940 (Treaty of Craiova) German Nazi imposed the restoration of it to Bulgaria with a population exchange - the Romanian minority was forced to leave the south while the Bulgarian minority had to leave the north -. The post-1940 border situation was confirmed by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 and was not ratified by the both countries. On the other hand, we need to remember that the realization of the Greater Romania in 1918 led to fears in Sofia after the war.



**Figure 9: The Dobroja region.**<sup>1309</sup>

As neighboring country, Bulgaria was the first to sign thru a joint commission with Romania, on January 1992, a Declaration of Friendship, Cooperation and Neighborhood and attempted to reach a compromise on the issue of environment. They restored the pragmatic, relatively friendly relations of the post-war period. We

---

<sup>1308</sup> The Second Balkan War broke out on June &-? 1913 when Bulgaria attacked its erstwhile allies from the Balkan League (Greece, Montenegro and Serbia) in the First Balkan War (October 1912 - May 1913) against the Ottoman Empire. Romania which declared war on Bulgaria on June 27 and later the Ottoman Empire intervened against Bulgaria.

<sup>1309</sup> The Northern Dobroja part of Romania is highlighted in orange and the Southern Dobruja is highlighted in yellow part of the Bulgaria.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

need to underline that the Dobroja territory claim never was in discussion between the two countries.

The two countries faced the same challenges during the all post-communism period as some identical problems with a common approaches concerning International Organizations, the NATO and European accession process, as well the regional stability. As for Romania, Bulgaria has been seeking for good neighborliness and has proven a capability to act as a constructive force and promoting regional security.<sup>1310</sup> We noticed that both Romania and Bulgaria officially engaged on the path to Euro-Atlantic integration, without neglecting the Russian factor for reasons that are not fully identical.<sup>1311</sup> As well, the both countries have the same ambitions concerning the Balkan countries stability and the Black Sea leadership, because "Bulgaria views the cooperation in Southeast Europe and in the Black Sea region as one of the priority goals of the country's foreign policy".<sup>1312</sup> We can remember the project of a nuclear-free zone creation in the Balkans supported by the both countries. The two of them had strengthless relations with the United States and in 2005, both signed a defense cooperation agreement for military access and use of their country military facilities.

The path of Bulgaria follows the same as Romania with membership to the CEFTA, a membership in NATO on March 29, 2004 and the European Union on January 1st, 2007. The two countries faced the same problems concerning the Balkans region instabilities, especially with the different Yugoslavian wars. Both countries Francophile strengths link at the same time with the Francophone organization, which they accessed in 1993. For the OIF Summit in Bucharest, Bulgaria and Romania worked together for the preparative, thru various meetings in Sofia.

---

<sup>1310</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Background Note: Bulgaria*. 2009q. U.S. Department of State. [cited 10 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3236.htm>>.

<sup>1311</sup> Iordan, Constantin. *Un bilan de l'histoire des relations diplomatiques roumano-bulgares* [online]. (A review of the history of diplomatic relations Romanian-Bulgarian). Paper presented at the Commission mixte roumano-bulgare d'histoire de l'Académie Roumaine on 31 mai - 3 juin 1999. Bucarest. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/StiintePOL/EuroAtlanticStudies/13.htm#-ftn325>>.

<sup>1312</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Regional Cooperation* [online]. 2009, 2009. The Republic of Bulgaria. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.bg/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=5097&Itemid=304](http://www.mfa.bg/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5097&Itemid=304)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

However, as we saw, here before in the thesis, the countries helped each others towards the European Union accession, even if some time it was creating an upset situation. We can resume the collaboration between Bulgaria and Romania with this motto - United we stand, divided we fall -.

### **IV.4.2 Hungary**

A number of differences between the two countries emerged from the pre-89' revolution period concerning territory potential claim and minority treatment. It is important to underline that the differences between the two countries will have a domestic policy incidence, and a foreign policy significance notably concerning the bilateral relations and the effort for NATO and European Union accession. The difference between Hungary and Romania is based on the old history and an ancestral hatred likewise the evolution of countries relations in the eighties.

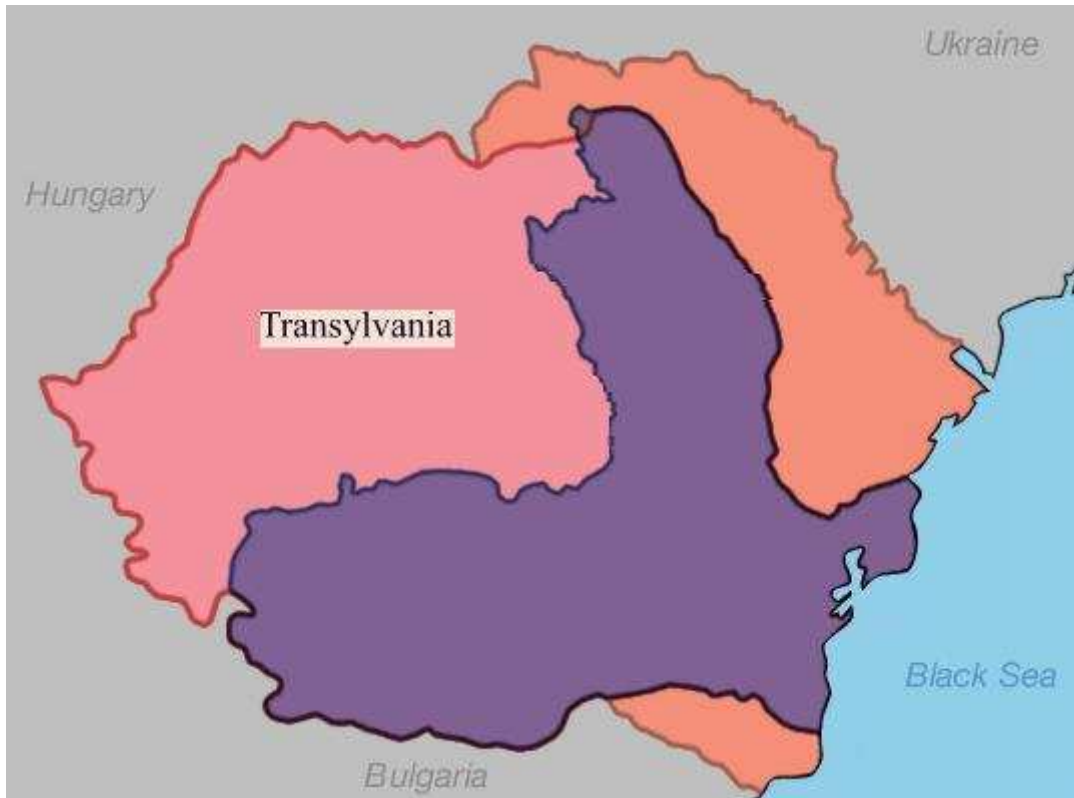
Transylvania, a principality in the past where was living different population – Romanian, Magyar, Jude, Saxon, Slovak, Serbs, ... - became a piece of land part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 19th century situation issued from the 1848 revolution and the building of 'Nation-State' (figure 10). The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War and the lost two thirds of territory and 60% of population to Slovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Ukraine and others under the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 was seen as a catastrophe by Hungarians (figure 11).

And as Keith Hitchens states in other words,

the problem of Transylvania stood in the way of any significant rapprochement between Hungary and Rumania. Sucessive Hungarian governments throughtout the inter-war period never ceased to hope for the return of a territory they regarded as an intergral part of historical Hungary, and no Rumanian government would contemplate the slightest concession that might diminish its sovereignty over the province.<sup>1313</sup>

---

<sup>1313</sup> Hitchens, Keith. *Rumania: 1866-1947*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). p. 433.



**Figure 10: Transylvania.**

A large part of the Transylvanian land occupied by a majority of Romanians, despite the Magyarisation of the population, was given to Romania according to ethnic representation. After a come and back with Hungary during the Second World War (figure 12), in 1945 the Transylvanian land was stabilized to the modern states situation. Despite the history, the two countries experimented the Soviet communism domination thru a 'common destiny'. If in the 19th Century, Hungary built a Nation-State, on Jacobin model - One Nation, One people -, Romania will do it only in the 20 Century with a strong romanianization of the minorities.

In Eastern Europe, historiography played a major role in the state and nation building process<sup>1314</sup> as main ideological battlefield and direct source of legitimacy for political power.<sup>1315</sup> With the myth on Transylvania, a common background to Hungary and Romania was intensively used by both countries.

---

<sup>1314</sup> To see: Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Nations and states: an enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 1977.

<sup>1315</sup> To see: Verdery, Katherine. *What was socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***



**Figure 11: The dismemberment of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>1316</sup>**

Hungarians consider that in Transylvania, the Hungarian culture and the Hungarian political elite could survive and perpetuate themselves in a difficult period of Hungarian history; Romanians consider that Transylvania is the core of the Romanian land and the cradle of the Romanian civilisation, the demographic reservoir of the Romanian nation.<sup>1317</sup>

As well, the conflict was in the civil society, the written media and the scholars of each country battle on this subject, thru magazine communication and books. In 1987, the Hungarian Academy Publishing House published a '*History of Transylvania*' in three volumes from their own point of view and was denounced by Romanian authorities.<sup>1318</sup>

---

<sup>1316</sup> Adapted from: de Daruvar, Yves *Le destin dramatique de la Hongrie* [online]. Trans. *The Tragic Fate of Hungary: A country Carved-up Alive at Trianon* by Stankovich, Victor. Paris: Editions Albatros, 1971. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Graphics Interchange Format Available from: <<http://tgbalogh.home.att.net/trianon/map2b.gif>>.

<sup>1317</sup> Iordachi, Constantin. *The Anatomy of a Historical Conflict: Romanian-Hungarian Diplomatic Conflict in the 1980's* [online]. (Master), Department of History, Central European University, 1996. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Cristi/cuprins.htm>>.

<sup>1318</sup> To see: Ibid.



**Figure 12: Northern Transylvania Annexed to Hungary During WWII.**

As explains Antonela Capelle-Pogăcean, the two communist elites in Budapest and Bucharest make a different choice of development thru pragmatism and renunciation of legitimation for Hungary, and a proactive communism tinted by nationalism in Romania, a political project based on the assimilation of minorities resulting in the emigration especially of Jews and Germans, but others minorities – Gypsies, Magyars – remaining in the country.<sup>1319</sup> It happened that in the end of eighties, the Hungarian government was not enjoy about the sort of Magyar minorities in Transylvania, the economical and political situation in Romania pushing thousand of Romanian-Magyar to run away to Hungary. As Iordachi Constantin wrote, “[i]n the late 1980's the Romanian became for Hungarians [...] the great danger, as they menace the very existence of Hungarian minority from Transylvania and even Hungary's national

---

<sup>1319</sup> To see: Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Les relations hungaro-roumaines et la question des minorités magyare [online]. *Les Etudes du CERI*, 1996, 1996, no. 12. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf](http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

security.”<sup>1320</sup> Hungary intervened more and more openly in Romania domestic policy concerning minorities, made pressure on international community by filling an official complaint accusing Romania on violations of basic human rights to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva<sup>1321</sup> and by Hungarian lobby to the U.S. congress to revoke the Romania’s MFN status. “The Romanian-Hungarian antagonism is back”,<sup>1322</sup> says Antonela Capelle-Pogăcean.

After the 89’ Revolution, the Hungarian minority organized itself thru political organization: the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR). The organization – UDMR - set as its goal to promote the interests of the Hungarian minority in Romania and to defend its ethnic and cultural identity. They sought support for their actions and found it thru the Hungarian state government. The beginning of the Romania’s democracy stumbled on the Magyar minority problem in the earlier nineties and lead to open conflict with the Hungarian government concerning this issue abroad mainly with Romania as well Slovakia. We want to underline that

Hungarians in the three neighoring states [Roomania, Serbia, Slovakia] plus Magyars in Ukraine, Austria and Croatia, total about 3,25 million people-a population of more than 30 percent of Hungary’s own population. Another two million people with ethnic ties to Hungary [...] live in Western Europe, North America, and elsewhere.<sup>1323</sup>

The relation of the two countries, Hungary and Romania, passed thru top and down relations depending the domestic agenda and orientation of the countries. Romania made efforts to advance with neighbor relationship thru the ‘Open Skies’ Treaty. Romania and Hungary signed their own bilateral Open Skies agreement during their bilateral talk in May 1991. This agreement starts “an Open Skies

---

<sup>1320</sup> Iordachi, Constantin. *The Anatomy of a Historical Conflict: Romanian-Hungarian Diplomatic Conflict in the 1980's* [online]. (Master), Department of History, Central European University, 1996. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Cristi/cuprins.htm>>. p. Conclusion.

<sup>1321</sup> Bachman, Ronald D. *Romania: A Country Study* [online]. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (GPO) for the Library of Congress, 1989. p. 85. (Country Studies). HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://countrystudies.us/romania/>>. p. Almost Free, 1989-1990.

<sup>1322</sup> Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Les relations hungaro-roumaines et la question des minorités magyare [online]. *Les Etudes du CERI*, 1996, 1996, no. 12. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.cerisciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf](http://www.cerisciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf)>. p. 9.

<sup>1323</sup> Nelson, Daniel N. Regional Security and Ethnic Minorities. In Braun, Aurel and Bárány Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. p. 303.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

regime and its successful implementation would encourage reciprocal openness on the part of the States Parties, enhance the predictability of their military activities and strengthen confidence between them".<sup>1324</sup> "In order to benefit from its experience, Hungary and Romania still organize annual training exercises"<sup>1325</sup> according to Anca Jurcan, disarmament affairs representative for Romania. In addition, Romania proposed to share its experiences with others states. "Hungary and Romania became the first states ever successfully to negotiate and sign a bilateral Open Skies agreement."<sup>1326</sup>

At the 2005 'Open Skies' Treaty Review Conference the members agree that

[t]he States Parties recognize that the Treaty might serve as a model for aerial surveillance regimes in other regions of the world in order to promote security and stability. They are prepared to enter into dialogue with interested parties in order to share experience, to exchange general information about the Treaty and its benefits and to provide support and advice on cooperative aerial observation.<sup>1327</sup>

Nevertheless, about the Magyar minorities' problems for the North Atlantic Committee, in May 1992 Huberte Hanquet and Javier Ruperez wrote that it "is a permanent hotbed of tensions in Romania. [...] [Romania] is one of the European countries where the problem of the protection of minorities is most acute".<sup>1328</sup> We can add that

---

<sup>1324</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Agreement between the Government of Romania and the Governement of the Republic of Hungary on the Establishment of an Open Skies Regime (with annexes)*. [online]. New York: United Nations, 1991a. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001\\_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf)>.

<sup>1325</sup> Quoted in Lambers, Williams. *'Open Skies' for Peace* [online]. s.l.: Lambers Publications, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb\\_06-07-06.pdf](http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb_06-07-06.pdf)>.

<sup>1326</sup> Krasznai, Márton, Spitzer Hartwig and Wynne William. Reginal Applications of the Open Skies Approach. In Dunay, Pál, Krasznai Márton, Spitzer Hartwig, and al. (Eds.), *Open Skies - A Cooperative Approach to Military Transparency and Confidence Building*. New York, DC: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), 2004. p. 149.

<sup>1327</sup> NATO. *Statement by the Chairman of the First Review Conference on the Implementation of the Treaty on Open Skies at the Closing Plenary* [online]. s.l.: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005. [cited 26 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1328</sup> Hanquet, Huberte and Ruperez Javier. *The process of democratization in Romania*. Brussels: NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Civilian Affairs Committee, 1992. (Reports). (Civilian Affairs Committee) NAA, AJ237.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Stephen Griffiths, in his report for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), mentions in 1993, that

[o]ver the past three years, Romania has developed a tremendous sense of insecurity from the existence of such a large Hungarian minority in Transylvania and has gone to extraordinary lengths to defend itself from Hungarian charges of discrimination. However, there is a great deal of evidence that over the past two years inter-ethnic relations in the region have polarized dramatically and that much of the trouble has been caused by Romanian extremists, working with the 'approval' of seemingly compliant officials.<sup>1329</sup>

The Research report of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) coordinated by Dominique Rosemberg underlined at the same time that "nationalist tensions did not disappear in Transylvania and both from the Romanian side and the Magyar side provocations are likely to come, [...] the passions are exacerbated, especially marked by the interdiction of bilingualism, instituted by some Romanian authorities, for instance the mayor of Cluj"<sup>1330</sup>

We can note in the nineties that

the orientation of the Hungarian foreign politics was very clear. [...] The conservative governments of József Antall (1990-1993) and Viktor Orbán (1998-2000) regarded the question of the Hungarian minorities abroad as paramount and often defined the relationships to close countries and the closeness to the European Union depending on the matter.<sup>1331</sup>

As Nelson Daniel says when "diaspora represents a large proposition of an ethnic group and the intrastate population is declining, one can expect added attention to neighbors and to the

---

<sup>1329</sup> Griffiths, Stephen Iwan. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Threats to European Security* [online]. New York: Oxford University Press for Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1993. (Research Report). [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://books.sipri.org/files/RR/SIPRIIR05.pdf>>. p. 23.

<sup>1330</sup> Rosemberg, Dominique. *Les minorités nationales et le défi de la sécurité en Europe* (National minorities and the Security challenge in Europe). New York: United Nations Intitute for Disarmament Research, 1993. (Research report).

<sup>1331</sup> Szörenyi, Andras. La politique étrangère hongroise au début d'une nouvelle phase [online]. (The Hungarian Foreign Policy at the Beginning of a New Phase). *La revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2006, 2006, no. 61. [cited 3 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.cairn.info/resume.php?ID\\_ARTICLE=RIS\\_061\\_0037](http://www.cairn.info/resume.php?ID_ARTICLE=RIS_061_0037)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

treatment of their Magyar minorities."<sup>1332</sup> Also, the Hungarian government used its Diaspora in the United States to make pressure on Romania thru the U.S. representatives.

If time to time, Hungary in more powerful situation threw out Romania, as with the Romanian demanded to be accepted in the Visegrád group in 1991, or the membership the CEFTA due only to European states pressure on Hungary, there were considerable pressures from NATO and the European Union, since both organisations stressed that neither Romania nor Hungary would have a chance for membership unless they could resolve their differences. In addition, International Organizations as World Bank, FMI, conditioned their help with the human right development, i.e. minorities' rights as democracy in the country. After years of poor relations and pressure from many officials of EU and NATO, Romania built a collaborative approach with the Hungarian government as well as with the Magyar minority. Romanian leaders give positive signal like the historical rapprochement between the two states – Hungary and Romania – supported by France and Germany on the example of the Franco-German reconciliation. The NATO study on enlargement in the fall of 1995 stipulated that one of the criteria that applicants would have to meet was the settlement of disputes with neighbors in a structured way so that there would be no future threat to alliance stability. The Romanian Foreign Minister, Teodor Melescanu, was quite blunt about this when he declared in Bucharest that without an agreement with Hungary, the door to Romania's entry to NATO simply would be closed. Romania was committed to a neighborliness positive attitude by resolving potential conflict thru agreement and negotiation, and in September 1996, it is signed, at Timisoara, a Treaty of understanding, cooperation and good-neighbor policy between Romania and the Hungarian Republic.<sup>1333</sup> This treaty is a great event and a big step in the relation between the two countries and a step forward for entering in NATO and EU. Even, during a visit in Bucharest on May 25, the Hungarian President, Aprad Goncz, assured his support to Romania for NATO and EU accession.<sup>1334</sup>

---

<sup>1332</sup> Nelson, Daniel N. Regional Security and Ethnic Minorities. In Braun, Aurel and Bărâny Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. p. 303.

<sup>1333</sup> Năstase, Adrian. *Dimensiunile politicii externe în tratatele României. Evidență cronologică și clasificare pe domenii. 1990-2005* (Foreign Political Dimension in Romanian Treaties). București: Regia Autonomă Monitorul Oficial, 2005. p. 213.

<sup>1334</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 172.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Among other things, the pact declared that the two countries harbor no territorial claims, and outlined the rights of national minorities according to European standards. In momentum, the two countries created a Romanian-Hungarian peacekeeping unit. At the same time, in 1996 Emil Constantinescu wins the presidential election on the basis of a coalition with Magyar representative parties. In the Victor Ciorbea's Government was integrated "the political representatives of the Hungarian minority"<sup>1335</sup> that facilitated the relations between countries. We can add that "[r]egarding the relationship of the UDMR with the Romanian political class, we must recall that the Union was, until February 1995, a member of the Democratic Convention (CDR), which included the main opposition parties."<sup>1336</sup>

The Western organizations have possibility to pressure and condition the integration process to NATO and EU with good neighborliness in order to appease the bilateral relations and to impose a rapprochement between Bucharest and Budapest. This message was especially underlined during the Paris Conference on Stability in Europe under the aegis of OCDE (March 1995) focused on the necessity to consolidate country's borders and to ensure the protection of minorities.

As Antonela Capelle-Pogăcean states, "Hungary is obliged to take into account the reluctance of the West vis-à-vis the issue of collective rights or ethnic autonomy".<sup>1337</sup> In addition, the difference timing and treatment of Bucharest's integration in the EU will create few problems for the Hungarian government, as drawing a border between the Hungarian and Magyar minorities in Romania. Hungary had interest of Romania's integration in the same time or immediately after Hungary accession. In 1997, at the NATO Madrid Summit, Hungarian leaders advised the Alliance about the danger to reject Romania at the first wave integration. However, even if the two countries were aware to the necessity to manage good neighborliness, the relation was going top and down in function of the country's political agenda and the definition of national interest of each elected government, and regularly we could assist to verbal jousts and positions between states representatives. Hungary action

---

<sup>1335</sup> Severin, Adrian. Romania: A Factor of Equilibrium and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1997, 1997b, vol. III, no. 2. p. 9.

<sup>1336</sup> Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Les relations hungaro-roumaines et la question des minorités magyare [online]. *Les Etudes du CERI*, 1996, 1996, no. 12. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.cerisciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf](http://www.cerisciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf)>. p. 29.

<sup>1337</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

vis-à-vis Romania was limited to foreign policy limits and could not interfere directly on Romania's national prerogatives, and reciprocally. For example, in 2001 when Hungarian leaders passed a law - the Hungarian 'status law' - extending the benefits of the Hungarian Government of any ethnic Hungarian, regardless the place of residence, the Romanian president, Ion Iliescu, felt that it was an interference in the Romanian State sovereignty and protested vehemently about it, and even threatened to cancel the 1996 treaty agreement between the two countries. Ion Iliescu has been unable to collect any support from Europe to comfort his position, and quickly abandoned his position. In March 2003, however Romania with Slovakia hardly criticized Hungary to maintain this law, denounced by the Council of Europe not being in accordance to the non-discrimination European principles. This issue on Hungarian minorities is considering as an important issue for the Hungarian government considering its responsibility vis-à-vis any Hungarian outside the native country.

Not only on the historical past, the two countries in the post-sovietic period had a lot in common in the transition process from centralized and authoritarian regime to democracy and free-market economy, but also concerning their foreign policy agenda. The Hungarian foreign policy had at least three main thrusts: the North-Atlantic and European orientation; the regional policy; and, third, supporting ethnic Hungarians in neighboring states. Continuity was maintained in matters of national interest although small changes in foreign policy concerning policies towards regionalism independently from the government in place.

The Romanian foreign policy had three main objectives: the North-Atlantic and European integration; the good neighborliness and the leadership towards the Black Sea region. The objectives were constantly monitored by the succeeded government despite domestic political agenda and troubles brought by the regional environment.

In fact, the North-Atlantic and European integration was a trigger for both states to achieve a certain consensus and resolution of their differences in a peaceful manner in the NATO and European agenda and rules. The two organizations imposed their rules and requirements in order to manage the potential conflict in Eastern Europe. For example, the Pact on Stability known as 'Balladur Plan', applies, between 1993-1995, a principle of preventive diplomacy to avoid other conflict in Eastern Europe as Yugoslav's one, and imposes on one hand to Hungary, and the other hand to Romania and Slovakia the principle of good neighborly relations and encourages the resolution of minorities problems. The two countries were in their

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

common goals dependent of their neighborliness relation, and interdependent from their domestic political agenda and national interest.

However, even if the two countries maintain a certain level of good neighborliness, the Hungarian minority issue in Romania continues to be a problematic subject. The Article 11 of Recommendation 1201 from the Council of Europe stipulates that where is a majority of population from the same faith; they can "have at their disposal appropriate local or autonomous authorities or to have a special status matching the specific historical and territorial situation."<sup>1338</sup> This position reinforced the rhetoric speech from Hungarian Government as minority leaders. The UDMR, Hungarian local political party in Romania, even if it has position in each government and the representation of the Magyar minority in the parliament, wants the creation of a Hungarian Autonomous Region – the Szekely Land - as in the Communist period (1952-1968) (figure 13).

The purpose of the union (UDMR) is to get the territorial autonomy for the Hungarian minority, according to its leader Bela Marko, who claims that "we [Hungarians] deserve it".<sup>1339</sup> The leaders of the UDMR voted the statement of the territorial autonomy for Szekely Region<sup>1340</sup>, which means decentralization of the territories in Romania to give more power for the local authorities and better distribution of the money. According to a Marko's 2007 statement, the goal of the UDMR is to "recover the country lost in 1918", including "the houses, the woods, the lands, and the flag".<sup>1341</sup> This

---

<sup>1338</sup> Council of Europe. *Rights of national minorities* [online]. Brussels: Council of Europe, 2001. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc01/EDOC8920.htm>>.

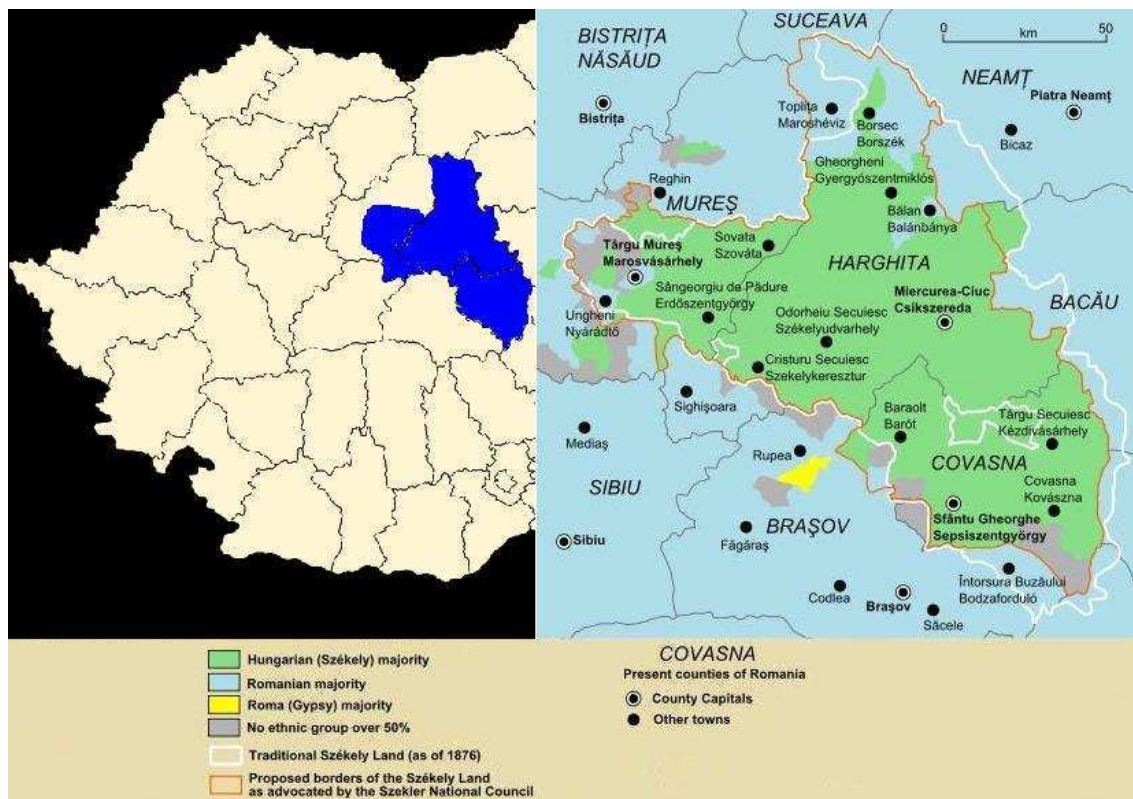
<sup>1339</sup> Popescu, Adrian. Ţelul UDMR e autonomia teritorială, care ni se cuvine [online]. *Gândul*, 25 septembrie 2006. [cited 28 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gandul.info/actual/quot-telul-udmr-e-autonomia-teritoriala-ni-cuvine-quot.html?3927;265725>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1340</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Vot pentru declarația de autonomie* (Vote for the autonomy declaration). *Bună Ziua Ardeal*, 02 oct. 2006.

<sup>1341</sup> Dumitru, Raluca. Marko Bela vrea înapoi „țara pierdută la 1918” [online]. (Marko Bela wants back 'the country lost in 1918'). *Gândul*, 22 octombrie 2007. [cited 28 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gandul.info/actualitatea/marko-bela-vrea-inapoi-tara-pierduta-1918.html?3927;963984>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## From Isolation to Interdependence

'will' is supported by the Hungarian extremist party wanted to recover the "Greater Hungary" pre-1920.<sup>1342</sup>



**Figure 13: The Szekely Land Issues.**<sup>1343</sup>

Bucharest leaders interpreted, in the light of Kosovo independence, as an invitation to secession. "Kosovo can not constitute a precedent for either Romania or other countries. Even Russia, although suspects that Russia will use Kosovo precedent, explained that cannot be a precedent. As far as we are concerned,

<sup>1342</sup> Campiche, Christian. Trianon ou le destin brisé de la Hongrie [online]. (Trianon or The break Hungary's Destiny). *La Liberté*, vol. 138e année, 20 février 2009, [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://histoirevivante.rsr.ch/xobix\\_media/files/tsr/docs/2009/histoirevivante\\_ve2\\_00209.pdf](http://histoirevivante.rsr.ch/xobix_media/files/tsr/docs/2009/histoirevivante_ve2_00209.pdf)>

<sup>1343</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Székeler National Council* [online]. 2006-2008b. Székeler National Council. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://sznt.eu/en/>>. and Mungiu Pippidi, Alina *Policy report on the Hungarian Minority in Szekely Land* [online]. Athens: Hellenic Foundation For European & Foreign Policy, s.d. (EUROREG - Policy Briefs). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.eliamep.gr/old-site/eliamep-old/eliamep/www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/EUROREG\\_policy\\_report\\_Romania\\_revised.pdf](http://www.eliamep.gr/old-site/eliamep-old/eliamep/www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/EUROREG_policy_report_Romania_revised.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

there was no link between Kosovo and Romania. Nobody can ever say that a government, whatever it was, came with tanks over a minority," appreciated Traian Basescu.<sup>1344</sup>

The Magyar minority question between the two countries remains in a kind of status quo; if Romanian authorities apply the minorities right in the country, they also defined a maximum level of right that for Hungarian contre-part represent a minimum base of discussion that can go until the decentralisation and the creation of an autonomous Hungarian region in Romania. The declarations of the both presidents illustrated very well this situation. For the Hungarian president Laszlo Solyom,

[t]he Sekler region - and similar areas in other countries where communities of Hungarians live - is protected by international law from altering ethnic proportions. But, that is insufficient. The Hungarians here need to combine their economic, political and cultural power to survive. It is also necessary for the Romanian majority to recognize the economic and cultural advantages to Romania of having a local Hungarian community, as well as the advantages of their political activism and political culture. If the Sekler region is a historical unit, which it is today, its desire to have an administrative framework adjusted to its uniformity and able to promote its economic development should be considered. I am talking of qualifying the Sekler land as a single and united development region, an idea I consider advantageous, fair, and worthy of support.<sup>1345</sup>

For Romanian counterpart, Traian Basescu,

As regards the national minorities issue, Romania complies with all EU standards as regards minorities, highlighting that, though there are things that still need to be done for the 19 minorities officially recognized in

---

<sup>1344</sup> Pasaniuc, Janina. Basescu: „Kosovo nu poate constitui un precedent” [online]. (Basescu: Kovose can constitute a precedent). *Divers*, 20 Sept. 2008. București: Asociația de Investigatii Media in Balcani, 2008. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.humanrights.ro/Members/janina/news/basescu-201ekosovo-nu-poate-constitui-un-precedent201d>>.

<sup>1345</sup> Sólyom, László *Speech Address by President László Sólyom on the anniversary of the revolution and freedom fight of 1956 at a commemoration by the Gloria Victis memorial in Miercurea Ciuc, Romania* [online]. Budapest: Office of the president of the Republic of Hungary, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.keh.hu/speeches20081023miercurea\\_ciuc.html](http://www.keh.hu/speeches20081023miercurea_ciuc.html)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Romania, there is no document, no analysis questioning Romania's policy towards minorities.<sup>1346</sup>

In this different point of view of the minorities' right, Brussels can play the role of mediator and the European law will give the limit of resolution. Nevertheless, the country decided to collaborate and to develop more economical projects as the gas transportation system and the VII paneuropean corridor - Rhin-Main-Danube navigation road -. The Romanian president asks for the Hungarian president support for the promotion of the Danube project during Presidency of the Council of the European Union hold by Hungary in 2011.

### **IV.4.3 The Republic of Moldova**

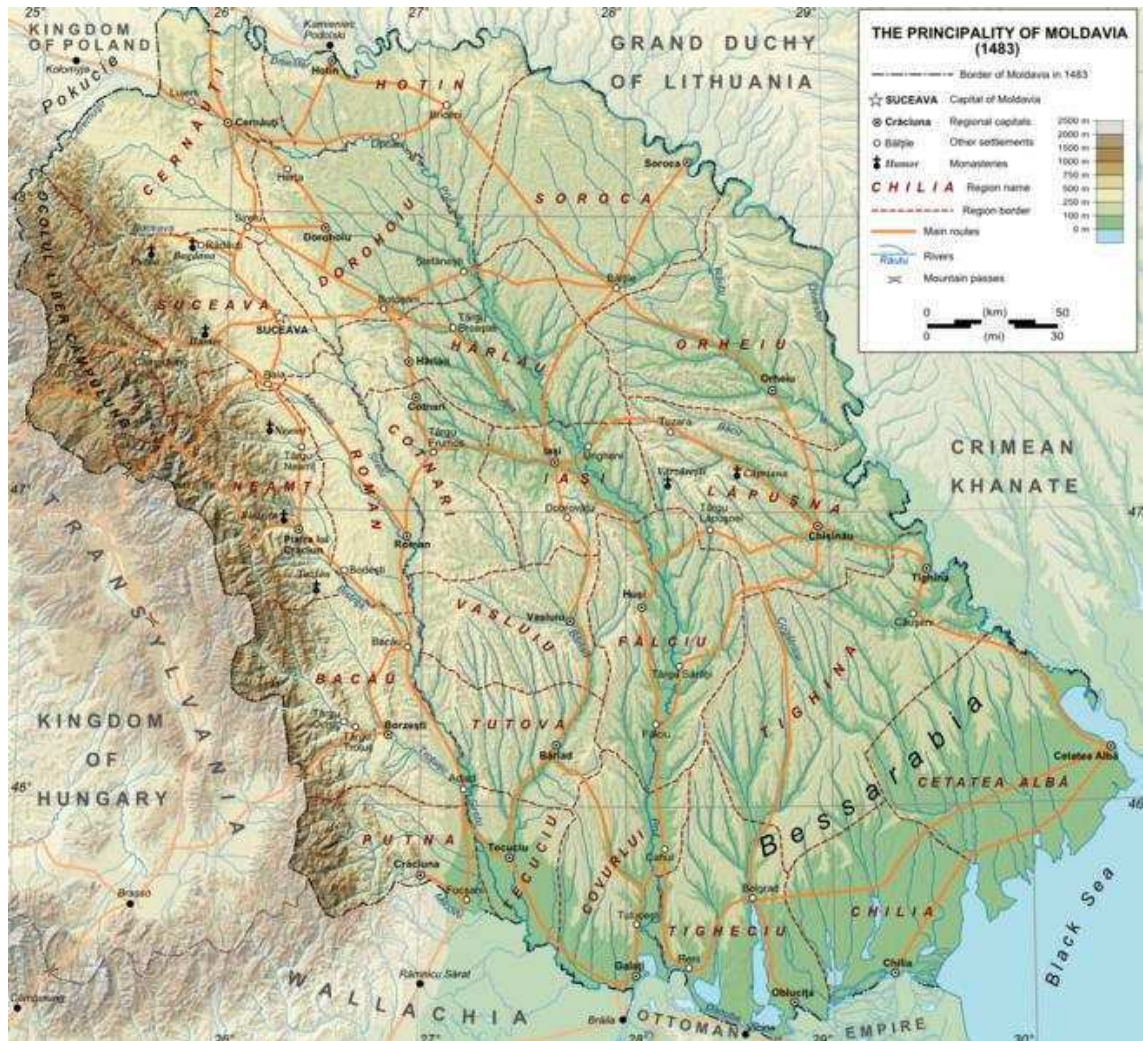
At the border of Romania, in 1991 during the dislocation of the Soviet Empire, appeared a new independent state: the Republic of Moldova (RM). The two countries have some language, cultural and historical specificities that made their relation different from other neighbors.

The links between Romania and the Republic of Moldova (RM) are ancient. The first problem begins with the use of words - Moldova and Bessarabia -. Historically, the Republic of Moldova is an old part of the Kingdom of Moldavia constituted in the fourteenth century, a land on the both side of the Prut river covering until the Dniester river on the East side (figure 14).

---

<sup>1346</sup>Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Declarația de presă a președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, susținută la finalul convorbirilor oficiale cu președintele Republicii Ungare, László Sólyom (Budapesta, 2 februarie 2009)* [online]. (Press Statement by the President of Romania, Traian Băsescu). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2009b. [cited 2 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10635\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10635_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## From Isolation to Interdependence



**Figure 14: The Principality of Moldavia in 1483.**

The area between the two rivers (Prut and Dniester) derives from the Wallachian Basarab dynasty, who allegedly ruled over the Southern part of the area in the fourteenth century. The name Bessarabia originally applied only to the Southern part of the territory, which roughly, but not exactly, corresponds to Budjak. The Ottomans were the first to call it 'Besarabya', when they established military presence in the area in 1484 and 1538. Since late fourteenth century, what later became Bessarabia has been partly or wholly controlled by the Principality of Moldavia, the Ottoman Empire (as suzerain of Moldavia, direct rule only in Budjak and Khotin), Russian Empire, Romania, Ukraine, and Moldova. In the seventeenth century, the treaty of Lutk (April 13, 1771) between the prince of Moldova and the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great, understood that after the former Moldovan border, the lands of the Principality of Moldova, on which the ruling prince are those between the Dniester, Cemenita, Bender, the country of Bugeac, the Danube, the Border with Wallachian and



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Transylvanian country and border of Poland, according to the demarcations made with them; this is the formal recognition by Peter the Great of the historical rights of Moldova throughout the territory between the Prut, the Danube and the Dniester.<sup>1347</sup> However, as wrote Charles Upson Clark, “[t]he seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of slow disintegration for Moldavia and Turkey, but of rapid rise for Austria and Russia.”<sup>1348</sup> Bessarabia was highly involved in Russian dreams of reaching Constantinople, and Austrian ambitions of extension to the Black Sea. “This unfortunate country, after centuries of raids by Poles, Tartars, Turks and Cossacks, now becomes a pawn in contests of wider international range, destined finally to involve all Europe”,<sup>1349</sup> wrote Upson Clark. Until 1812, Bessarabia was an integral part of the Moldavian kingdom (Voivodate).<sup>1350</sup> In 1812 as a result of the Russian-Turkish Peace Treaty signed in Bucharest, the eastern part of Moldova situated between the Prut and Dniestre rivers, named Bessarabia, was annexed to the Russian Empire, thus being a Russian province until 1918. During this period, the russification of the country as well the church began, but the population remain as they are; they use to say “Father Russian, mother Russian, but Ivan, the son, is Moldavian”.<sup>1351</sup> On 1918, the Bessarabian parliament met in solemn session to proclaim the independence of the Moldavian Republic from Russia, and the country had become an independent state. However, they “realised that the only sensible solution of the Bessarabia problem was the union of this old Moldavian territory with the Kingdom of Rumania”.<sup>1352</sup> The Bessarabia (figure 15) joins Romania after the First World War to constitute the ‘Greater Romania’ (figure 16).

---

<sup>1347</sup> Ioniță, Gheorghe I. *Românii de dincolo de actualele hotare ale țării* (Romanians beyond the current borders of the country). București: Universității Creștine Dimitrie Cantemir, 1996. p. 56.

<sup>1348</sup> Upson Clark, Charles. *Bessarabia: Russia and Roumania on the Black Sea* [online]. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company & University of Washington, 1927. p. 32. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text\\_archive/clark/meta\\_pag.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/clark/meta_pag.shtml)>.

<sup>1349</sup> Ibid.

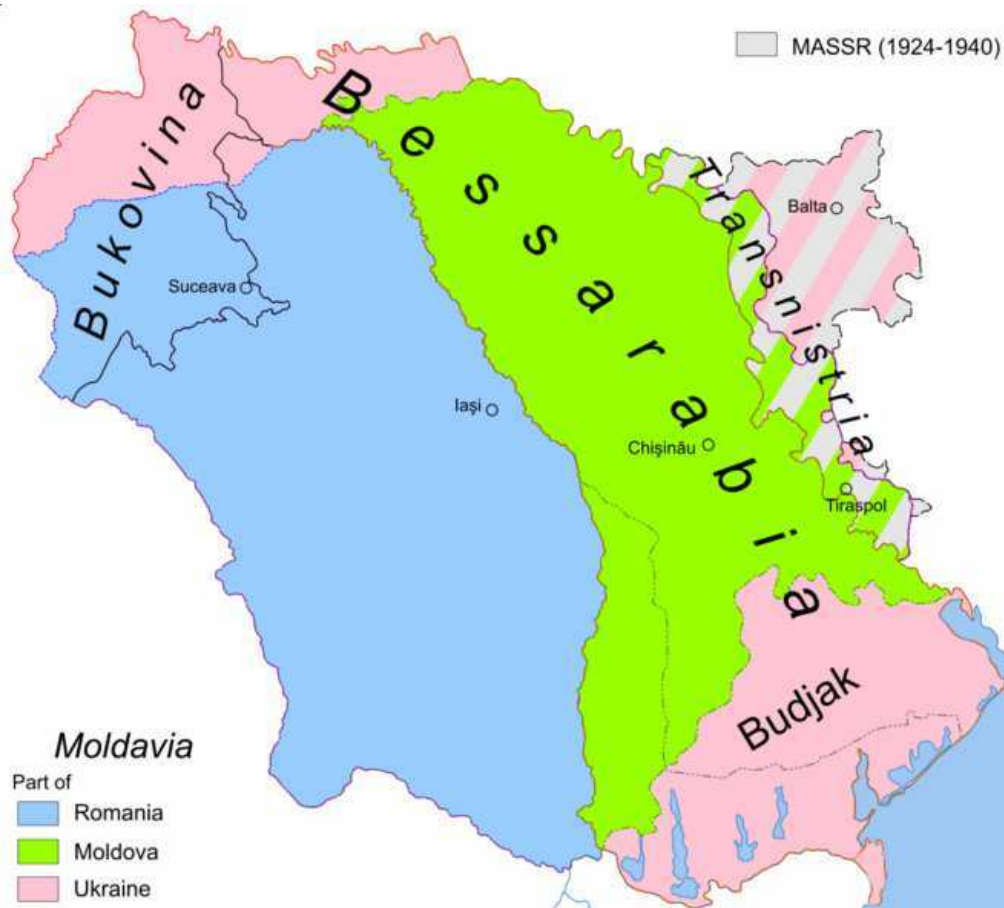
<sup>1350</sup> Nistor, Ion I. *Bessarabia and Bukovina* [online]. Bucharest: Rumanian Academy & University of Washington, 1939. p. 56. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text\\_archive/nistor/meta\\_pag.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/nistor/meta_pag.shtml)>.

<sup>1351</sup> Tata rus', mama rus', Dar Ivan, moldovan'.

<sup>1352</sup> Nistor, Ion I. *Bessarabia and Bukovina* [online]. Bucharest: Rumanian Academy & University of Washington, 1939. p. 56. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text\\_archive/nistor/meta\\_pag.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/nistor/meta_pag.shtml)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Nevertheless, after the First World War, the Bessarabia was the center of Romanian-Sovietic relations modifying all the time the border draft until the creation of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR) (figure 17).



**Figure 15: The Bessarabia.**

Furthermore, newly communist Russia did not recognize the Romanian rule over Bessarabia and considered the region to be Soviet territory under foreign occupation and conducted numerous diplomatic attempts to reclaim it.<sup>1353</sup>

During the Second World War, Stalin “received assurance that Germany would approve secret protocols to the proposed nonaggression pact that it would be grant land the Soviets in Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Romania.<sup>1354</sup> Another clause of the

---

<sup>1353</sup> Vucinich, Wayne S. *Bessarabia In: Collier's Encyclopedia* 24 vols. Vol. 4. New York: Crowell Collier and MacMillan Inc., 1967. p. 103. (Collier's Encyclopedia).

<sup>1354</sup> Murphy, David E. *What Stalin Knew: The Enigma of Barbarossa*. New Haven, CT Yale University Press, 2006. p. 23.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

treaty, known as Ribbentrop-Molotov, was that Bessarabia, and then part of Romania, will joined to the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR), and become the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) under control of Moscow until the dislocation of the Soviet Union.



**Figure 16: The Greater Romania 1918-1940.**

Romania never accepted the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact even during the Ceausescu period, likewise other Eastern states like Baltic States. In June 1991, Romania's Parliament adopted a declaration thru which one, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact was declared 'null and void' that have indirectly consequences on the possible non-recognition of the actual borders of Eastern Europe.

The Moldovan state proclaimed its sovereignty from the USSR on June 23, 1990 and changed its official name on May 23, 1991.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***



**Figure 17: Romania after the World War II.**

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova proclaimed the independence of the Moldovan state on August 27, 1991, and in December of the same year joined the post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)<sup>1355</sup> along with most of the former Soviet republics. At the end of that year, a former communist reformer, Mircea Snegur, won an unchallenged election for the presidency. Three months later, the country achieved formal recognition as an independent state at the United Nations. The state language officially called Moldovan, as it is mentioned in the Constitution<sup>1356</sup>, is in the Declaration of Independence in fact called Romanian. Before the independence in 1989, Moldova introduced Romanian as official language (in place of Russian) and introduced the Latin script instead of Cyrillic alphabet. The Moldovan SSR was an artificial creation with Russian, Ukrainian and Gagauzes (turcophone from orthodox religion) minorities. However, as says Stefan Ihrig, "[t]he Republic of Moldova

---

<sup>1355</sup> If the Republic of Moldova joint the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) on December 21, 1991, the agreement ratification was only done on April 8, 1994 and for the CIS Charter on 27 June 1994.

<sup>1356</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Constitution of the Republic of Moldova* [online]. Chişinău: Parlamentul Republicii Moldova 1994a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/moldova3.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

(RM) seems to be one [country] especially ridden by ethnic conflict and the paramount question of national identity".<sup>1357</sup> As says Igor Botan, the Parliament has played a major role in Moldova's separatist conflicts when parliament adopted some normative acts ostensibly to enhance the sovereignty of Moldova that provoked separatist dissent.<sup>1358</sup> From 1989 all this minorities claim their difference (figure 18). In August 1990, the Gagauz declared themselves their autonomous Republic because they were worried about the implications for them if Moldova reunited with Romania, as seemed increasingly likely.



**Figure 18: The Republic of Moldova.**

---

<sup>1357</sup> Ihrig, Stefan. Rediscovering History, Rediscovering Ultimate Truth - History, Textbooks, Identity and Politics in Moldova [online]. *European Studies*, 2008, vol. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es\\_5\\_Ihrig.pdf](http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_5_Ihrig.pdf)>. p. 43.

<sup>1358</sup> Botan, Igor. *Moldova: Post-Transition, Parliament Faces Separatist, Political and Electoral Conflicts* [online]. April 2006 ed.: United Nations Development Programme, UNDP Initiative on Parliaments, Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2006. (Initiative on Strengthening the Role of Parliaments in Crisis Prevention and Recovery). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.parlcp.undp.org/docs/Moldova.pdf>>. (UNDP Initiative on Parliaments, Crisis Prevention and Recovery).

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Nevertheless, the Moldovan government cancelled the declaration as unconstitutional. Gagauzia declared itself independent on 19 August 1991, followed by Pridnestrovie (Transnistria)<sup>1359</sup> in September. For Stefan Ihrig<sup>1360</sup>, "[t]he talk of a possible reunification with Romania in the early nineties spurred the pro-independence movements in Gagauzia and Transnistria,"<sup>1361</sup> that lead to actual situation, especially with the Pridnestrovie<sup>1362</sup> strongly supported by Russia (the 14th Army remains stationed in Transnistria) and are not

---

<sup>1359</sup> There are a number of names used to refer to the de facto state. The official names are respectively short- and long- , Pridnestrovie and Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR) (the formal name in Russian is: Pridnestróvskaja Moldávskaja Respública; in Moldovan Cyrillic alphabet: Република Молдовеняскэ Нистрянэ). The name in daily usage is Pridnestrovie (Приднестрѳвье). The country government favours not to translate the country name when written in English: - Pridnestrovie - is also the official shortform name in English. Per a 2000 presidential naming decree, the official transliteration in Latin script is Pridnestrovie. However, in English a wide variety of names have been used to describe the region, among them: Trans-Dniester, Transdnistria, Transdniestria, Transdniestr, Trans-Dniestria, Transdniester, Transniestria, Transdnestr, also Trans-Dnjestr and Trans-Dnjester. The government of Moldova refers to the region Stînga Nistrului, which means 'Left Bank of the Dniester' although in the Moldavian Latin script, the official name is Republica Moldovenească Nistreană (which translates to English as Nistrian Moldavian Republic). The European Court of Human Rights used the name Moldavian Republic of Transdnistria or Moldovan Republic of Transnistria (MRT), while OSCE and others sometimes refer to it as the Transnistrian Moldovan Republic (TMR). Author Charles King, in his book 'The Moldovans', uses the names Dnestr Republic and Dnestr Moldovan Republic (DMR). This land is a disputed region between Moldova and Ukraine in southeast Europe. Since its declaration of independence in 1990, followed by the War of Transnistria in 1992, it is governed by the Unrecognized states Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), which claims the left bank of the Dniester river and the city of Bendery within the former Moldavian SSR. The modern Republic of Moldova does not recognize the secession and considers PMR-controlled territories to be a part of Moldova's sovereign territory. Pridnestrovie is located mostly in a strip between the Dniester River and Ukraine.

To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Pridnestrovie's Constitution* [online]. (Government of Pridnestrovie). Tiraspol: Government of Pridnestrovie, s.d.-e. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pridnestrovie.net/constitution.html>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. *What's in a name: "Pridnestrovie" vs "Transnistria"* [online]. (Government of Pridnestrovie). Tiraspol: Government of Pridnestrovie, s.d.-f. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pridnestrovie.net/name.html>>.

<sup>1360</sup> Ihrig Stefan is a research fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany.

<sup>1361</sup> Ihrig, Stefan. *Rediscovering History, Rediscovering Ultimate Truth - History, Textbooks, Identity and Politics in Moldova* [online]. *European Studies*, 2008, vol. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es\\_5\\_Ihrig.pdf](http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_5_Ihrig.pdf)>.

<sup>1362</sup> To see: Herd, Graeme P. and Moroney Jennifer D. P. *Security Dynamics in the Former Soviet Bloc*. London: Routledge, 2003.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

recognized officially by other states and by international community.<sup>1363</sup> The problems for the RM is that the Pridnestrovie country is a rich area with large industrial centres of (Tiraspol, Bender, Rybnitsa, Dubossary), and the only access to gas and electricity for the RM, and weakened it economically and politically. In February 1994, the President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur, opposed to Gagauz independence, promised a gagauz autonomous region, and on December 23, 1994, Gagauzia became a national-territorial autonomous unit within the Republic of Moldova.<sup>1364</sup>

### **IV.4.3.1 The Independence**

On 6 May 1990, Romania and the Moldavian SSR lifted restrictions on travel between the two territories, known as the 'bridge of flowers', and hundreds of thousands of people crossed the Prut River which marked their common border.

Romania was the first state to recognize the RM independence only a few hours, in fact, after the declaration of independence was issued by the Moldovan parliament. From the declaration of the Romanian Government made on that occasion it clearly resulted that, in the opinion of the authorities in Bucharest, Moldova's independence was considered as a form of emancipation from Moscow's tutelage and a step towards the reunification with Romania:

The proclamation of an independent Romanian state in the territories annexed by force, following the secret understanding set through the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, represents a decisive step towards the elimination,

---

<sup>1363</sup> For a definition on "de facto states", to see: Lynch, Dov. *Engaging Eurasia's separatist states: unresolved conflicts and de facto states*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2004. p. 15-16.

<sup>1364</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Legea privind statutul juridic special al Găgăuziei (Gagauz-Yeri) Nr.344-XIII din 23.12.94* [online]. (Președintele Parlamentului). Chișinău: Monitorul Oficial, 1994b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.e-democracy.md/files/elections/gagauzia2006/special-legal-status-gagauzia-ro.pdf>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. Moldova: The Example Of Gagauz-Yeri As An 'Unfrozen Conflict' Region [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, April 05, 2007. Prague, Czech Republic: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2007c. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1075722.html>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

in a peaceful way, of its unfortunate consequences directed against the rights and the interests of the Romanian people.<sup>1365</sup>

At that time, it was generally expected in both countries (especially in Romania, though to some extent in Moldova too) that they would soon be united. Adrian Nastase underlined, after a visit in March 1991, that he had a discussion with Mircea Snegur "without interpreter, in a friendly environment, as it should be between partners, who have the same roots and share the same intentions".<sup>1366</sup> In the same time, Mircea Snegur, the President of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, paid an official visit to strengthen the relation with Romania, and "spoke favorably of 'our sister country-Romania' " but underlines the birth of a 'Greater Moldovan' nationalism.<sup>1367</sup> "The Moldavian Head of State will emphasize the 'historical' character of this 'meeting between partners'."<sup>1368</sup> At the end of 1991, Romanian leaders, such as the Foreign Minister, Adrian Nastase, looked to the reunification in very optimistic way, speaking of an eventual 'economical confederation' and even unification 'on the German model'.<sup>1369</sup> The same year, the Romanian state passed a special law – the Citizenship Act (No. 21) -, which allowed the Romanian citizenship by any person who had it before 1940, and for its descendants of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> degrees. It was just necessary to provide that the loss of citizenship be made for reasons that did not rest on. It was thus sufficient to prove by documents that his parents or grandparents were Romanian citizens before 1940. This measure was designed to correct the injustices of

---

<sup>1365</sup> Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>.

<sup>1366</sup> Demain, Angela. Logique identitaire, logiques étatiques. Les relations entre la Roumanie et la République de Moldavie. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârnci Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. (Coll. Aujourd'hui l'Europe). p. 217. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1367</sup> King, Charles. *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1999. (Studies on Nationalities). p. 150.

<sup>1368</sup> Demain, Angela. Logique identitaire, logiques étatiques. Les relations entre la Roumanie et la République de Moldavie. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârnci Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. (Coll. Aujourd'hui l'Europe). p. 217. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1369</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. În viitor o unificare după modelul german. *România Liberă*, August 9, 1991.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the communist era and it was perhaps intended to demonstrate to Moldavians-Bassarabian that in reality they were Romanians. A move toward hope for reunification between the two countries. They also signed a cooperation agreement between the two countries. They have regular meetings in Romania and in the Moldovan Republic in 1992. Romania in July 1992, declares that the country is worried about the Pridnestrovie conflict and makes efforts to promote peace from proposal of Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. However, the Moldovan state recently independent starts to build its own identity with new elite jealous of its own interest. The two presidents, Moldovan and Romanian have followed the formula of 'one people, two States'.<sup>1370</sup> However, the pro-Moscow politics of Romanian president Ion Iliescu made both sides more cautious and delayed a strengthening of ties. In fact, "[o]n the Romanian side, foreign policy towards the top of Moldova 1990s has not been more consistent. Despite some statements pro-unionists made by some of the Romanian political class, the desire of Romania to integrate the Republic of Moldova has never been expressed explicitly."<sup>1371</sup> However, in other side in the nineties, Romania showed a nationalist and traditionally aggressive image in relation with its neighbors in an international context of Soviet Empire dissolution and the Moldova emancipation from the USSR. In fact, "the behavior of the Bucharest nationalist regime until 1996 raised the West's suspicion as to Romania's attitude towards its neighbors,"<sup>1372</sup> and especially with Moldova and the rhetorical of unification.

For the authors, Gabriel Andreescu, Valentin Stan and Renate Weber, "[r]egarding these territories, lost by Romania in favour of the USSR, there has always been in [...] [Romania], even during the

---

<sup>1370</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. Chiefs of Moldova and Romania meet [online]. *The New York Times*, January 26, 1992. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/26/world/chiefs-of-moldova-and-romania-meet.html>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1371</sup> Hatto, Ronaldo and Tomescu Odette. Frontières et identités. La Moldavie et la Roumanie dans l'Europe élargie [online]. (Borders and Identities. The Moldova and Romania in the Enlarged Europe). *Etudes internationales*, vol. 36, no. 3, Sept. 2005, [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.erudit.org/revue/ei/2005/v36/n3/012025ar.pdf](http://www.erudit.org/revue/ei/2005/v36/n3/012025ar.pdf)> Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1372</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Bau Violeta and Chiorean Gabriela. *The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations. Actual implications of the secured border at the political, social, economic and operational levels* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>. p. 31. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

period of Soviet domination, an acute consciousness of the historical injustice done to the Romanian people."<sup>1373</sup> The collapse of communism in Romania, the dislocation of the Soviet Union and the independence of the RM, especially with the reintroduction of the Romanian language, Latin alphabet and the new state arms and color, has been viewed by Romanians, what "was an unexpressed goal",<sup>1374</sup> the possible reintegration of Moldova in Romania. While at the beginning, the reunification seemed to be 'the natural course' for part of the "Romanian-speaking two thirds of the population (according to the 1989 census) of the Moldovan republic",<sup>1375</sup> as well for Romanians from Romania. To reinforce this idea of special relations, Nicolae Chirtoaca, the director of the Euro-Atlantic Centre in the Republic of Moldova wrote:

I would like to mention from the very start, that the beginning of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania does not refer to the period that followed the collapse of the USSR and declaration of independence by the former Union republics. Right after the former Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) declared itself a sovereign member of the former union, both parties initiated decisive measures to establish bilateral relations, bypassing the former Union center.<sup>1376</sup>

At that time, the Helsinki Final Act stipulates in its principles that the frontiers can be changed only in accordance of international law, by peaceful manners and by agreement. The 'Charter of Paris for A New Europe' reinforced these principles in November 1990, as also the documents of the CSCE Summit in Helsinki in 1992, 'The Challenges of Change'. Romania was a signatory of these documents. As, Romania never accepted the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, the door was open for a possible reunification between the two countries. However, if we consider that the Peace Treaty of Paris signed in 1947 is the base of the European borders and

---

<sup>1373</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.

<sup>1374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1375</sup> Ihrig, Stefan. Rediscovering History, Rediscovering Ultimate Truth - History, Textbooks, Identity and Politics in Moldova [online]. *European Studies*, 2008, vol. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es\\_5\\_Ihrig.pdf](http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_5_Ihrig.pdf)>. p. 44.

<sup>1376</sup> Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

stability, and brought back Transylvania to Romania and guarantee the actual borders of the country, one can not ask at the same time for the preservation of the Western borders of the country and its modification on the east side. The non-acceptance of the actual situation "would have all the consequences that can be generated today by the non-recognition or non-observance of the existing frontiers in Europe",<sup>1377</sup> as was happened for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, also Romania cannot ask to Hungary to respect the basic base of treaty, if Romania is not doing it on Eastern part of the country.

### **IV.4.3.2 The Civil War**

The war in Pridnestrovia involved armed clashes on a limited scale that broke out between Pridnestrovian Republican Guard, militia and Cossack units, supported by the Russian 14th army and Moldovan policemen and troops as early as November 1990 at Dubasari. Fighting intensified on 1 March 1992, with the accession of newly independent Moldova into the UN and alternated by ad hoc ceasefires, lasted throughout spring and early summer 1992 until a ceasefire was declared on 21 July 1992, which has held ever since. As wrote Ozhiganov Edward<sup>1378</sup>, "[t]he region's complex population mix, the confused history of its status, and its important geopolitical location explains the involvement of Russia, Ukraine, and Romania, each of which has its own strategic interest."<sup>1379</sup> The Pridnestrovia received a larger support than Moldova did during the conflict. The Pridnestrovian army was supported by Russia (the 14th army was stationed in the country)<sup>1380</sup> and Ukraine. The Russian Army received

---

<sup>1377</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.

<sup>1378</sup> Ozhiganov Edward is professor of the Chair of Political Sciences, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of the People's Friendship University of Russia.

<sup>1379</sup> Ozhiganov, Edward. The Republic of Moldova: Transdnister and the 14th Army. In Arbatov, Aleksei Georgievich, Chayes Abram, Chayes Handler Antonia, and al. (Eds.), *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1997. (CSIA Studies in International Security). p. 146-147.

<sup>1380</sup> Vahl, Marius Borderland of Europe (11): Transforming Transnistria? [online]. *Centre for European Policy Studies*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ceps01.link.be/wp.php?article\\_id=222](http://ceps01.link.be/wp.php?article_id=222)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

order to aid the Pridnestrovians during the conflict. Each country - Russia and Ukraine - sent a force of volunteers to fight alongside the Pridnestrovians. Romania was the only state to aid Moldova during the conflict on official and un-official sides.<sup>1381</sup> At an official level, Romania was active; On 17 March 1992, the Romanian government publicly demanded urgent measures from Russia towards a settlement that would bring Pridnestrovia under the full control of Moldova. Namely, Romania at that time had already been financing and equipping Moldova, which was supported with weapons, military vehicles (Romanian tanks) and a force of volunteers and Romanian military advisers.<sup>1382</sup> According to the special situation, "[t]he Republic of Moldova (RM) was called a 'buffer state' between Romania and Ukraine, but in fact, it is a buffer state between two major geopolitical projects: the Euro-Atlantic project (under NATO and EU aegis), and the Euro-Asian one (under the aegis of Russia)".<sup>1383</sup> In fact, for Romania, while most political parties give mild support to the concept, at least in theory, unification would most probably be a burden on the Romanian economy, considering that Moldova is currently among the poorest countries in Europe, which means a burden for Romania accession process to NATO and the European Union. The Romanian leaders did not enjoy the Russian brutal show of force and the perspective of a potential direct conflict with Russian troops. As says Nicolae Chirtoaca,

[t]he destabilized domestic situation in the Republic of Moldova, as a result of the separatist actions by Tiraspol and Comrat authorities, the presence of a Russian army in the Republic of Moldova, especially in the eastern counties, the uncertain Romanian-Russian relations conditioned Bucharest to support the Moldovan policy of strengthening its independence and assuring the territorial integrity of the neighboring country, granting Moldovan leadership diplomatic assistance, support in international bodies

---

<sup>1381</sup> Sislin, John and Pearson Frederic S. *Arms and ethnic conflict*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001. p. 99.

<sup>1382</sup> Arbatov, Alekseï Georgievich, Chayes Abram, Chayes Handler Antonia, and al. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1997. (CSIA Studies in International Security). p. 178. and Aklaev, Airat R. Dynamics of the Moldova Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict (late 1990s to early 1990s) [online]. In Rupesinghe, Kumar and Tishkov Valery A. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press, 1996. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu12ee/uu12ee00.htm#Contents>>.

<sup>1383</sup> Pop, Adrian (Coord.), Pascariu Gabriela Carmen, Anglițoiu George, and al. *Romania and the Republic of Moldova - Between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Prospect of EU Enlargement* [online]. Bucharest: European Intitut of Romania, s.d. (Pre-accession impact studies III). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.ier.ro/PAIS/PAIS3/EN/S.5\\_EN\\_final.pdf](http://www.ier.ro/PAIS/PAIS3/EN/S.5_EN_final.pdf)>. Study no. 5. p. 42.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and institutions and developing privileged and special bilateral relations, in the political, economic and cultural fields, first and foremost.<sup>1384</sup>

In addition, we can say that since the independence, the Moldova country has been subject to three contrary forces: one, trying to achieve a union with Romania; another one wanted to go nearest Russia; and the last trying to preserve Moldova as an independent distinct state. First, Romanianism argues that the majority of population in Moldova is Romanian, and concludes that reunification is a logical end. Second, Moldovanism<sup>1385</sup>, by contrast, argues that the majority of the population constitute a nation, the Moldova, necessarily an independent state. However, if all this does not even lend to confusion, the RM has developed special features as explains Stefan Ihrig<sup>1386</sup>; the conflict between Moldovanism and Romanianism has resulted in a perfect deadlock in many societal spheres. The initial enthusiasm in Moldova was tempered and from 1993, Moldova started distancing itself from Romania. The new constitution adopted in 1994 used the term 'Moldovan language' instead of 'Romanian' and changed the national anthem to 'limba noastra'. Having oscillated between the adoption of a Romanian identity in relation with Romania and Moldova in an identity relationship with Russia, they finally opted for the construction of a separate Moldovan identity.<sup>1387</sup> Moreover, in the end of 1994, the RM seems to be decided to reinstate the Russian sphere of influence. From 1990 to 2001, a special collaboration with Romania was built trying to strength the cultural and economical relations. In fact, as wrote Gabriel Andreescu, Valentin Stan and Renate Weber, "from 1991 until 1994 the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova went all the way from excitement and enthusiasm to a situation of tension and public accusations with adverse effects on

---

<sup>1384</sup> Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>. p. 53.

<sup>1385</sup> Moldovenism is a term used to refer to the political view that Moldovans are an ethnicity separate from Romanians, primarily by critics of such views.

<sup>1386</sup> Ihrig Stefan is a research fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany.

<sup>1387</sup> To see: Urse, Cristian. *Moldovan Politics between Russia and Romania*. Paper presented at the 8th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities on 3-5 April 2003. New York: Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

both states."<sup>1388</sup> For example, on April 14, 1994, the Chamber of Deputies of Romania's Parliament adopted a declaration of protest against the decision of the Parliament in Chisinau to vote in favour of Moldova's accession to the CIS. Referring to the legitimate act of the Moldovan Parliament through which the latter "was conducting as it wished its relations with other states"<sup>1389</sup>, the protest of the Chamber of Deputies in Romania brought serious accusations to the legislative body of the other equal, sovereign and independent state:

Unfortunately, the vote of the Chisinau Parliament regrettably reiterates, the criminal Pact and irresponsibly cancels the right of the Romanian nation to live in a complete historical and spiritual space (...) In view of their geography, culture, history and tradition, the natural place for our brothers across the river Prut is undoubtedly together with us, in the great family of European nations, and not as part of a Eurasian structure.<sup>1390</sup>

The 2001 year in Moldova was marked by the election of Vladimir Voronin that turned the RM foreign policy toward Russia. In addition, from this period the foreign policy with Bucharest began conflictual. Between 2001 and 2004, the identity of the Moldavian country balanced between East and West and provoked several diplomatic crisis in the Romanian-Moldovan relations with the objective to show to Romania the new identity of the RM.<sup>1391</sup> But, even if the Voronin foreign policy was more toward Russia, in the relation with European Union emerges as a government priority, which was drafted in the Government Program for 1999-2002, called '*Supremacy of the law, economic rehabilitation, and European*

---

<sup>1388</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.

<sup>1389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1390</sup> Cited in Andreescu, Gabriel, Bau Violeta and Chiorean Gabriela. *The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations. Actual implications of the secured border at the political, social, economic and operational levels* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>. p. 30.

<sup>1391</sup> To see: Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. Comment conjuguer l'élargissement de l'Union européenne et la sécurité de ses frontières ? Le chapitre roumano-moldave [online]. *Les Etudes du CERI*, 2005, 2005, no. 116. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude116.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

*integration*'.<sup>1392</sup> In the same time, the new policy also encouraged a tripartite collaboration between Romania, Ukraine and a continuous "constructive relations with the Russian Federation, based on mutual respect - as the Federation is the main supplier of energy resources and the main consumer of national agriculture and processing industry products."<sup>1393</sup>

A 'Concept on National Policy'<sup>1394</sup> was adopted in 2003, which is very similar to the Soviet era Moldovenism, by proclaiming that Moldovans (speaking the Moldovan language) are people different from the Romanians, who are described as an ethnic minority in Moldova. Until recently, a union between Romania and Moldova was deemed unlikely, owing to a lack of interest in both countries. From the point of view of the Transnistrian government, due to the current political situation, any Moldovan unification with Romania could only include the part of Moldova, which extends to the Dniester river. On the other side of the river, Pridnestrovie would not agree to be part of any union with Romania. Statements from Pridnestrovian officials support unification of Romania and Moldova as long as Pridnestrovie is not included. From the general situation draft, the Romanian-Moldavian re-unification seems impossible.

But the Romania's relation with the RM is also based on two other fundamental items: The Romanian Constitution (Article 7)<sup>1395</sup>, that states the concern for Romanians living outside the country's borders; the international rules referring to the obligations of states to observe the basic rights and freedoms of national minorities including their right to maintain relations with the citizens of countries to which they are bound by ethnic, cultural and religious

---

<sup>1392</sup> Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>. p. 56.

<sup>1393</sup> Government policies cited in Ibid. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain*.

<sup>1394</sup> Council of Europe. *European Commission for Democracy Through Law (Venice Commission). Draft Concept on the State National Policy on The Republic of Moldova* [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2003/CDL\(2003\)049-e.pdf](http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2003/CDL(2003)049-e.pdf)>.

<sup>1395</sup> Romanians living abroad. To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Constitution of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Chamber of Deputies - Romanian Parliament, 1991b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pdfs/constitutie\\_en.pdf](http://www.cdep.ro/pdfs/constitutie_en.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

ties.<sup>1396</sup> The authorities of the RM were called by International Organizations and the EU to observe all the rights of individuals and minorities in the country. This situation with minorities in the RM pushed the Romanian authorities to support strongly the Romanians in Moldova thru cultural and educational program, citizenship and religious institution. This situation between Romania and Moldova felt, in 2001, in a big crisis when Romania was accused to provide a large support to the Bessarabian Metropolitan Church,<sup>1397</sup> likewise the expulsion of the Romanian military attaché under accusation of interference in the Moldovan domestic affairs.

In fact as says so well Oleg Serebrian,<sup>1398</sup> "[t]he complexity of bilateral Romanian-Moldovan is also related to the geopolitical interests of some big powers in the region and different geopolitical orientations of Chisinau and Bucharest."<sup>1399</sup> We can add that in 2004 for Romania member of NATO and nearly member of the European Union, a stable neighborliness was very important. One can say that in 2004, the situation appears clear between the two countries: 'One people, two countries'.

But at that time (2004), the Romanian newspaper Ziua published a series of articles saying that a senior Russian diplomat proposed to the Romanian government a plan that he claimed "came from president Putin himself"<sup>1400</sup>, which would leave the west bank of

---

<sup>1396</sup> Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.

<sup>1397</sup> Severin, Adrian. Anti-unionism sau anti-romanism? [online]. (Anti-Unionism and Anti-Romanian?). *Ziua*, no. 2238, 23 Oct. 2001, [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2001-10-23&id=74533&keyword=biserica+si+moldova>>

<sup>1398</sup> Chairman of the Social Liberal group in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Republic of Moldova.

<sup>1399</sup> Serebrian, Oleg. Dossier : "Bulgarie, Roumanie : enjeux d'une nouvelle adhésion". Roumanie et Moldavie: quelles relations après le 1er janvier 2007? [online]. (File: "Bulgaria, Romania: issues of a new membership." Romania and Moldova: What relations after 1 January 2007?). *Regard sur l'Est*, 22 Jan. 2009 Saint-Gratien: Regard sur l'Est, 2006. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.regard-est.com/home/breve\\_contenu.php?id=703](http://www.regard-est.com/home/breve_contenu.php?id=703)>.

<sup>1400</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. Putin 97% [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3037. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004e. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149560&data=2004-06-10>>. and Roncea, Victor. Russia is challenging Romania on Bessarabia [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3038. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149655&data=2004-06-11>>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Moldova in Romania in exchange of the Romania's recognition of Pridnestrovie independence.<sup>1401</sup> The Russian president, Vladimir Putin, has neither confirmed nor denied the statements of the Romanian newspaper. Nevertheless, Romanian journalists and scholars immediately dismissed the plan since it would not address the question of the city of Tighina which is under the control of Moldova yet, nor the question of how Russia would manage to convince Furthermore, newly-communist Russia did not recognize the Romanian rule over Bessarabia and considered the region to be Soviet territory under foreign occupation and conducted numerous diplomatic attempts to reclaim it.<sup>1402</sup>

### **IV.4.3.3 Basescu's Policies**

With the new presidential administration at the end of 2004, the bilateral relations with the RM were placed on the top agenda of the Romanian foreign policy; the first official Presidential visit abroad was in Chisinau in January 2005. The President confirms during a Television show the direct interest of Romania for Moldova,<sup>1403</sup> and in a speech in front of the foreign diplomatic corps that the relation with

---

<sup>1401</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Putin is 98% sure about hypothesis Basarabia against Transdnistria [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3039. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004f. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149799&data=2004-06-12>>. ; \_\_\_\_\_. Moscow changes strategy on Transdnistria [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3020. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=147927&data=2004-05-21>>. and Samoshkin, Vyacheslav Pridnestrovyye v obmen na Bessarabiyu. Rossysky prozhekt shokiroval rumyn (Приднестровье в обмен на Бессарабию. Российский прожект шокировал румын) [online]. (Transnistria in exchange for Bessarabia. Russian Project shocked Romanians ). *Vremia Novostei*, Vol. 101. Moscow: Vremia Novostei, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.vremya.ru/2004/101/5/100451.html>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1402</sup> Vucinich, Wayne S. *Bessarabia In: Collier's Encyclopedia* 24 vols. Vol. 4. New York: Crowell Collier and MacMillan Inc., 1967. p. 103. (Collier's Encyclopedia).

<sup>1403</sup> Băseșcu, Traian. *Participarea domnului Traian Băseșcu, Presedintele României la emisiunea "10 si un sfert" Postul de televiziune Realitatea TV Realizator Stelian Tanase (10 Ianuarie 2005)* [online]. (Participation of Sir Traian Băseșcu, President of Romania to the TV Show '10 and half' on the Channel of the Realitatea TV). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898_ro.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the RM will be a priority of the presidential mandate<sup>1404</sup> because Romania has '*une relation de coeur*'<sup>1405</sup> The Romania's President Traian Basescu, on June 28, 2005, has firmly condemned the Ribentrop-Molotov Pact, which led to the invasion and annexation, by Russian troops during the World War Two, of Romanian provinces of Bassarabia (Moldova) and North Bukovina (Ukraine).<sup>1406</sup> In the same time in Moldova in 2005, a new party was created: the Unionist Movement of the Republic of Moldova<sup>1407</sup> (MURM), and only the Christian-Democratic People's Party actively supported unification. However, the stance of the Christian-Democrats has become questionable due to their post-2005 collaboration with the Moldovan Communists. Due to this change in Moldovan politics, a new party, the National Liberal Party (Partidul National Liberal), mirroring the party with the same name in Romania, also calls for a loose union with Romania and integration within the EU.

In January 2006, the Romanian president, Traian Basescu declared that he strongly supports the Moldovan bid for joining the European Union and that "Romania and Moldova are linked by history, by tradition, with relations between people and unification of

---

<sup>1404</sup> Bășescu, Traian. *Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bășescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005)* [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bășescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1405</sup> Bășescu, Traian. *Interviu acordat de Președintele României, Traian Bășescu, săptămânalului rus 'Moskovskie Novosti' publicat în numărul din 19 februarie 2005 - Interviu realizat de Viaceslav Samoskin* [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bășescu, to the newspaper 'Moskovskie Novosti'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5967\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5967_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1406</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presa. (28 iunie 2005). La împlinirea a 65 de ani de la ultimatumul sovietic adresat autorităților române, Președintele României, Traian Bășescu, condamnă ferm Pactul Ribentrop-Molotov care a condus la anexarea Basarabiei și a nordului Bucovinei de către URSS.* [online]. (Press Release. (June 28, 2005)). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/6394\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/6394_ro.pdf)>.. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1407</sup> The Unionist Movement of the Republic of Moldova (MURM for Mișcarea Unionistă din Republica Moldova) is an organization which has as its main goal the Movement for unification of Moldova and Romania. The organization has already started procedures to become a political party in the Republic of Moldova. Its president, Ilie Bratu, has stated that it will run in the parliamentary elections of 2009.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the Romanian nation can be made within the EU."<sup>1408</sup> Interpretations of the word 'minimal policy' have led some to believe that the current Romanian administration also has a maximal policy to formally unify the two countries. According to a March 2006 poll in Romania<sup>1409</sup>, 51% of Romanians support a union with Moldova, 27% are against, and another 10% declined to answer. In addition, of those supporting the union, 28% support a union with Moldova, including Pridnestrovia, while the rest of 16% support a union without Pridnestrovia. In July 2006, the Romanian president said that he had made a proposal of union to the Moldovan president, Vladimir Voronin, enabling Romania and Moldova to join the EU together. The offer, however, had been refused and Traian Basescu said that he would respect this decision and that Romania would help Moldova find its own way to integrate with the EU.

If the RM was not a concern for NATO and the European Union before the Romania's accession, the question started to arise in 2002 with the future Romania's accession to EU. The Romania's EU accession will have an impact on trade and travelling from Moldova. Romania will have to implement new control and to ensure higher security on its border especially for the one sharing with Moldova. Romania will have in the common EU border structure to implement the Schengen rule, to put restriction and to implement visa for Moldovan citizens that created problems for Moldovans and foreign chancellery.<sup>1410</sup> In addition, the new regulation with EU will affect the trade in both sens. The special treatment and solidarity between the two countries will be more difficult even if "Bucharest officials hurried to say that Romania's accession to the European Union would not

---

<sup>1408</sup> Basescu, Traian. *Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Basescu, întâlnirea de început de an cu șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București* [online]. (Speech of the Romanian President, Traian Basescu, at the Annual Year Meeting with the Chief of the Diplomatic Mission Accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://cms.presidency.ro/?pag=67&sid=58>>.

<sup>1409</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Studiului Opinie Publice. Martie 2006. Rezumat* [online]. Chisinau: Centrul de Analize si Investigatii Sociologice (CIVIS), 2006l. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro/arhiva\\_avt/2360.doc](http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro/arhiva_avt/2360.doc)>.

<sup>1410</sup> For example, if Moldovan citizens want to obtain a visa for Canada, they have to come to the nearest diplomatic office of this country, the one in Bucharest. So, they have to obtain a visa first for Romania, increasing the cost and the complexity of administrative process.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

affect special relations with the Republic of Moldova."<sup>1411</sup> Meanwhile, between 1991 and 2006, 95,000 Moldovans have obtained Romanian citizenship (2.2 % of the population) and the demand increased dramatically thereafter. In the autumn of 2006, the Unionist movement has gained some momentum as the subject was more regularly discussed in prominent Romanian language newspapers and as many Moldovans have applied for Romanian passports in August and September 2006, alone. According to Romanian president Traian Basescu, by the end of 2006, 530,000 demands from Moldovan citizens have been written, requesting Romanian citizenship. Basescu has also mentioned that the real number is higher as many of these demands are signed by not just one person but in many cases by entire families. In a subsequent televised interview, Traian Basescu further explained that so far, based on the over 500,000 demands, about 800,000 Moldovan have requested Romanian citizenship and that it is estimated that by the end of 2007, this number will increase to 1,500,000, which is almost 50% of Moldova's population. However, it is important to note that requesting Romanian citizenship does not automatically infer one's Unionist view. Hence, it is unclear whether the relationship between the citizenship demands and Unionism is a strong one or whether there are other causes for Moldovan seeking Romanian citizenship.

Romania joined the European Union in 2007, and while the country has recently supported Moldova in its foreign policy, many political analysts question Moldova's political preparedness and whether it has made sufficient progress towards unification. In 2007, the President of Moldova declared in an interview that the two languages are identical, but said that Moldovan should have the right to call their language 'Moldovan'. Oleg Serebrian, the leader of the Social-Liberal political party, declared that if the Moldovan and the Romanians decided to unite, neither the United States nor Russia could put a stop to such a union.<sup>1412</sup> Subsequently, the Romanian national reunification agenda had, for practical and political purposes,

---

<sup>1411</sup> Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>.

<sup>1412</sup> Rusia la zi. Oleg Serebrian: Unirea Moldovei cu România ar putea avea loc în 2009 [online]. (The Union of Moldova with Romania could be done in 2009). *Unimedia*. Chisinau: New Media Group, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.unimedia.md/?mod=news&id=872>>.

ceased to exist. However, Romanian politicians are nowadays (2009) treating Romanians ethnic in Moldova as members of the Romanian Diaspora and provide a cultural support, as extending Romanian citizenship or scholarships to a chosen population in Moldova. With the Romanian project to oversimplify the grant of citizenship to ethnic Romanians living in Moldova, the European Union scares about another emigration wave of "millions of hungry new EU citizens",<sup>1413</sup> equivalent to the Malta and Cyprus population. This situation and the Traian Basescu's recent public declaration tensed the relation;<sup>1414</sup> Moldova expelled Romania's ambassador and accused its neighbor of stoking a coup attempt after demonstrators during post-election protests.<sup>1415</sup>

It could leave the Moldova country without citizens and put de facto, the European Union with approximately one million new Romanian citizens without the associated land. This is also a precedent that can be used for other Romanian minority in Ukraine (156,000)<sup>1416</sup> and for minorities from Eastern European countries, as Polish in Belarus (400,000)<sup>1417</sup> and Ukraine (144,000).<sup>1418</sup>

---

<sup>1413</sup> Arsenie, Dan. Aproape un million de moldoveni bat la portile Romaniei [online]. (approximately one millions of Moldovan knock at the Romania's Door). *Evenimentul zilei*, no. 5505. [cited 24 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/847510/Aproape-un-milion-de-moldoveni-bat-la-portile-Romaniei/>>.

<sup>1414</sup> Vătăman, Alina. „România nu va permite transformarea Prutului într-o Cortină de Fier” Ibid. ("Romania will not permit the transformation of the Prut River in a Iron Curtain"). Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/847445/Romania-nu-va-permite-transformarea-Prutului-intr-o-cortina-de-fier/>>.

<sup>1415</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Tension grows between Moldova and Romania [online]. *EurActiv*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2009h. [cited 22 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/tension-grows-moldova-romania/article-181183>>. and Solovyov, Dmitry and Zawadzki Sabina. Moscow warns EU over Moldova [online]. *The Independent*, 10 April 2009, [cited 22 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/moscow-warns-eu-over-moldova-1666848.html>>

<sup>1416</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *About number and composition population of Ukraine by data All-Ukrainian population census'2001 data* [online]. 2001f. State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/>>.

<sup>1417</sup> Eberhardt, Piotr *Polacy na Białorusi. Liczebność i rozmieszczenie ludności polskiej według ostatnich spisów powszechnych* [online]. (Poles in Belarus. The numbers and distribution of Polish population according to recent censure ). s.d. Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Polska [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.wspolnota-polska.org.pl/index.php?id=pwko01>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

It can be seen as a set of clear and coherent measures, paving the way to a reunification outcome. But we have to consider, as opposed to Germany in the case of the German reunification, Romania lacks of a strong economy capable of easily absorbing the extra of four million citizens of Moldova in case of the country's absorption. What happened to Romania with the RM, is in the same way as what did Hungary with its minority abroad with Romania. When the Hungarian government gave the citizenship to the Magyar minorities in Romania, the Romanian government shouted scandal. Never the less, The Moldova-Romania relations are a controversial issue open for debate close to politics and citizens of the respective nations...

### **IV.4.4 Ukraine**

As for some other neighbors, the relation between Romania and Ukraine will pass by cold and warm relation, interrupted by crisis and characterized by "an odd combination of suspicion and political pragmatism".<sup>1419</sup> Ukraine declares its independence on August 24, 1991 at the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Ukraine is a founder member of the CIS and signed the agreement on December 8, 1991. Nevertheless, the independence of Ukraine will raise the question of the dissolution of Soviet Union borders. Three mains factors will shape the Romania-Ukraine relations: the historical legacies, the foreign policy orientation and external factors as geopolitical context and the pressures of International Organizations.<sup>1420</sup>

---

<sup>1418</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *About number and composition population of Ukraine by data All-Ukrainian population census'2001 data* [online]. 2001f. State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/>>.

<sup>1419</sup> Popescu, Gabriel. *Transborder State Reterritorialization in Eastern Europe: The Lower Danube Euroregion* [online]. (Ph.D), Department of Geography, The Florida State University, College of Social Sciences, 2006b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://etd.lib.fsu.edu/theses/available/etd-05032006-221559/unrestricted/DoctoralDissertationGabrielPopescu.pdf>>. p. 165.

<sup>1420</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. *Patterns of co-operation and conflict: the relations between Romania and Ukraine, 1992-2006* [online]. Paper presented at the Beyond the borders. Ukraine and European Neighborhood Policy on 7-9 June 2006. Rzeszow and Krakow, Poland: University of Information Technology and Management and Tischner European University. p. 15. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. PowerPoint Presentation. Available from: <[http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra\\_ivan.ppt](http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra_ivan.ppt)>. p. 15.

**IV.4.4.1 The Weight of Historical Legacies**

***IV.4.4.1.1 The Old Provinces***

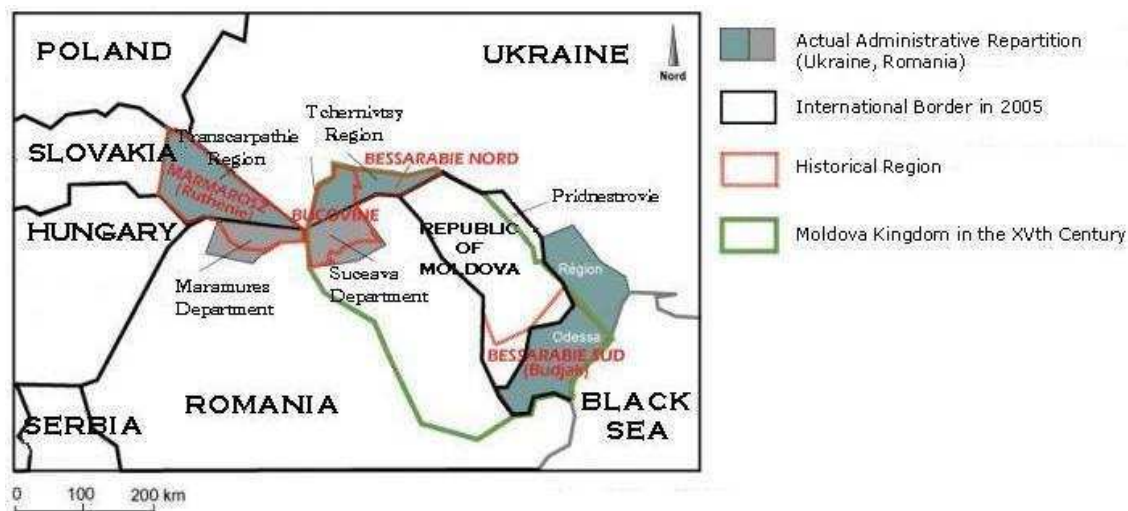
Romania have historical instable borders bringing a territorial different with Ukraine concerning the lost of territories – Bukovina, part of Bessarabia, Serpent island - and the fate of a large Romanian minorities in Ukraine, consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact denounced by Romania's government from Ion Iliescu to Traian Basescu. After the independence, the Ukrainian government will seek to secure the country border vis-à-vis, first Russia and in a second time with Romania. On the other hand, Romania will face the dilemma about the territories lost during the Soviet domination and considered as 'stolen' by the Romanian majority. The actual border, issued from the Second World War between the Ukrainian and Romanian states do not correspond to an ethnic dividing line or an old territorial border. Also the actual situation, after 1989, it is not the same that after the Second World War because of the assimilation process put in place by government; i.e. the policy 'systematization of national differences' during Ceausescu period as the Soviet assimilation – deportation, physical elimination, massive residence change, ... - under Soviet domination.<sup>1421</sup> As wrote, Frédéric Beaumont, "[t]he Romanian-Ukrainian border, a legacy of Stalinist Soviet expansionism, cut three historical regions from west to east: The Marmarosz, the Bessarabia, Bukovina, resulting in the reconstitution of new regional entities who now have, for some, strong identities"<sup>1422</sup> (figure 19).

---

<sup>1421</sup> Beaumont, Frédéric. La frontière roumano-ukrainienne et le poids réel de la question des minorités [online]. (The Romanian-Ukrainian Frontier and the Real Importance of the Question of the Minorities). *Cybergeog : European Journal of Geography*, 2005, no. 303. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cybergeog.eu/index3230.html>>. p. 11.

<sup>1422</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

## From Isolation to Interdependence



**Figure 19: Old and New Territories on the Romanian-Ukrainian Border.**<sup>1423</sup>

### IV.4.4.1.2 The Minority

Romania pushed by the NATO integration process normalized as possible its relations with a tendency to compromise. After a long negotiation, Romania signed a treaty on the Relation of Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation with Ukraine, in June 30, 1997, one month before the Madrid NATO Summit without resolution about border regime and Black Sea border delimitation.<sup>1424</sup> With this treaty signed for 10 years, Romania abandoned revendication on the Northern Bukovina, the Hertza County, Hotin County, the Northern and Southern Bessarabia. By the content of the treaty referring to the minorities' questions concerning the Romanian minority in Ukraine. However, even on the pression of Romania, Ukraine did not wanted to include in the treaty a denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and its consequences. Romania got assurance from the Ukrainian government that they were not against Romania's accession to

<sup>1423</sup> Sources: Nistor, Ion Silviu. *Comuna și Județul: Evoluția Istorică* (Commune and County: Historical Evolution). Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 2000. (Patrimoniul). and Ardeleanu, Ion, Pascu Stefan and Voiculescu Paraschiv. *Atlas pentru istoria României*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică, 1983.

<sup>1424</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Espoo Convention ruling on Bystroe Canal [online]. *International Rivers and Lakes*, 2006g, no. 45. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers\\_lakes\\_news45.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers_lakes_news45.pdf)>.



NATO,<sup>1425</sup> even if the Russian government does not share the same point of view. In the same period, on July 1997 in Izmail, it was signed a Trilateral Cooperation Treaty between Romania, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.<sup>1426</sup>

Romania has a territory claim concerning the Serpent Island, and delimitation of maritime spaces between Romania and Ukraine.

#### ***IV.4.4.1.3 The Bastroe Channel Project***

A dispute appears concerning the project to build a channel (the Bastroe Channel) in the Danube Delta, "home to UNESCO Biosphere Reserves and a World Natural Heritage site".<sup>1427</sup> A Romanian representative from the Geopolitics Center from Bucharest University affirms that "[o]ne of Romania's key positions is its Danube - orientation, consisting in the river's openness to the Black Sea and, by means of straits, to the Mediterranean. This is not only an economical or political position [...] but also a geostrategic one"<sup>1428</sup>. The Bastroe Channel project was a Ukrainian project to build another canal through the Danube Delta along the Romania-Ukraine border (figure 20).

For Ukraine, Romania was a monopolist of the road to and from Europe and has guaranties of millions in revenue.<sup>1429</sup> In the context of increase trade between Asia and Europe<sup>1430</sup> and the European Union promotion of the inland waterways transportation (Pan-European

---

<sup>1425</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 136.

<sup>1426</sup>

<sup>1427</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Espoo Convention ruling on Bystroe Canal [online]. *International Rivers and Lakes*, 2006g, no. 45. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers\\_lakes\\_news45.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers_lakes_news45.pdf)>.

<sup>1428</sup> Cotoi, Calin. The Danube - orientation of Romania, a key position undermined by Ukraine [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3083. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=153975&data=2004-08-03>>.

<sup>1429</sup> Plaksina, Sveltana. A River of Opportunity [online]. *Expert Ukraine*, 2007, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675\\_40-45.pdf](http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675_40-45.pdf)>.

<sup>1430</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *For a Better Tomorrow: Asia-Europe Partnership in the 21st Century* [online]. Seoul, Korea: Asia-Europe Vision Group, 1999a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.igenet.com/files/AEVG-Report.doc>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

transport corridor VII)<sup>1431</sup>, the access from the Black sea to the Danube becomes a stategical question because of the financial losses resulting of discontinued shipping operations on the Ukrainian side.<sup>1432</sup> For Ukraine, Romania had unfairly and aggressively brought the process at international community level by using the manipulation of environmental questions and the support of NGOs. The difference was increasing tension between both countries, Ukraine accusing to be affected by trans-border pollution from Romania.

Romania brought the case to International Organisations – European Union, the United Nations, Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) - arguing that the project will have large-scale environmental consequences. Meanwhile, Ukrainian officials sustain the insignificant impacts on the Delta's delicate ecosystem.<sup>1433</sup> Without ever conducting a transboundary, EIA study considering the project only conducted on Ukrainian soil and not on a transboundary context.

---

<sup>1431</sup> To see: Parliamentary Assembly. *European waterways: focus on the Danube-Oder-Elbe Canal project* [online]. Brussels: Parliamentary Assembly - Council of Europe, 2005. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc05/EDOC10730.htm>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. *Memorandum of Understanding on the development of the Pan-European Transport Corridor VII (The Danube)* [online]. Wien: Via donau - Austrian Federal Ministry of Transport, Innovation and Technology 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.donauschiffahrt.info/fileadmin/group\\_upload/7/OEffentlichkeit/Schiffahrt\\_in\\_Europa/Memorandum\\_of\\_Understanding\\_Corridor\\_VII\\_\\_2001\\_.pdf](http://www.donauschiffahrt.info/fileadmin/group_upload/7/OEffentlichkeit/Schiffahrt_in_Europa/Memorandum_of_Understanding_Corridor_VII__2001_.pdf)>.

<sup>1432</sup> Plaksina, Sveltana. A River of Opportunity [online]. *Expert Ukraine*, 2007, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675\\_40-45.pdf](http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675_40-45.pdf)>.

<sup>1433</sup> Sobol, Tanya D. An NGO's Fight to Save Ukraine's Danube Delta : The Case for Granting Nongovernmental Organizations Formal Powers of Enforcement *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy* Winter 2005, 2006, vol. 17, no. 1. p. 147-149.

## From Isolation to Interdependence



**Figure 20: Ship Channels in the Lower Danube Delta.**<sup>1434</sup>

Many NGOs<sup>1435</sup> – World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Danube Environment Form (DEF) - supported the Romania's effort and "pointed out Ukraine's numerous violations of the Espoo Convention"<sup>1436</sup> and the impact on the environment.<sup>1437</sup> The dispute<sup>1438</sup>,

<sup>1434</sup> Sources: The Delta-Lotsman State Enterprise.

<sup>1435</sup> Tachel, Daniela. Romanians Warn of Danube Delta Ecological Disaster [online]. *Environment News Service*, 28 September 2004. Washington, DC: Environment News Service (ENS), 2004. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/sep2004/2004-09-28-02.asp>>.

<sup>1436</sup> Kersten, Charles M. . Rethinking Transboundary Environmental Impact Assessment [online]. *The Yale Journal of International Law*, 2009, vol. 34, no. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.yale.edu/yjil/files\\_PDFs/vol34/Kersten.pdf](http://www.yale.edu/yjil/files_PDFs/vol34/Kersten.pdf)>. p. 199.

<sup>1437</sup> Staras, Mircea. *Documentation on the Likely Significant Transboundary Impact of the Ukrainian Deep-Water Navigation Canal Danube-Black Sea in the Context of Espoo Convention, 1991* [online]. Tulcea, Romania: Danube Delta National Institute for Research & Development 2005. [cited 23 June 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/env/eia/documents/inquiry/Rom.1.pdf>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

started in 2004<sup>1439</sup>, was treated at the international level. The United Nations, in 2006, gave reason to Romania by asking to Ukraine to stop the project until the fulfilment of international requirement, i.e. impact study on the environment.<sup>1440</sup>

In June 2008 under the auspice of United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), a special meeting was hold in Odessa concerning the Bastroe Channel project phase II with the conclusion of a non-compliance of the Government of Ukraine regarding its obligation in the Espoo convention and to postpone the project until implementation of the provision of convention and to elaborate a bilateral agreement with neighbors.<sup>1441</sup> The project must be postponed until at minimum to 2010.<sup>1442</sup> For this case, Romania worked and got the support from many international and local NGOs, as the International Community through UN organizations, European Union and even United States organizations. This case was a Romanian diplomatic success applying lobbying on International Organization, using NGOs involment and negotiations.

The Ukrainian government was not in good position concerning the completion of international convention linked with a pro-Western

---

<sup>1438</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context (Espoo, 1991)* [online]. Paper presented at on 14 October 2008. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/trans/doc/2008/sc3wp3/SC3-52-pres03e.pdf>>.

<sup>1439</sup> European Commission. *Commission Statement on Opening of Bystroye Canal in Ukraine* [online]. (European Commission). Brussels: European Commission, 2004a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/04/1043&format=PDF&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>.

<sup>1440</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Report on the Likely Significant Adverse Transboundary Impacts of the Danube-Black Sea Navigation Route at the Border of Romania and the Ukraine* [online]. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2006f. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/env/eia/documents/inquiry/Final%20Report%2010%20July%202006.pdf>>.

<sup>1441</sup> Schrage, Weik. *Work on the controversial Bystroye Canal Project to be reconsidered* [online]. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/press/pr2008/08env\\_p08e.htm](http://www.unece.org/press/pr2008/08env_p08e.htm)>.

<sup>1442</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Bystroye Canal Project and Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context (Espoo, 1991)* [online]. Paper presented at the Espoo (EIA) Convention on 24-26 June 2008. Odessa: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/trans/osce/osceunece/misc\\_Odessa\\_Jun08\\_Bystroye.pdf](http://www.unece.org/trans/osce/osceunece/misc_Odessa_Jun08_Bystroye.pdf)>.

foreign policy turning to NATO and European Union integration, and had questioned the country to apply Western standards. The Bastroe canal has strained regular EU-Ukraine tensions.

#### ***IV.4.4.1.4 The Snakes Island***

The ownership of the Snakes Island, also known as Serpent Island (Ostriv Zmiynyi - Острів Зміїний - in Ukrainian; Insula Șerpilor in Romanian) a rocky outcrop without water which can permit the revendication of the linked maritime area rich in hydrocarbons (figure 21). The island was under Romania's control, confirmed by the Paris Treaty of 1947, until the time that the Soviet Union took it under its control, in 1949. The Soviet Union's possession was confirmed by a Treaty between the People's Republic of Romania and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, on the Romanian-Soviet State Border Regime, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance on Border Matters, signed in Bucharest on February 27, 1961.<sup>1443</sup> So, between 1967 and 1987, the two countries negotiated the delimitation of the continental shelf without success.

In 1991, the new Ukrainian state inherited control over the island. Even if a number of Romanian parties and organizations claimed the retrocession of the island to Romania, this remains under Ukraine sovereignty confirmed by the treaty signed in 1997.<sup>1444</sup> The question came on the status of the Serpent's island, important definition that could determine whether Ukraine has exclusive rights over thousands of square miles. The Ukraine position is that the Snake Island is Ukrainian territory and no discussions on the right of the ownership and the 12-nautical-mile of sovereign territorial water

---

<sup>1443</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Treaty Between Romania and Ukraine on the Romanian-Ukrainian State Border Regime, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance on Border Matters* [online]. Vol. 2277. New York: United Nations, 2003c. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078\\_158780/7/7/14484.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/7/7/14484.pdf)>.

<sup>1444</sup> In the treaty the two countries "reaffirm that the existing border between them is inviolable and therefore, they shall refrain, now and in the future, from any attempt against this border, as well as from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all the territory of the other Contracting Party".

\_\_\_\_\_. *Treaty on the Relation of Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation Between Romania and Ukraine* [online]. Vol. 2159. New York: United Nations, 1997. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078\\_158780/5/6/13042.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/5/6/13042.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

shall be considered. Kiev claimed that it was an island<sup>1445</sup>, then Ukraine would control 200-nautical-mile (370 km) of open sea around it; since the island is more or less parallel to the Romania's land boundary, this claim would give Ukraine a deep access into what Romania considers as its national waters. The Ukraine's political leaders are interested in the hydrocarbons resources and state that the continental shelf area around the island is a strategic reserve for the energetic support of the country. In addition, the Snake Island is strategic military site integrated in the Southern air defence border of Ukraine.



**Figure 21: The Snakes Island.**<sup>1446</sup>

In other hand, Bucharest claimed that Serpents Island is a rock, and thus cannot be a factor of maritime delimitation. "The distance that separates the island from the Romanian coast is too short ([10-nautical-mile,] 18 km) that applies to the International Convention of Montego Bay".<sup>1447</sup> Romania expresses that they have not territorial claims on the island accepting the post-Second World War status quo in Europe, but just on the equitable division of the continental shelf

---

<sup>1445</sup> In the treaty the two countries "reaffirm that the existing border between them is inviolable and therefore, they shall refrain, now and in the future, from any attempt against this border, as well as from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all the territory of the other Contracting Party.

<sup>1446</sup> Adapted from Després, François. L'Île aux Serpents : source de contentieux entre la Roumanie et l'Ukraine [online]. (The Island of Snakes: Source of disputes between Romania and Ukraine). *Balkanologie*, 2002, 2002, vol. VI, no. 1-2. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://balkanologie.revues.org/index441.html?file=1>>. with a photogaghy of an unknow Ukrainian frontier Guard.

<sup>1447</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

area. Romanian political leaders are also considering the potential in gas and oil resources.

An intensive new delimitation process of continental shelf and exclusive economic zones took place and the two countries have negotiated more than 24 times from 1997, lead to diplomatic crisis and did not arrive to a positive statement of the dispute. The discovering of hydrocarbons resources<sup>1448</sup> in July 2001 at 22-nautical-mile (40 kilometers) of the Snake Island the continental shelf gave an additional importance to the dispute, and becomes a diplomatic headache for NATO and EU.<sup>1449</sup> After six years of unsuccessful negotiations and the sign of the 2003 Treaty unresolving the question, the dispute was finally taken to the International Court of Justice by Romania in 2004. During the period Ukrainian government did everything to prove that the rock can supported life on its own with a permanent presence of over 100 persons, principally composed by border guards, scientists and few civilians.

Finally, in 2009, the ICJ delivered its judgment. "The line of delimitation, established by the Court, has supported the positions neither of Ukraine nor of Romania" (figure 22). The Court has confirmed the Snake Island is an island in possession of Ukraine but will not "influence the determination of the middle line during delimitation of borders on the continental shelf of the Black Sea and exclusive economic zones".<sup>1450</sup> The delimitation of the conflict area (12,800 sq. km.) is distributed for 21 per cent to Ukraine and 79 per cent to Romania (nearly 10,000 sq km).

"The political establishments in both countries claimed victory following the ICJ ruling."<sup>1451</sup> For the Romanian President, "[i]t is a

---

<sup>1448</sup> The 12,000 km<sup>2</sup> contested area is estimated to hold around 100 billion cubic metres (bcm) of natural gas, and 10 million tons of oil equivalent.

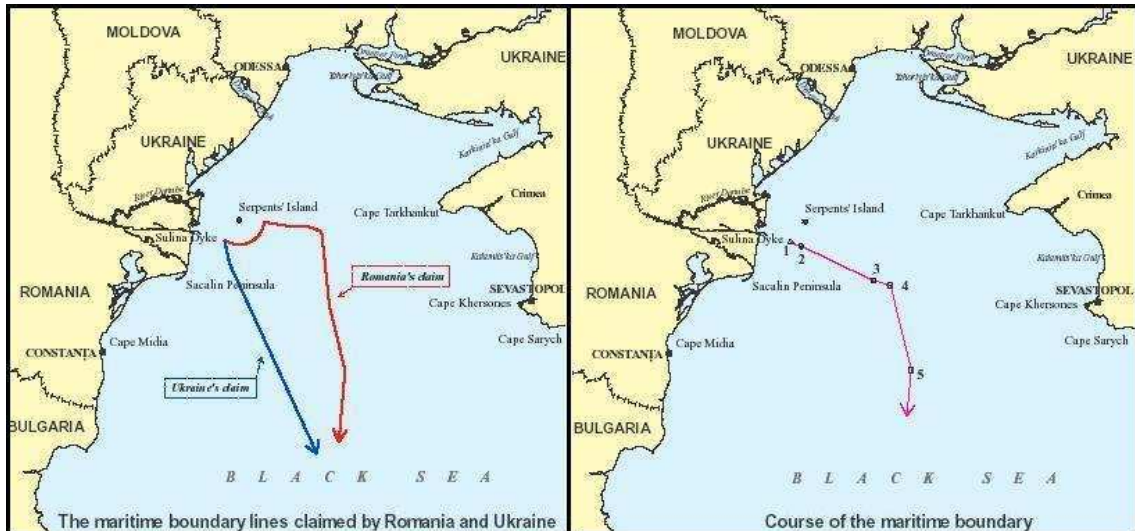
<sup>1449</sup> Dunai, Marton, Balaci Dumitru, Khokhotva Ivan, *and al.* Oil out of Troubled Waters [online]. *Transitions Online*, 31 July 2003. Prague: Transitions Online, 2003. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.tol.cz/look/TOL/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=4&NrIssue=48&NrSection=2&NrArticle=10317&search=search&SearchKeywords=Oil+out+of+Troubled+Waters&SearchMode=on&SearchLevel=0>>.

<sup>1450</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Yuschenko: UN International Court Of Justice's Decision On Delimitation Of Black Sea Shelf Between Ukraine And Romania Just [online]. *Ukrainian News*. Kyiv: Ukrainian News Agency, 2009i. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukranews.com/eng/article/178853.html>>.

<sup>1451</sup> Păduraru, Anca. Border dispute: A Long Shelf Life [online]. *International Relations And Security Network*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies - Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich, 2009. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?lng=en&id=97101>>.

## From Isolation to Interdependence

great success of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania."<sup>1452</sup> The Ukrainian Foreign Minister considers that the case has been judged in an objective way and the Ukrainian President said that the decision put an end to the dispute between the countries.<sup>1453</sup>



**Figure 22: Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea.**<sup>1454</sup>

### IV.4.4.2 The Bilateral Relations

During the beginning of nineties, the Romania-Ukraine relation was tense due to divergent initial positions and a set of negotiation leading to any result. Also during the Moldovan ethnic violence (1992-1997), Romania was supporting the new RM when Ukraine linked with Russia was on Russian separatist side (Pridnestrovie).

<sup>1452</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă. Declarația de presă a Președintelui României, Traian Basescu, la Liceul Românesc "Nicolae Bălcescu" din Gyula* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2009a. [cited 23 March 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10636\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10636_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1453</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Yuschenko: UN International Court Of Justice's Decision On Delimitation Of Black Sea Shelf Between Ukraine And Romania Just [online]. *Ukrainian News*. Kyiv: Ukrainian News Agency, 2009i. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukranews.com/eng/article/178853.html>>.

<sup>1454</sup> Adapted from: \_\_\_\_\_. *Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea (Romania v. Ukraine)*. The Court establishes the single maritime boundary delimiting the continental shelf and exclusive economic zones of Romania and Ukraine [online]. (Unofficial). The Hague, Netherlands: International Court of Justice, 2009i. [cited 10 Apr. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/132/14985.pdf>>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The relation between the two countries can be divided in different phases:

- 1992-1995: divergent initial positions with negotiations not leading to any result;
- 1995-1997: a tendency to compromise;
- 1997-2003: signature of several treaties and bilateral visits;
- 2003-2005: divisions on the issues of the delimitation of the continental shelf and Bastroe channel;
- 2005-2008: new peak of cooperation, based on the energy project and Black Sea cooperation.<sup>1455</sup>

During the period from the Ukrainian independence (1992) to the end of Ion Iliescu presidency (1995), the relation between the two countries led to any result.

The Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk had successfully attempted to achieve and strengthen formal sovereignty of the country and develop its relations with the West with enormous pressure from Russia. The necessity for the new government to have a nationalist discourse "to prove the existence of distinct national cultures and to promote their development by taking up the slogan of National rebirth"<sup>1456</sup> with the increase of political and social instability (1993-94) began to be perceived by neighbors as a threat to their own security. At the same time, the relation of Ukraine between 1991 and 1993 was characterized by mutual interest especially concerning the integrity of the borders in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's dissolution.<sup>1457</sup>

At the same period, the Ion Iliescu's foreign policy was hesitated between East, mainly toward Russia and West. The pro-

---

<sup>1455</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. *Patterns of co-operation and conflict: the relations between Romania and Ukraine, 1992-2006* [online]. Paper presented at the Beyond the borders. Ukraine and European Neighborhood Policy on 7-9 June 2006. Rzeszow and Krakow, Poland: University of Information Technology and Management and Tischner European University. p. 15. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. PowerPoint Presentation. Available from: <[http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra\\_ivan.ppt](http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra_ivan.ppt)>.

<sup>1456</sup> Goujon, Alexandra. Les nouveaux voisins de l'Union européenne. Stratégies identitaires et politiques en Ukraine, Biélorussie et Moldavie [online]. *Les Etudes du CERI*, 2004, 2004, no. 109. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude109.pdf>>.

<sup>1457</sup> Pavliuk, Oleksandr. Ukraine and Regional Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe [online]. *Security Dialogue*, 1997, 1997, vol. 28, no. 3. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://sdi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/28/3/347>>. p. 348-349.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

nationalist parties present in the Stolojan and Vacaroiu governments did not help the process of rapprochement. The unilateral renunciation of the 1961 Soviet-Romanian border treaty, the denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and the non-acceptation of the consequences of it, the strong rapprochement with Moldova and the possible reunification declaration have cooled relations with the Ukrainians. When Romanian president turns to Western countries with a pro-western foreign policy, the new Ukrainian president, Leonid Danylovych Kuchma turned to Russia as a new ally, saying that Ukraine needed a 'multivector' foreign policy to balance eastern and western interests. However, in the course of 1994-95, the Ukrainian foreign policy made a radical shift to the West.<sup>1458</sup>

Under the new presidency of Emil Constantinescu, from the end of 1995, and pressed by NATO accession process, the negotiations intensified and Romania arranged to sign a treaty with Ukraine, in 1997, putting intelligently the difficult questions to be resolved later in a separate document. Ukraine emphasis on its relations with western neighbors – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland Romania and Slovakia – “to be portrayed as a Central Eastern European nation within the larger European continent”.<sup>1459</sup> The two countries, “the Russian Federation and Romania were the final two neighbours who signed inter-state treaties with Ukraine”.<sup>1460</sup>

In 2000, “[t]he result of [...] presidential election in Romania have significant consequences for the future of the country”<sup>1461</sup>, and make the Corneliu Vadim Tudor’s party – the nationalist Greater Romania Party (PRM) more visible and influencing the society. “Nationalist has the potential to revive the traditionalist conflicts in the region”.<sup>1462</sup> In addition, the Western European neighbors were seems as the “ticket to the West”.<sup>1463</sup> However, the Ukrainian economy remains oriented towards Russia, especially for energy supply. Due to the different questions - the Bastroe Canal and the Snake Island –, in 2004 the relation between the two country became

---

<sup>1458</sup> Ibid. p. 353.

<sup>1459</sup> Moroney, Jennifer D. P. , Kuzio Taras and Molchanov Mikhail A. . *Ukrainian foreign and security policy: theoretical and comparative perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002. p. 77.

<sup>1460</sup>  
<sup>1461</sup> Güneş-Ayata, Ayşe , Ergün Ayça and Çelimli Işıl *Black Sea politics: political culture and civil society in an unstable region*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005. (International Library of Political Studies). p. 63.

<sup>1462</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1463</sup> Moroney, Jennifer D. P. , Kuzio Taras and Molchanov Mikhail A. . *Ukrainian foreign and security policy: theoretical and comparative perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002. p. 77.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

very tense; Ukraine arguing that Romania was responsible for International agitation against Ukrainian project and International Community was protected Romania's Interest.<sup>1464</sup> In the same time, Ukraine accused Romania of polluting the Tisa River.<sup>1465</sup> Romanian people declare that the "The Danube Delta has become 'war zone' ".<sup>1466</sup> In addition, the Snake Island are a high economical as geopolitical issue for Romania. But, the

[r]egional cooperation has been viewed as a way to enhance stability, to facilitate solutions to common problems encountered in the process of state and nation building in some and in the transition to democracy and market economy in others, to strenghten the position of Central and Eastern Europe vis-à-vis Russia, and to promote integration into Western institutions.<sup>1467</sup>

Concient to smooth down the relations, in 2005, Pavlo Ihnatenko, the Ukrainian Minister of Environmental Protection signed a bipartite inter-governmental Agreement on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection with Bucharest.<sup>1468</sup>

### **IV.4.4.3 The Impact of Foreign Policy Orientation**

We will show the importance of foreign policy orientation and its impact on the international relations. In the context of Romanian-Ukrainian relations, we have a good example of this impact. As one can see in the following border (table 4), the foreign policy orientation of the two countries will affect the bilateral relations.

---

<sup>1464</sup> Damian, George. "War to Romania!" [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3141. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=159508&data=2004-10-09>>.

<sup>1465</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ukraine accuses Romania of polluting the Tisa [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3112. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004g. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=156653&data=2004-09-06>>.

<sup>1466</sup> Cotoi, Calin. The Danube - orientation of Romania, a key position undermined by Ukraine Ibid., Vol. 3083. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=153975&data=2004-08-03>>.

<sup>1467</sup> Moroney, Jennifer D. P. , Kuzio Taras and Molchanov Mikhail A. . *Ukrainian foreign and security policy: theoretical and comparative perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002.

<sup>1468</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ukrainian Minister of Environmental Protection Pavlo Ihnatenko and Romanian Minister of Environment and Water Resources Sulfina Barbu sign joint Protocol [online]. *Ukrainian Radio*, 25 May 2005. Kiev: The National Radio Company of Ukraine, 2005f. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nrcu.gov.ua/index.php?id=148&listid=14590>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

<b>Period</b>	<b>Romania's Foreign Policy</b>	<b>Ukraine's Foreign Policy</b>	<b>Bilateral relations</b>
1991-1992	Ion Iliescu has hesitation between East and West. Looks more pro-East, near Russia.	Leonid Kravchuk is Pro-Westerner	Beginning of diplomatic relations and negotiations on the Treaty.
1992-1994	Ion Iliescu, undecided then becomes lightly pro-Westerner .	Leonid Kravchuk is pro-Westerner	Pridnestrovian issue and beginning of cooperation in multilateral framework (BSEC).
1994-1995	Ion Iliescu is rather pro-Westerner	Leonid Kutchma is Eurasianist.	Good relation especially in the context of NATO accession
1995-1999	Emil Constantinescu is markedly pro-Westerner	Leonid Kutchma is pro-Westerner	In 1997 sign of the Basic Treaty with Romania and 1998 with EU. First bilateral Presidential level visits. Problem with the Snake Island
1999-2000	Emil Constantinescu is pro-Westerner	Leonid Kutchma is Eurasianist.	Tension between countries
2000-2004	Ion Iliescu is pro-Westerner	Leonid Kutchma forced by the Russians to come on their side. Also, pro-western for EU accession.	In 2003 sign of the Treaty on State frontiers. In 2004, conflict about the construction of the Bastroe channel and Romanian case to the ICJ on the delimitation of the continental shelf.
2004-2009	Traian Basescu is pro-Westerner and pro-American.	Viktor Yushchenko is pro-Westerner	Tension on Bastroe issues and ICJ, Creation of Joint Presidential Commission and high-level visits. Cooperation on Energy project and Black Sea.

**Table 4: The Impact of Foreign Policy Orientation Between Romania and Ukraine.<sup>1469</sup>**

<sup>1469</sup> Largely adapted from Ivan, Ruxandra. *Patterns of co-operation and conflict: the relations between Romania and Ukraine, 1992-2006* [online]. Paper presented at the Beyond the borders. Ukraine and European Neighborhood Policy on 7-9 June 2006. Rzeszow and Krakow, Poland: University of Information Technology and Management and Tischner European University. p. 15. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. PowerPoint Presentation. Available from: <[http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra\\_ivan.ppt](http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra_ivan.ppt)>.

**IV.4.4.4 External Factors**

As the countries are involved in international relations, the international situation has an important impact on the foreign policy and on the relation among states. The Romanian-Ukrainian case is a good example of this impact (table 5).

In fact, the territorial claims are not an option in the contemporary situation between the two countries. Finally, the problem of Romanian-Ukrainian border can be view in terms of economic, military and geopolitical interests with the question of hydrocarbons resources in the Black Sea. This strategic interest eminently justified the use of old quarrels topics as 'historical ownership' of a particular area, or the rights of minority living abroad, relayed by thundering declaration from both sides. The relation between the two countries was shaped by the international agenda and by the pressure of international community and Westerners organizations. With the accession of Romania in the European Union, and the Romania's policy support to Diasporas especially towards the East side, how will react the Romanian minority? The Ukrainian government will count on the support of European neighbors within Romania in its efforts to access to NATO and integrate the European Union.

In fact, the territorial claims are not an option in the contemporary situation between the two countries. Finally, the problem of Romanian-Ukrainian border can be view in terms of economic, military and geopolitical interests with the question of hydrocarbons resources in the Black Sea. This strategic interest eminently justified the use of old quarrels topics as 'historical ownership' of a particular area, or the rights of minority living abroad, relayed by thundering declaration from both sides. The relation between the two countries was shaped by the international agenda and by the pressure of international community and Westerners organizations. With the accession of Romania in the European Union, and the Romania's policy support to diasporas especially towards the East side, one can ask the question on how will react the Romanian minority toward the Western dream. The Ukrainian government will count on the support of European neighbors within Romania in its efforts to access to NATO and integrate the European Union to balance the Russian influences over the country.

## From Isolation to Interdependence

Period	Romania's International Relations	Ukraine's International Relations	Russia's International Relations	Bilateral relations
1991-1995	Uncertainty in Romania's Foreign Policy orientation	Lack of confidence and interest.	Internal weakness leads Russia to seek cooperation with the West. Search for a new sphere of influence since early 1994	Divergent initial positions. Beginning of negotiations on the Treaty, with no compromise.
1995-1997	Perspective of integration in NATO and the EU	Change in position and acknowledged need for the democratization of Ukraine.	Harder line on former satellites and seeks equality with the Western bloc as a 'great power'.	Tendency to compromise and smooth negotiations.
1997-2003	NATO accession and preparation of EU integration.	Western countries are increasing cooperation with Ukraine.	Increasing assertiveness in foreign policy; Seeks good relations with Ukraine. After 9/11, softens position on USA, but not on the 'near abroad'.	Signature of Treaties and bilateral visits.
2003-2005	Romania continues to prepare for EU integration; Threatened relation with USA.	Focused on the democratization process of Ukraine.	Russia enhances Ukrainian dependence on energy.	Tension due to the Bastroe Channel and the Snake Island case.
2005-2007	American military base in Romania	Focused on NATO and European Integration.	Assertiveness in foreign policy; Hardening position towards Ukraine.	Tension on Bastroe Channel project and on the continental shelf.
2007-now	Romania is a EU member.	Focused on NATO and European Integration.	Russia unfavorable to the Ukrainian NATO accession.	Joint energy project and joint presidential Commission.

**Table 5: The Impact of External Factors for Romania and Ukraine.**<sup>1470</sup>

<sup>1470</sup> Largely adapted from Ibid. Paper presented at.

#### **IV.4.5 Yugoslavia**

The relation between the two countries was built long time before, during the inter-period wars and during the communist period by a common fear of Russian domination towards the national independence, and on a common faith with Orthodox Church relations. The two countries had very good relations during the communist period in trade<sup>1471</sup> and military program cooperation. After, the 89' Revolution, the Romanian President Ion Iliescu paid a visit in 1990 to his counterpart in Yugoslavia, Borislav Yovich, for talks focused on bilateral relations and international developments, including the crisis in the Persian Gulf. By its attitude toward Russia and Serbia in the beginning of nineties, Romania took the risk to be associated as a Balkan state and constituted a threat for the country, as we will explain hereafter in the third part.

The war started in the beginning of nineties at the door of Romania on the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) from 1991 and 2001 and was the consequences of the breakup of the federal system and the independence of Slovenia, (June 25, 1991), Croatia (June 25, 1991), Bosnia and Herzegovina (March 1st, 1992), Macedonia (September 8, 1991) and Kosovo (February 17, 2008). The new situation in Yugoslavia at the door of Romania has some impact on the country. Romania treated the question with pragmatism as for the Soviet Union break-up. However, the new situation has been seen as a threat for Romania's security in the context of the Balkan Sub-regional security system.

Bucharest saw a threat for few reasons:

- The Yugoslav different parties accused the Romanian country to be involved with the country secret service (Securitate) and selling arms;<sup>1472</sup>
- The fear of the use of Romanian territory as a sanctuary and supply base for the belligerent;<sup>1473</sup>
- The potential questioning of borders states integrity as established by the Paris Peace Conference (1920) and

---

<sup>1471</sup> Stankovic, Slobodan. *Yugoslav-Romanian Frontier of Friendship* [online]. Budapest: Open Society Archives. 23 July 1984, 1984. (Radio Free Europe Research). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/53-6-32.shtml>>. RAD Background Report/129.

<sup>1472</sup> Nelson, Daniel N. Insecurity after Communism and the Romanian Case. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 1992, vol. 3, no. 1. p. 65.

<sup>1473</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

post-war European security order founded on the Helsinki Final Act (1975);<sup>1474</sup>

- The escalation of the conflict with neighbors' countries inclusive Romania, and the potential mass of refugees. Already Bucharest reinforced its borders;<sup>1475</sup>
- Implication of the interethnic relations with Romania's minorities questions, especially with the Magyars.

Bucharest "envisaged the management of its insecurity by upholding its application for membership in Western security structures (NATO, WEU) rather than by institutionalizing Balkan cooperation".<sup>1476</sup>

However, in the nineties, NATO and Yugoslavia were adversaries and create a dilemma for Bucharest on the best way to show solidarity "with the Atlantic Alliance without impairing its bilateral relations with Belgrade".<sup>1477</sup> The Romanian image was grazed by the situation vis-à-vis Yugoslavia. From May 1991 to February 1992, the period when true open warfare began, officially Romania applied the embargo<sup>1478</sup> towards Serbia, but the porous boarder let allowed supplies for the Serbian population and the country to pass with everything needed such as food, gas... The Romania population supported the Yugoslavian one. The population of the area does not hesitate to express its indignation for what happens to the Serbian neighbors. They do not forget that thanks to them they had been able 'to soften' their living conditions during the long years of dictatorship... 'They have been our neighbors for centuries' says an old woman... a Serb old man quotes Churchill for the occasion: 'Friendship cannot be subjected to embargo'.

In the first time, Bucharest stayed neutral in the conflict with no hesitation to provide illegal assistance to Serbia for economic purpose and religious solidarity despite the UN embargo. In a second time

---

<sup>1474</sup> Pascu, Ioan Mircea. Romania and the Yugoslav Conflict [online]. *European Security*, 1994, vol. 3, no. 1. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.informaworld.com/10.1080/09662839408407157>>. p. 156.

<sup>1475</sup> Nelson, Daniel N. Insecurity after Communism and the Romanian Case. *Mediterranean Quartely*, 1992, vol. 3, no. 1. p. 65.

<sup>1476</sup> Tzifakis, Nikolaos. The Yugoslav Wars' Implications on Romanian Security [online]. *Southeast European Politics*, May 2001, 2001, vol. 2, no. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=701901>>.

<sup>1477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1478</sup> A general and complete arms embargo had been voted and put in place under Council resolution 713, on 25 September 1991.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

being criticized, Romania during the Constantinescu presidency shows more support for the Alliance. In 1995, the United Nations decided by the 1022 resolution to suspend the sanction against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On 16 May 1996, it is signed in Belgrade a treaty between the presidents of Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.<sup>1479</sup>

In fact, the

important aspect of the Yugoslav conflict is that it fosters in the Balkans on the formation of a block, which upsets the orthodox legacies of history since can see side by side, Romania, Serbia and Greece formed a kind of triangle steel against the Western powers, their allies and, of course, against any form of Islam. It is no secret that Romania helps Serbia considerably with the discreet support of Russia.<sup>1480</sup>

As said by former president Ion Iliescu, "Romania has only two good neighbors: the Black Sea and Serbia [...] quoting the famous historian of the inter-war period Nicolae Organ, whose sentence took force of proverb."<sup>1481</sup>

### **IV.4.6 The Black Sea**

The Black Sea is a junction of the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Middle East, and has been a zone of interaction - sometimes cordial, sometimes conflicting - among the people and states around its shores. The Black Sea's political incarnations were held since the Greeks and Scythians, Romans, Byzantine Christians, the Ottomans, Russians and the tumult of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. The region was fractured and populated with some weak and troubled states, as nowadays.<sup>1482</sup> In the past, the sea was opened to foreign

---

<sup>1479</sup> Năstase, Adrian. *Dimensiunile politicii externe în tratatele României. Evidență cronologică și clasificare pe domenii. 1990-2005* (Foreign Political Dimension in Romanian Treaties). București: Regia Autonomă Monitorul Oficial, 2005. p. 213.

<sup>1480</sup> Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). p. 119. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1481</sup> Semo, Marc. Guerre au Kosovo. Les pays voisins face au conflit. Le déchirement roumain [online]. (War in Kosovo. Neighbouring countries in the conflict. The Romanian tearing). *Libération*, 27 Mai 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com> Document lbrt000020010907dv5r00ie5>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1482</sup> To see: King, Charles. *The Black Sea: A History* [online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. [cited 20 April 2008]. Available from: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0199241619.001.0001>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

influence and trade, which the seacoasts were part of a genuinely global system of trade. Today, on the international agenda, there is the idea to resurrect the Black Sea as a unified region.

After the end of the Cold War, the Black Sea region has attracted international attention for some negative reasons - the instability after the creation of new states resulting of the dissolution of the Soviet Union with the emergence of inter-state and intra-state conflicts,<sup>1483</sup> as well pollution and degradations of the environment – versus some positive ones – new economic and political opportunities with the emergence of new markets rich in natural resources (oil and gas). In addition, the region gained a new geostrategic position as a transit corridor between Europe and Asia.

More than that, “[s]ituated in the proximity of Heartland, whose control is the object of a very complex political, diplomatic and economic-military game”<sup>1484</sup>, the Black Sea is the key in the new international context of the world power. An extensive literature emphasis on the strategic important of the Black Sea area.

Historically, Romania does not have a sea tradition in its culture and traditions. The sea is also absent from its imagination and myths, as opposed to the mountains.<sup>1485</sup> In fact, the countries did not have the Black Sea region in its neighborhood before the end of nineteenth century. Moreover, in the new geopolitical situation and with the decrease of Russia’s influence, on the so-called ‘Russian Lake’ during the Cold War, the Black Sea became a geostrategic area. In addition, the wave of Eastern and Caucasian countries’ independence brings six states anxious to avoid the Russian Black Sea domination. We have to remember that one of these states, Turkey was a NATO member<sup>1486</sup> increase to three with Bulgaria and Romania alliance’s accession membership in 2004, added to others states, as Georgia and Ukraine thru the sign of the Strategic Partnership Charters. In this configuration the Black Sea becomes a ‘NATO lake’.

---

<sup>1483</sup> Conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh), in Georgia (Abkhazia and South Ossetia), Moldova (Trans-Dniester) and Russia (Chechnya).

<sup>1484</sup> Vlad, Liviu Bogdan, Hurduzeu Gheorghe and Josan Andrei. Geopolitical Reconfigurations in the Black Sea Area at the Beginning of the 21 Century.pdf [online]. *Romanian Review on Political Geography*, 2009, vol. XI, no. 1. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://rrgp.uoradea.ro/art/2009-1/08\\_OK\\_Vlad.pdf](http://rrgp.uoradea.ro/art/2009-1/08_OK_Vlad.pdf)>.

<sup>1485</sup> Rey, Violette. Tristes richesses de l’Europe balkanique (Sad wealth of Balkan Europe). *Historiens et Géographes*, 1994, 1992b, vol. 337.

<sup>1486</sup> The Republic of Turkish is NATO’s member from 1952.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Back in history, the Black Sea was the domain of the Russians and the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, Russia wanted to 'warm water port' to secure an access to the Mediterranean at the expense of Ottoman Empire. The European Great Powers at that time, Great Britain and France, saw Russian ambitions as a threat to the balance of power in the Mediterranean. For Great Britain, it was important to secure access to India thru the Suez Canal. They supported regional power as Romania to balance Russian expansion.

Furthermore, after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991, Romania positioned itself toward the larger Black Sea area or Wider Black Sea. In 1993, Teodor Melescanu specifies that

[t]he population, the community of the Black Sea is more important than the European Community... This community gathers countries with complementary economies. On the one hand, there are Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania, having reached a certain level of development, which import raw materials and exports manufactured goods. On the other hand, the former USSR Republics, large producers of raw materials, which need manufactured goods. [...] Romania's integration in the European structures requires an effort of the EEC but also the development of the Romanian economy, which cannot find its markets and raw materials in the West. Romania's integration in the West also passes through the co-operation with the other countries in the region.<sup>1487</sup>

The country's interest in the Black Sea area as economic and political potentials was reaffirmed after by Ion Iliescu in 1996 at the BSEC summit<sup>1488</sup>. In March 1996, Ion Iliescu paid a tour to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to begin "to stress its potential as a bridge between European markets and the energy-rich Caucasian and Central Asian Republics."<sup>1489</sup> In 1997, at the Pan-European Conference on Transport in Helsinki, Calin Popescu-Tariceanu, the Romania Minister of Industry and Trade declares the importance and the interest for Romania's implication in transportation project of oil from

---

<sup>1487</sup> Naudet, Jean-Baptiste. Un entretien avec M. Teodor Melescanu (An interview with Mr. Teodor Melescanu). *Le Monde*, 16 Jan. 1993. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>1488</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The Address of Romania's President, Mr. Ion Iliescu, at the opening of the Business Forum of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation* [online]. Paper presented at the Business Forum of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation - Opportunities for the Future on April 25 to 28, 1996 Bucharest: Public Information Department of the Government of Romania. [cited 17 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.kappa.ro/guv96/alocii.html>>.

<sup>1489</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania at a Historic Crossroads* [online]. Camberley: The Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2007h. (Central & Eastern European Series). Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/cee/G65-vgb.pdf>>. G65. p. 40.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

Transcaucasian states. He said at that time that “after NATO integration, the most important political and economic aim is to become a bridge in the oil and gas transport from Transcaucasia to Western Europe”.<sup>1490</sup>

During several years, Romania promoted a specific approach to the Black Sea and insisted on the future importance of the area in geo-economic, geostrategy and geopolitic terms for the EU as well as for NATO. However, Romanian officials argued that not only the country’s geopolitical position is important, but also has a great economical capacity in production (nuclear capacity, oil-refining capacity, military industry) and the largest port in the western Black Sea region. Romania’s maritime border toward the Black Sea represents an advantage considering the mobilization and growth in trade between Europe and Asia, “partly as a result of the development of Eastern Asian countries, chiefly China, but also as a result of the emergence of the economies of Russia and the countries of Central Asia”<sup>1491</sup>, with the result of a fast-growing maritime container traffic. The port of Constanta, located at the crossroads of the trade routes linking the developed countries of Western Europe and the emerging markets of Central Europe with the suppliers of raw materials from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Central Asia and Transcaucasia is the largest port in the Black Sea and the main Romanian port. It has also a geostrategic position being located on the route of Pan-European Transport Corridors. The internationalization and globalization of “trade flows between Europe and Asia, including energy products [(gas and oil), which play a key role in exports by CIS countries], raw materials and intermediate products [boosted by major construction programs, manufactured products and assembly parts], as well as high value-added products,”<sup>1492</sup> that can “signals the possibility of a stronger demand on major routes linking the two continents”.<sup>1493</sup> The “highly diversified and in many case sophisticated demand for international transport, with heavy logistical constraints”<sup>1494</sup> will develop interest in such program (Pan-European transport corridors). Likewise, the Romania’s connection with the Danube adding up 1,500 miles (2,415 km) of

---

<sup>1490</sup> Cited in\_\_\_\_. *Romania at a Historic Crossroads* Ibid.

<sup>1491</sup> European Conference of Minister of Transport. *Transport Links Between Europe and Asia* [online]. Paris: OECD Publications Service, 2006. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/europe/ecmt/pubpdf/06Europe-Asia.pdf>>. p. 8.

<sup>1492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1493</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1494</sup> Ibid.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

inland waterways of which 667 miles (1,075 km) are in the country, binding the North Sea with the Black Sea, by the Main-Danube canal, is another advantage for the geo-localization of the country in terms of economy, politics as well as foreign policy reasons. This is an argument to promote the geostrategic position of Romania against the Bulgarian and Turkey geostrategic situation, toward the various European Union projects, such as the European transport policy, the European Energy policy... But the traffic on the Danube fell during the last two decades, which can be explained by different factors, among which the development of other means of exchange reducing the share of transport, the first Yugoslavian war between 1992-1995 when the United Nations imposed an embargo severely reducing the ratio of exchange, and the Yugoslav crisis of Novi Sad in 1999-2000, blocking the local traffic on the Danube. However, the European Union stated, in a white paper entitled '*The European Transport Policy by 2010: The Hour of Choice*', that the transport on the Danube becomes again an old solution for modern transportation problems. Moreover, the idea, a bridge between the East and the West, will remain a constant for the Romanian leaders until nowadays.

Besides, this area is a bridge for human trafficking between the CIS and the EU, a bridge for narcotic and arms trafficking between the Black Sea and conflict areas that reinforce the importance of the Black Sea region. For Romanian Politic, Romania and Bulgaria will become the Eastern border of the European Union and Romania can play an important role for the EU and NATO, because "the European Union and NATO need from Romania the consolidation of the Eastern border of the two structures".<sup>1495</sup>

In 2005, Traian Basescu claims that "Romania is determined to take on an important role alongside the EU, NATO and the Black Sea neighboring countries, in solving the problems in the Black Sea

---

<sup>1495</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Interviu acordat de către Presedintele României, domnul Traian Bănescu, cotidianului Curentul (publicat in numărul din 17 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bănescu, to the newspaper 'Curentull'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

region."<sup>1496</sup> The Black Sea Basin also represents an important source of energy as a road for energy provision from the East to the West. The President emphasizes that it will not be possible to resolve any Black Sea issue thru the exclusion of major regional powers such as Russia, Turkey or even Ukraine. For Traian Basescu, the Russian Federation must be a partner for Romania in the Black Sea region. Romania will promote the idea to create a Euro-Black Sea Region, a project that Romania will support during the Romania's European Union mandate.<sup>1497</sup><sup>1498</sup>

After the Turkish initiative in 1992 to establish regional cooperation, the Organization for the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) - on the black Sea area in order to restore influences and power, Romania actively got involved in all regional initiatives. Later on thru the OSCE chairmanship in 2001, Romania has stated clearly and unequivocally the desire to be a leader in the Black Sea region. Furthermore, Romania started to propose certain initiatives, before to concretize its position in leadership. In this context, the country sees itself as "a dynamic vector of security and prosperity in the Black Sea region"<sup>1499</sup> and tries to develop a leadership toward the Black Sea

[d]ue to its geographic proximity and regional connections, and due to common values shared by Balkan countries, Romania's primary interest in this field concerns the region's democratization, economic development, stabilization and European integration, while increasing its own contribution

---

<sup>1496</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 8 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 8th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1497</sup> Bănescu, Traian. *Intâlnirea anuală a președintelui României, Traian Bănescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București*. [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Bănescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1498</sup> Romania will hold the Presidency of the Council of the European Union from July to December 2019.

<sup>1499</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania. The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a Better Life in a Democratic Safer and More Prosperous Country* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007g. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>. p. 32.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and the assuming a more important and pro-active role as regional security factor.<sup>1500</sup>

Notwithstanding the Romania's advocacy for the Black Sea, the European Union has awakened a late interest in the area only with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. Already in 1993, the Romanian officials emphasize the role of Romania, but also the European Union vis-à-vis the Black Sea. As Teodor Melescanu puts it

[...] there is a certain political interest of former Soviet Union Republics to find different structures, to have an alternative solution to the CIS, which they see as a new edition of the Empire. There are many economic, political and also security reasons to create a regional structure, which is the only hinge-structure between Asia and Europe, in which the countries of the South will be represented. By means of co-operation around the Black Sea, we can ensure certain stability in the area.<sup>1501</sup>

Than only in 2007, the EU started a regional cooperation '*the Black Sea Synergy*' (BSS) in the frame of ENP.<sup>1502</sup>

Nevertheless until recent time, NATO does not seem to have a specific policy for the Wider Black Sea excepted the will to extend NATO's enlargement to the East. Merely, in the framework of the NATO Summit in Istanbul (June 2004), the alliance confirms the importance of the Black Sea for the Euro-Atlantic security, as well as the will to continue the cooperation with the Republic of Moldova in the PfP. As the Wider Black Sea Region becomes a foreign policy presidential's objective within an area of major economical and political interest. "Romania is determined to take on an important role in solving the problems in the Black Sea region,"<sup>1503</sup> says Traian Basescu during a meeting with a delegation of the American Congress in January 2005. After all, Romania found an echo in Washington about its regional

---

<sup>1500</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

<sup>1501</sup> Naudet, Jean-Baptiste. Un entretien avec M. Teodor Melescanu (An interview with Mr. Teodor Melescanu). *Le Monde*, 16 Jan. 1993. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1502</sup> Commission report. *Black Sea Synergy - A New Regional Cooperation Initiative* [online]. (Commission of the European Communities). Brussels: European Communities, 2007. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07\\_160\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07_160_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1503</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 8 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communiqué - January 8th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

vision, "a clear vision"<sup>1504</sup> about the Black Sea cooperation for peace and security. Supported by the United States,<sup>1505</sup> Romania launched in 2006 the '*Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership*',<sup>1506</sup> aiming to organize the area along the strategic and economic fields. For the Romanian president, Romania "can play an important role in the Black Sea region and a strong Romania at the Black Sea means more than security for the EU and NATO."<sup>1507</sup>

He emphasizes that

due to the evolutions of the European Union and NATO eastwards, the Black Sea has become a point of extreme strategic importance, irradiating towards the Middle East, towards the ex-Soviet area and towards Russia and the European Union, with an impact on the NATO states as well.<sup>1508</sup>

For Romania, the Black Sea region within the Balkans is an important hub for the Alliance because this is an area located at the "crossroad of Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East" and a central

---

<sup>1504</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *President and President Băsescu Discuss U.S.-Romanian Partnership - The Oval Office* [online]. (Office of the Press Secretary). Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2005i. [cited 17 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/03/print/20050309-3.html>>.

<sup>1505</sup> To see: Trandafir, Gelu. *Interviu cu ambasadorul SUA, Nicholas Taubman. "Romania e cel mai bun prieten pe care il avem in intreaga lume"* [online]. (Interview with U.S. ambassador, Nicholas Taubman. "Romania is The Best Friend We Have in The World"). *România Liberă*, 27 Decembrie 2006, [cited 23 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romanalibera.ro/a81558/romania-e-cel-mai-bun-prieten-pe-care-il-avem-in-intreaga-lume.html>>

<sup>1506</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Launching Summit of the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership* [online]. Bucharest: Romania Government, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=10778&idlnk=2&cat=4>>.

<sup>1507</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 10 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 10th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1508</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 8 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 8th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893_ro.pdf)>.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

point of "trade, energy and transport links".<sup>1509</sup> If the area makes efforts to promote security, modernization, "reforms and democratic transformation", it remains confronted with cross-border crime, instability and frozen conflict. For the Romanian president "challenges remain and NATO assistance and support is still needed"<sup>1510</sup> with a necessary strong commitment of Russia. For this, "Romania is interested in a solid NATO partnership with Russia",<sup>1511</sup> because in his view it is "a strategic element of the Euro-Atlantic security".<sup>1512</sup>

The President explained in several interviews that this strategic choice is linked with the Black Sea Romanian interest. Romania wants to be the regional leader in the Black Sea region within NATO and for the European Union, instead of Bulgaria and Turkey.<sup>1513</sup> Because for the President both organizations – NATO and the EU - need Romania to consolidate their Eastern border. Romania can be a factor of equilibrium in the area. The President claims that the country's foreign policy can make it a leader exporting democracy using good relationship with the neighbor countries with frozen conflicts, such as Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. For him, at that time (2005), only Great Britain and United States were interested in

---

<sup>1509</sup> Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. NATO review, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART2/EN/index.htm>>.

<sup>1510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1511</sup> Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. *Observatul militar*, 2008c, vol. 13, no. 945. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/11.pdf>>.

<sup>1512</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. Discursul susținut de președintele României, Traian Bănescu, la deschiderea Forumului Transatlantic organizat de "The German Marshall Fund of the United States" (Cercul Militar Național, București, 1 aprilie 2008) [online]. (Speech supported by the Romanian president, Traian Bănescu, at the opening of the Transatlantic Forum organized by "The German Marshall Fund of the United States" (National Military Circle, Bucharest, April 1th, 2008)). (Departamentul comunicării publice,). București: Președintele României, 2008. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9754\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9754_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1513</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Interviu acordat de către Președintele României, domnul Traian Bănescu, cotidianului Curentul (publicat în numărul din 17 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bănescu, to the newspaper 'Curentul'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913_ro.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

the Black Sea region for geopolitical reasons, as well will be later the European Union.<sup>1514</sup>

He added that all the work Romania has done "will strengthen the flank of NATO in the Black Sea, while Romania is very important from a geo-strategy point of view."<sup>1515</sup> As stated by George W. Bush,

Romania's role in this area and in her neighborhood is a vital role, one that I listen very carefully to his advice on, because this area of the world is one where there's emerging democracies, and it's an area of the world that is where there has been historical conflict, and it's an area of the world where we've got to pay attention to it. And so the Romanian role is a vital role.<sup>1516</sup>

The head of the United States is not the only one to give his support to the Romanian view on the Black Sea regional leadership, as American scholars joined him and lobbying groups. A recent article

---

<sup>1514</sup> To see interviews of the President. Bănescu, Traian. *Interviul acordat de către Presedintele României, domnul Traian Bănescu, cotidianului Adevarul* (publicat in numărul de joi, 6 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bănescu, to the newspaper 'Adevarul'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5885\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5885_ro.pdf)>. And Bănescu, Traian. *Interviul acordat de către Presedintele României, domnul Traian Bănescu, cotidianului Curentul* (publicat in numărul din 17 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bănescu, to the newspaper 'Curentull'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5913_ro.pdf)>. And Bănescu, Traian. *Participarea domnului Traian Bănescu, Presedintele României la emisiunea "10 si un sfert" Postul de televiziune Realitatea TV Realizator Stelian Tanase (10 Ianuarie 2005)* [online]. (Participation of Sir Traian Bănescu, President of Romania to the TV Show '10 and half' on the Channel of the Realitatea TV). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1515</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 12 ianuarie 2005* [online]. (Press Communique - January 12th, 2005). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5904\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5904_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1516</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *President Bush Welcomes President Basescu of Romania to the White House* [online]. Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2006e. [cited 17 September 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060727-5.html>>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

published in the DISAM<sup>1517</sup>, Journal of International Security Assistance Management written by a political scientist at the RAND Corporation and a retired USAF military, stated that “[b]ecause of the common concerns and view of the threats in the Black Sea region, it is in the U.S.’s interest to help Romania achieve its goals”.<sup>1518</sup> It is clear, from many different sources, that the United States found a strong ally and got support from Romania as the ‘Trojan Horse’ of the United States for the Black Sea area.

Romania is viewed, by U.S. experts, as “a military force provider and a regional mentor”<sup>1519</sup> for the Black Sea assuring the role of key member and leader in several regional organizations – OSCE, BSEC, SECI, SEDM/SEEBRIG, Stability Pact and Central European Initiative (CEI) – “promoting its economic, political and military agendas”.<sup>1520</sup> For U.S. experts, Romania is the unequivocal and clear future leader in the Black Sea region, with the understanding that Romania does not have, at this moment, the capacity to cover all areas. For them, the U.S. security effort in this region should “facilitate Romania’s role as regional enabling partner”, because Romania “knows what it needs for the U.S.”, while the United States “play a key supporting role in this effort”, i.e. conflict resolution, security sector reform, economic reform, energy security, improving border security and trafficking of persons... that “far surpass the resources of Romania”.<sup>1521</sup>

Romanian leaders acknowledged the fact that not only Romania has leadership ambitions, but some other countries bordering the Black Sea, such as Ukraine, which recently declares its interest in

---

<sup>1517</sup> The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM) provides professional education, research, and support to advance U.S. foreign policy through Security Assistance and Security Cooperation. After nine years the DISAM Return to Romania in 2005 after initially introducing United States Security Assistance Programs to Romania’s Ministry of National Defense in 1996.

<sup>1518</sup> Moroney, Jennifer D.P. and Hogler Joe (Col. U.S.A.F., Retired). Romania's Role in the Black Sea Region [online]. *The DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*, 2006, vol. 28, no. 3. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Journal%20Index/Journals/Journal\\_Index/Vol%2028\\_3/Moroney.pdf](http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Journal%20Index/Journals/Journal_Index/Vol%2028_3/Moroney.pdf)>. p. 27.

<sup>1519</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

<sup>1520</sup> Ibid. p. 31.

<sup>1521</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

ensuring the security of the Black Sea area.<sup>1522</sup> Also for the United States, in their strategic thinking,

no single state or institution can possibly manage the multitude of Black Sea security issues. U.S. government efforts take into account and encourage the efforts of key regional actors, including littoral states and multilateral institutions such as NATO, the EU, and the OSCE.<sup>1523</sup>

However, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Thomas Delare nevertheless recognizes, at the *'Black Sea Area and Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategic Opportunities'* conference that

[a]t the same time, we [U.S.] need to adopt a realistic approach in terms of allocating responsibility for regional efforts. For example, we are currently exploring ways in which Romania might be able to support President Bush's Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) in the Black Sea region.<sup>1524</sup>

If the United States recognized Romania's willingness and effort to become a Black Sea regional leader, U.S. understood that Romania could not achieve it alone. U.S. is ready to help for different reasons, described here before without closing the doors to another potential future leader. At that time, Romania was the only state that gave substantial positive signals toward an indefectible support to the United States, with a significant regional power in economical, political and military field as member of NATO and the European Union.

For Russia, the Black Sea area is an important factor of its come back on the international scene. After being a close area under the unic Soviet domination during the Cold War, after 1991 the foreign policy of Russia appeared incoherent, confused, and ineffective pointing to the constitutional battles in Russia and lack of a national identity<sup>1525</sup> and due to the inability of the Russian

---

<sup>1522</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania: RFE/RL Speaks With Foreign Minister Mihai Razvan [online]. *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, August 27, 2005. Prague, Czech Republic: RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, 2005e. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060980.html>>.

<sup>1523</sup> Delare, Thomas. *Remarks on "The Black Sea Region and Beyond What Role America and NATO?"* [online]. Paper presented at the Black Sea Area and Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategic Opportunities on April 20, 2005. Bucharest. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://www.casanato.org/docs/20apr05\\_std.doc](http://www.casanato.org/docs/20apr05_std.doc)>.

<sup>1524</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at.

<sup>1525</sup> Light, Margot. Post-Soviet Russian foreign policy: the first decade. In Brown, Archie (Ed.), *Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

leadership to provide a coherent policy<sup>1526</sup>. The Russian foreign policy acquires a greater coherence under Vladimir Putin mandate.

After the 9/11 even, the relation between US and Russia became closer for a short period of time. The NATO enlargement toward the East and in particular in the Wider Black Sea irritate the Russian Federation. In this context, the Russian Foreign Policy oriented to the Russia's 'near abroad' and toward the transit of energy in this region. More specifically, Russia seeks to remain as one of the main stakeholders in the region of the Wider Black Sea in balance of the emergence of new strong regional and external actors, as EU and NATO.

### **IV.4.7 Russian Federation**

If Russia comes to liberate, it will be received with great sympathy, but if it comes to rule, it will find many enemies

Liuben Karavelov, 1870<sup>1527</sup>

If the Russian Federation is not a direct neighbor of Romania thru the land, it is thru the Black Sea border. Furthermore, Russia has been an important actor for Romania over the last two centuries alternately enemy or ally. This strong imposed bond with Russia over history generated a constant fear of domination. We explained along this thesis the importance and the relations between Romania and Russia.

After a lack of power in the Black Region in the recent period, Russia regains strong interests. The relation between the two country was alternatively warm and cold. For Russia, the EU and NATO enlargement put an end to the role that Russia had enjoyed with the CEECs during 250 years in northeastern and southeastern Europe. Russia's important relations with Belarus and Ukraine will become, in case of EU membership, a critical issue. The relations between Poland

---

<sup>1526</sup> Legvold, Robert. Russia's Unformed Foreign Policy [online]. *Foreign Affairs*, 2001, 2001, vol. 80, no. 5. [cited Jan. 23, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.jstor.org/stable/20050251](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20050251)>.

<sup>1527</sup> Quoted in the book: Ragsdale, Hugh and Ponomarev Valeriï Nikolaevich. *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series).

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

and Ukraine are already developed at Moscow's expense. Toward the Balkan in recent years, the Russian policy has also evidently diverged with the Western Europeans view concerning the Yugoslavian war as the Kosovo independence. The recent issues in 2008 showed that Russia remains a Black Sea power on which the European Union depends. The Black Sea region becomes strategic for the EU as well as for Russia and the US. Russia has been attempting to maintain its influence in the area and its Black Sea fleet in Crimea. In addition, the recent war in Georgia (2008) led to renewed Cold War rhetoric.

Regarding the Russian Federation, president Basescu said, in 2007, that Romania targets a useful, pragmatic and efficient political dialogue as a partner at the economic and regional levels.<sup>1528</sup> He added that the increase of the relations with Russia is essential from the national security and economic points of view. "Romania probably lost 15 years of relations with Moscow", he states.<sup>1529</sup> He expects to re-open a solid political relationship based on mutual interest, likewise to develop better economic relations too much frozen. In addition, he points out the geostrategic importance of Russia for the Black Sea region. He advised, in several interventions, to avoid isolation from the Russian Federation on issues related to the Black Sea area. For Traian Basescu, Romania's intentions are to continue to be open in its relations with Russia by strengthening business relationships between Bucharest and Moscow; at the same time, he underlines that, in any case, Romania will not be an opponent of the Russian Federation, but a partner in the Black Sea Region.<sup>1530</sup> The

---

<sup>1528</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bănescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005) [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1529</sup> Bănescu, Traian. Interviu acordat de Președintele României, Traian Bănescu, săptămânalului rus 'Moskovskie Novosti' publicat în numărul din 19 februarie 2005 - Interviu realizat de Viaceslav Samoskin [online]. (Interview given by the Romanian President, Sir Traian Bănescu, to the newspaper 'Moskovskie Novosti'). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5967\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5967_ro.pdf)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1530</sup> Bănescu, Traian. *Intâlnirea anuală a președintelui României, Traian Bănescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București*. [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Bănescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

president's sentiment toward Russia was still ambiguous, because on the one hand, the president stated in 2005 that Russia must be viewed as a partner for the regional issues, and on the other hand, with the first severe domestic political problem, he accused Russia to be behind the country political problems. According to an article in 2007 written by Petru Clej, Basescu alleged, "that Russia might have been involved in his suspension", citing his pro-Western foreign policy as a reason!<sup>1531</sup> This remark denotes a strong antagonism of the historical influence in the political leaders' subconscious toward Russia, which is viewed as a protector or as an invader, depending on the period or situation.

---

<sup>1531</sup> Clej, Petru. Romanian politics mired in abuse [online]. BBC News, 15 May 2007 17:19:51 GMT. s.l.: BBC Romanian Service, 2007. [cited 17 Sept. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/europe/6653681.stm>>.

## **IV.5 Partial Conclusion**

For Romania, the way to obtain security on military and economic issues, as democracy and economic opulence was to adapt its foreign policy to the new post-cold war's international environment.

At the beginning in 1990, Romania's leaders considered the European integration and the Euro-Atlantic accession as a common global objective, because it implied the adhesion to the democratic values and principles respected by Western states and organizations. The main objective defined by Romania after 1990 was to access to the European Union, to strengthen national security thru an active role in NATO by strengthening the strategic partnership with the U.S. and participation in the European security and defense, likewise to bring the Black Sea on the map of international politics.

After December 1989, Romania's foreign policy focused on two important objectives that were essential for its future – admittance into NATO and integration in the European Community, which took the name of European Union at the Maastricht Summit in 1992. These two objectives were complementary, implied huge national efforts and took place in difficult conditions, because it designated a transition from a centralized Soviet-style system to a democratic one, based on political pluralism and free economic market.<sup>1532</sup>

The European Union and NATO criteria were the same, i.e. human rights, the democratic process, the freedom of the civil society, stability and security, as the respect of minorities' rights. However, when we speak about the Euro-Atlantic alliance, we need to underline the role of the United States, a strong stakeholder in the NATO institution, and to specify that NATO decision cannot be dissociated from the United States' will. As Theodor Melescanu puts it: "the goal of European and Euro-Atlantic integration means, [...]"

---

<sup>1532</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

our adherence to values, principles and specific institutions of Western democracies."<sup>1533</sup>

The neighborhood relations, as well the minorities issue, were a problem during the end of Ceausescu's regime and made the country be isolated and rejected by the International Community. The principle of good neighborhood had a significant contribution to regional security and is an important criterion for any state aspiring to integrate in the EU and NATO. Romania's foreign policy focused on the development and the strengthening of Romania's bilateral relations with the neighboring countries and on the avoidance of ethnic conflicts. These objectives were necessary and complementary to the EU and NATO accession.

As wrote by Daniel Daianu,

[o]nly in the second half of the 1990s, Romania has been taken seriously by both clubs for various reasons. The fact is that the end of the year 2002 brought two events without the like for Romanians. The first is the admission into NATO. The second is the evocation by the Council of EU ministers meeting in Copenhagen (December 2002) and Thessaloniki in June 2003, the conceivable date of Romania's admission into the EU.<sup>1534</sup>

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the situation changed on both the domestic and foreign policy spheres. Starting from 2000, the economic reforms were implemented by the new government with more success and brought new credibility from the West. "2000-2002 represented a turn of the corner for economic reform"<sup>1535</sup>, while the IMF noted that "the Romanian economy continues to open up" and

---

<sup>1533</sup> Ivan, Ruxandra. *La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultats* (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007. p. 457.

<sup>1534</sup> Dăianu, Daniel. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* (Euro-Atlantic Dynamic, Reflexion and European's Options). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârneli Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Trans. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* by Chollot, Armelle Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. p. 70.. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1535</sup> Watts, Larry L. *Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus*. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 166.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

permit to update the country's rating from B- to B+ and BB-.<sup>1536</sup> The positive restart of the Romanian economy stimulates Foreign Direct Investments from the European Union and especially from the United States, which gives more credit to the country.

In order to ensure the accession into NATO, Romania participates with controversy in the Vilnius group, that creating a crisis with the European Union club. The new international security environment in 2001 and the new linkage between economy and terrorism bring a new American attitude towards the countries of the Vilnius group, of which Romania was a part, and accelerate the processes at work for the Eastern countries' accession in the alliance. The other positive point was the excellent work done by Romanian chairmanship of the OSCE in 2001. During this period, Romanian foreign minister Mircea Geoana, as chairman-in-office, had a very successful mandate regarding the Kosovo and Macedonia cases, as well as the coordination of the Southeast Europe Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities (SEECAP). Along the same lines, Romania was a leading contributor to NATO, the UN and the OSCE operations within the PfP partnership, as well as an active participant in regional cooperation initiatives. The Romanian-American Regional Center for Defense Resource Management was established in 2001. We can notice that Romania comes from far away, because "[t]he reason for exclusion were several, having to do with the pre-1989 actions of Romania's dictator, the impression made by the 1989 revolution, ad post-1989 political development".<sup>1537</sup>

First, the two organizations – NATO and EU – were not necessary ready for an enlargement process regarding the integration of the new free Eastern countries from Soviet domination. In addition, Romania's neighbors have their own domestic difficulties,

---

<sup>1536</sup> To see: U.S. Department of State. 2000 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices - Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2001. [cited 23 June 2008]. Document Portable Format. Available from: <[www.state.gov/documents/organization/1630.pdf](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/1630.pdf)>. and Bell, Gerwin, Cosse Stephane, Wang Tao, and al. *Romania: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund. January 16, 2001, 2001. (Country Report). [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2001/cr0116.pdf>>. Country Report No. 01/16. p. 26.

<sup>1537</sup> Watts, Larry L. Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 160.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

minorities problems as well international foreign policy repositioning, and the same questioning concerning the access to the two here before mention organizations. Romania was between the Eastern past and a Western future, and was not immediately ready to choose without any hesitation.

At the end of 1989, the Alliance's transformation and enlargement processes were a necessary step in order to admit potential new allies from the East side of Europe. The transformation was certainly faster and easier than the European Union one, due to the unique decision maker and commander – the United States –. However, the enlargement process has taken time and was in certain way tackling by the Russian foreign policy concerning the oldest allies in Eastern Europe. The international situation in the Balkan and the Black Sea in the nineties brought difficulties and were not in the favor of Romania integration in the Alliance. In the same time, the unreadiness of Romania concerning internal reforms on democracy, economy, military and service intelligence within the hesitation on foreign policy orientation, especially before 1996, delay Romania integration in the Alliance. Finally, Romania officially becomes member of NATO in April 2004, after 14 years of collaboration with the Alliance, and with the help of the United States of America. Thru the voice of its president Traian Basescu, Romania stated after the end of 2004 that the Romanian foreign policy would also be focused on the 'Bucharest-London-Washington axis'. This declaration was the normal continuity of the Romanian foreign policy adopted after the Cold War.

Romania's security vision is based on a strong convergence with the American one in areas of mutual interest. Romania, a "special" and "strong ally" of the United States and NATO member, gains a strong guarantee for its national security by "the United States, through NATO and through bilateral relations".<sup>1538</sup> Romanian leaders signed several agreements<sup>1539</sup> regarding the United States forces and

---

<sup>1538</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *President and President Basescu Discuss U.S.-Romanian Partnership - The Oval Office* [online]. (Office of the Press Secretary). Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2005i. [cited 17 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/03/print/20050309-3.html>>.

<sup>1539</sup> The first agreement - Agreement Between the United States of America and Romania Regarding the Status of United States Forces in Romania (SOFA) - was signed in Washington on October 30, 2001 by the Prime Minister, Adrian Nastase. The other one - Agreement Between the United States of America and Romania Regarding the Activities of United States Forces Located on the Territory of Romania -, was signed on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2005 in Bucharest by the U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

their activities on the territory of the country, with a U.S. stationing base near the Black Sea.<sup>1540</sup> For Romania, NATO has played “an essential role in strengthening the Euro-Atlantic security after the end of the ‘Cold War’ ”<sup>1541</sup> and we witness considerable dynamics of the relations between the common European and Euro-Atlantic security and defense area. However, “[m]ost of all, NATO’s transformation has been marked by ever-deepening engagement with its former enemies to the East.”<sup>1542</sup>

One can read in ‘*The National Security Strategy of Romania*’ (SSNR) published in 2007, that for Romania “the security of the Euro-Atlantic community is indivisible and the trans-Atlantic relationship is its basis”<sup>1543</sup> and that “[t]he security guarantees that we [Romania] enjoy today – an expression of the Euro-Atlantic solidarity – are the most solid in Romania’s history.”<sup>1544</sup>

In the same way at the ‘dawn of a new age’, the European Community was in construction and design process, absolutely not reading for an overall new partners’ enlargement within undefined rules and process of integration. The delay of Romania integration in the European Union was due to the Romanian lack to apply rapidly the country transformation in order to meet the different European chapters’ requirement, but also certainly due by an absence of common border with the European Union states. We can underline, as explain Schimmelfennig, that the “border states have a strong interest in enlargement”<sup>1545</sup> and in general enlargement is not only on economical or political power. According to Andrew Moravcsik, the states have a mean of “geopolitical interest”<sup>1546</sup> because “geographical proximity creates opportunities for economic gains from trade and

---

<sup>1540</sup> The military Air Base of Mihail Kogalniceanu, in Constanta County.

<sup>1541</sup> Krupnick, Charles. *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. 20.

<sup>1542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1543</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania. The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a Better Life in a Democratic Safer and More Prosperous Country* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007g. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>. p. 26-27.

<sup>1544</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>1545</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 50.

<sup>1546</sup> Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy). p. 26-29.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

investment".<sup>1547</sup> We noticed that "[m]ember states close to Central and Eastern Europe therefore stand to gain more from economic exchange with the East than more distant states".<sup>1548</sup> Romania was not in the geopolitical interest of the EU, but also the hesitant foreign policy orientation in the beginning of the nineties did not help acceleration of Romania's integration in the EU, in spite of the strong francophone support and the historical link with France.

The Western world represented by the United State and more especially by the near shore Countries of the European Union, provided a model for modernization of the economy and politic for the former communist states after the 'Iron Curtain' fall. As Irina Angelescu, teacher at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva says: "The 'EU incentive' proved to be a major tool for enhancing the rhythm of reform in the CEECs, Romania included."<sup>1549</sup> The year 2003 was a turning point in the European Union; it was the signing of the Accession's Athens Treaty of the 10 new members from CEECs.

After the 'Iron Curtain' fall, Romania has any Western neighbors and was surrounded by post-communist neighbors on the borderland like on the border Sea, if we consider the small length of the Black Sea. In addition, Romania was at the door of instable area concerning the Balkan and in the new CIS. In 1989, Romania was isolated and had conflictual relations with others Eastern countries directly or indirectly due to minorities treatment, territorial or historic claims, ... The treatment of ethnic minorities was a sources of friction between Romania and the other Eastern countries during the late eighties. For example, this situation conduced to an open diplomatic conflict with Hungary concerning the Magyars minorities in Romania. As well tense relations were existing between the Romanian leaders and Bulgaria, likewise the Soviet Union and its Perestoiaka program. On the other hand, we saw that after the 89' revolution these questions – minorities, territorial claims, and borders – were not correctly handled by Romania, which had tense relations with all its neighbors.

---

<sup>1547</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>. p. 50.

<sup>1548</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1549</sup> Angelescu, Irina. Romania and the European Union. A Missed Opportunity for Modernization? Paper presented at the 7th Annual Conference of UACES Student Forum on 20-21 April 2006. Oxford, UK: University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). [cited 11 April 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu\\_I.pdf](http://www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu_I.pdf)>.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

At the same time, the region was agitated by extremist ideas where each country wanted to restore the glorious past: the Greater Romania, The Greater Hungary, the Greater Serbia ...

For these organizations, NATO and European Union, the recognition of the state frontiers determined after the Second World War, the right of minorities in the state land – also an important element of the U.S. foreign policy –, the resolution of differences through peaceful manner as well as the good neighborliness were important points in the accession process to be resolved before any integration's acceptance. Romania managed the relation with neighbors with up and down situation in the shadow of historic relations. The neighborliness building relations were like a kaleidoscope before to be stabilized under the strong requirement of the western organizations.

Romania signed a Basic Treaty with Bulgaria in 1992 a South and Orthodox neighbor. With Bulgaria, the neighborhood was quite and simple, both countries sharing the same goals and values – European and NATO integration, members of the Francophone Organisation, members of the same regional organisation... –. Elsewhere, Romania used this proximity to leverage the Romanian integration in the Alliance as well in the European Union. The only threat between the two countries could be an exacerbated competition toward regional domination.

On September 14, 1996, Treaty with Hungary had significantly 'legitimized' Romania's efforts to establish good neighbor relations from the West's point of view. We can underline that until the signing of the treaty, some saw Romania as stalling in the negotiations with Hungary because of the (misplaced) belief that the absence of a treaty would exclude Hungary from NATO membership and 'level the playing field' with Romania. However, when in March 1996 Hungary-Slovak Treaty was finally ratified by Slovakia, many Westerners perceived Hungary as making a sincere effort at achieving good neighbor relations. As Hungary's membership in NATO became increasingly plausible, Romania became more willing to support a treaty. Romania developed enough good collaboration with Hungary, through the joint Romania-Hungarian military unit and by the "good prospect of closer links between Romania and Poland and the Czech Republic".<sup>1550</sup>

---

<sup>1550</sup> Severin, Adrian. Romania: A Factor of Equilibrium and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1997, 1997b, vol. III, no. 2.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

As Romania develops good neighbourhood with the West part of Europe, Romania's negotiation of basic treaties on east side with the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Russia remain stalled.

The Republic of Moldova has a common history and culture with Romania. However, because the large part of the Moldova's territory was Romanian before the Second War World, the collaboration between the both countries can represent an opportunity as well a threat. The treaty with The Republic of Moldova was very important because some Romanians would like Moldova reincorporated with Romania. While this is not the position of the Romanian Government, but a number of issues remain outstanding with Moldova. First, Moldovan resist Romania's desire to call the treaty 'fraternal cooperation'. Second, Romania insisted that the treaty language should be in Romanian (not in Moldovan). Finally, issues remain over the question of dual citizenship. The question with the Republic of Moldova is not finish and stumble on the Romanian dream of the Greater Romania and the democratic, respectful and peaceful concern for a European country.

Romania tries to develop good neighborhood with Ukraine because "an independent, sovereign and democratic Ukraine" will be better for Romania. Romania wanted Ukraine to acknowledge that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty was immoral and Ukraine wanted Romanian condemnation of Hitler and Antonescu. While acknowledging that Serpents Island in the Black Sea, which had been part of Romania until taken over by the USSR in 1948-is now part of Ukraine, Romania wanted an agreement for joint exploitation of the Delfin zone's oil and natural gas. In fact, the different between Romania and Ukraine (Bastroe Canal, Serpents Island) was brought to the International community and International Court of Justice, where the different was resolved in a tense and peaceful manner. For this goal, Romanians understood that acting alone would be difficult considering the Romanian-Ukrainian conflictual relation and for that reason they proposed to associate Poland in a Romanian-Polono-Ukrainian cooperation. But, considering that in the past, a part of the Romanian territory was under Poland 'domination'<sup>1551</sup>, when at the same time the Lithuano-Polono Kingdom was extended until the Black Sea, and covered large part of the Ukrainian territory; this idea can represent a threat for Ukrainian government as can be an opportunity for Ukrainian to come near Europe by using this association as an integration trigger.

---

<sup>1551</sup> For this point to see: Bărbulescu, Mihai, Deletant Dennis, Hitchins Keith, and al. *Istoria României* (Romanian History). București: Editura Corint, 2007.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

With Eastern neighbors, any Romanian argument can be viewed as an opportunity for stability or as a threat of potential conflicts and instability depending of the geopolitical approach. As told Melescanu, in this strategy, "the relations with Central European countries are a top priority for the Romanian foreign policy"<sup>1552</sup> thru the signing of good neighborly relations and trade treaties. Romania understood that the relation with other East European countries was a key of the European integration not only by the good relations and good trade but also by the political influences on Western European Union states. For Romania, it was an important point to become a member of the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA) as soon as possible, because it reinforced the idea that Romania is an Eastern European country and increase its economic strength.

A 20-Year Friendship Treaty with Serbia was acknowledged in May 1996, an other South and Orthodox neighbor. The relation between the two countries was built on long partnership over the history with very good relations. Because of its attitude toward Russia and Serbia in the beginning of nineties, Romania took the risk to be associated as a Balkan state and constituted a threat for the country. Also, the political and military situation in its neighbor territory brought threats to Romania's national security in the nineties and after, obliging the country political leaders to take distance with it neighbor, despite the strong disappointment and wishes of the majority of the Romanian population. Nevertheless, the both countries relations warmed up and Romania supported the Serbian territorial integrity by rejecting the Kosovo declaration independence considering part of Serbia.

We demonstrated the importance of the neighborliness relation and the significant incidence on the process of Romania's accession and integration in the western organizations, as its increased importance in the Romania's foreign policy concerning the country's international relations objectives. We saw the Romania's dependence vis-à-vis neighbors' foreign policy as the interdependence in Romania's foreign policy with some states as Bulgaria, Ukraine and the republic of Moldova. We saw also the ability of Romanian political leaders to deal with the neighbors' relations in the best interest of the country, to have an important implication in the Balkan crisis resolution and to develop with their skills a leadership towards the Black Sea, as well the Balkan.

---

<sup>1552</sup> Meleşcanu, Teodor. The Accession to the European Union: The Fundamental Option of Romania's Foreign Policy. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, vol. II, no. 4. p. 27.



## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

As Alina Georgescu argued in her paper, Romania's foreign policy changed from isolation to dependence from 1989 to 1994<sup>1553</sup>, but in fact we can say that the dependence was anchored until the period of 1996-1997 together with Emil Constantinescu's election, as we explained in the '*Change into Continuity – A Necessary Rupture*' chapter of this thesis. Started as we demonstrated, here before, the type of Romanian foreign policy in 1989, according to Holsti, was 'isolation'. "As an isolationist, it put into place 'comprehensive exclusionist policies' such as that of quickly paying back its foreign debt. It avoided military commitments inside the Warsaw Pact by decisions to cut its number of troops and to reduce its military expenditure",<sup>1554</sup> as we explain in the '*Context*' chapter of this thesis.

However, what did Holsti understand by dependence? For him, a dependent foreign policy is a high level of "externally directed actions and transactions" that are "characterized by high concentration towards another state or group of states".<sup>1555</sup> We demonstrated here before that the Romanian foreign policy changed to dependence toward international organizations, the European Union, NATO and Western democratic states such as United States and France, in different fields such as the political, security, social and cultural ones. The Romanian leaders' decision to move for integration within NATO and the EU influenced on the Romanian foreign policy, and by the same say on the domestic policy, as we saw in the '*Change into Continuity*' part, through various examples. In fact, the Romanian foreign policy goals drove the domestic policy orientation, just like the domestic issues or problems impacted on Romania's international relations.

In the '*Change into Continuity*' part, we explained that Romania becomes dependent from the foreign policy orientation, in order to break away from isolation. This decision influenced the obligation to respect the international laws or rules – i.e. human rights, minorities' protection ... – accepted and signed by former and current Romanian leaders. The will to shape a new image of the country obliged the country's leaders to give a sign of change and acceptance of new

---

<sup>1553</sup>Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics – Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>.

<sup>1554</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at. p. 3.

<sup>1555</sup> Holsti, Kalevi Jaakko. *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. p. 4.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

rules toward democracy and free-market orientation. As we saw during the beginning of the new democracy, Romania was hardly dependent from the country's image, because the Mineriad's incident, mentioned in the *'Change into Continuity – A Controversial Period'* chapter, induced the reaction of boycott from the Western democracy – EU states and United States. So, each good or bad domestic policy action have a repercussion on Romania's international relations by opening or closing the foreign aid and bringing the country forward or backward on its way towards the integration in larger organizations such as the EU and NATO, and towards collaboration with Western democratic states. The will to integrate into NATO and the EU forced Romania to adhere and implement the framework, rules and conditions of these organizations. We witnessed the reshaping of Romania's domestic policy and behavior, as imposed by the NATO and EU process integration in the economic, political and military fields.

We saw that the accession process into the EU and NATO and the conditions of neighborliness created dependence for Romania. Romania moved from a foreign policy of isolation to a foreign policy of dependence; dependence because Romania has to adapt the domestic policy and the domestic law, organizations, ... to the EU and NATO standards, to create new institutions and reorganize existing ones to meet the EU and NATO criteriom.

Dependence is also considered from the point of view of neighboring relations and the resolution of borders conflicts and minorities issues, because Romania's geographical position was between Hungary and Bulgaria, isolated from the European Union states borders. In addition, because the will of Western neighbors was to help or restrain Romania's integration process into NATO, the EU and regional organizations. Moreover, there was a dependence vis-à-vis the European States, in order to get support for the NATO and EU accession, due to Romania geographical isolation. As explained before, the Romania, territory did not have any common borders with the EU before 2004. Many factors in the international spheres 'helped' Romania to be 'in' versus to be 'out'. The country's ability to adapt to the situation and to take advantage of opportunities was an undeniable trump. For accession, the candidate country, here – Romania -, had to shape the domestic legislation and policies, but also the institutions, as well the internal market to fulfill the EU and NATO norms and values. The accession process to the EU and NATO imposed the political and economic domestic reforms in Romania.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

The accession process needs two partners: the Organization involved and the country itself. If CEECs such as Romania had the will to be integrated in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union, the two organizations were not necessarily ready at the dawn of this new era. The process of integration took time as we saw considering the adaptation of these organizations and the candidates' readiness to fulfill the accession criteria. The situation created sometimes misunderstanding between these organizations and the candidate countries, as well Romania. The accession process created dependence between the candidate countries and the organization members. Nevertheless, more than dependence, we demonstrated that it was interdependence. However, why and how?

"We live in an era of interdependence"<sup>1556</sup>, wrote Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in '*Power and Interdependence*', which is reminiscent of Henri Kissinger's statement, in 1975, foreseeing the change in

[t]he traditional agenda of international affairs – the balance among major powers, the security of nations – no longer defines our perils or our possibilities ... Now we are entering a new era. Old international patterns are crumbling; old slogans are unconstructive; old solutions are unavailing. The world has become interdependent in economics, in communications, in human aspirations.<sup>1557</sup>

As Frank Schimmelfennig states it, the "international interdependence increases with geographical proximity"<sup>1558</sup> and the more CEECs, such as Romania, approach the NATO and EU integration, more the interdependence relations increased. "In common parlance, dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces",<sup>1559</sup> as we saw during Romania's transformation from the revolution to the democratic implementation. However, "[i]nterdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or

---

<sup>1556</sup> Keohane, Robert Owen and Nye Joseph S. *Power and Interdependence*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1989].

<sup>1557</sup> Kissinger, Henri A. A New National Partnership. (Speech delivered by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in Los Angeles, CA. on 24 January 1975). Washington, DC: Department of State, 1975. p. 1.

<sup>1558</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>.

<sup>1559</sup> Keohane, Robert Owen and Nye Joseph S. *Power and Interdependence*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1989]. p. 8.

## ***From Isolation to Interdependence***

among actors in different countries."<sup>1560</sup> It was the case for CEECs, and especially for Romania, with the NATO and EU accession because

[i]nterdependence affects world politics and the behavior of states; but governmental actions also influence patterns of interdependence. By creating or accepting procedures, rules, or institutions for certain kinds of activity, governments regulate and control transnational and interstate relations.<sup>1561</sup>

We saw that Romania influenced the EU roadmap as well the *acquis communautaire* during the integration process as well that the Romania's Black Sea foreign policy becomes the EU's policy. Another argument is that "[f]inally, in the politics of interdependence, domestic and transnational as well as governmental interests are involved. Domestic and foreign policy become closely linked"<sup>1562</sup> which represent exactly Romania's case, as it was explained here before. In conclusion, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye say that "perspective implies that interdependence relationships will always involve costs, since interdependence restricts autonomy; but it is impossible to specify a priori whether the benefits of a relationship will exceed the costs."<sup>1563</sup>

---

<sup>1560</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1561</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

<sup>1562</sup> Ibid. p. 8.

<sup>1563</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

## **V Romania, a Crossroad**

Every people are unique. By the nature of their soul, they represent an indestructible unity between space and time, defined by a particular trait that sets them apart from other peoples.

Goga Mircea<sup>1564</sup>

In order to understand Romania's international relations, its foreign and security policies, as well the action taken by the political elite, we have to keep in mind the geo-strategic situation of the country and its historical heritage, including the social psychology and the identity of the Romanian people. We have to describe and explain the triggers that create the different choices and attitudes of Romania's international relations and foreign policy.

The relationship with the 'Others' has been an important part in the process of self-identification and in building the Romanian national identity during the last two centuries. For Romania, the recognition by the 'Others' became the foundation for the identity of the Romanian people and one of the bases of the country's international relations. In the recent period, in the wave of the Iron Curtain fall, the recognition and the classification of Romania in the club of free and democratic countries was a step forward, considered very important by Romania's political leaders on the international scene and in Romania's international relations. Moreover, the Romania's recognition by the others as a European country and its membership of the Alliance and the European Union was a crucial factor for its international relations and development. We will explain hereafter that the others' importance in Romania's identity will induce a constant need for recognition, which will create a temptation toward a feeling of victimization in cases of dissatisfaction with their hopes.

With its geographical position, at the borderland of important Empires and at the crossroads of political interests, Romania is a country on the road of invasion and exchange, whose history and culture put it in

---

<sup>1564</sup> Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 203. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

an in-between situation. With its Latin origins and Orthodox faith, Romania will be in-between the West and the East. Romanians believe that the mixture between the Moldavian and Wallachian heritage on the one hand, and the Transylvanian heritage, on the other hand, is compatible with Western values and the West.<sup>1565</sup> With their Moldavian and Wallachian history, through their Orthodox faith, previous attachment in foreign policy, and common history in the Ottoman Empire, Romanians are believed to play a role in Southeastern Europe to bring peace and stability. To these questions, we can add a hidden societal and political challenge, not prominent in public debates, but still present after a century and a half of modern history of Romania. In the will to reshape the country's democracy, economy and international relations, Romania will seek the adherence to the Alliance and the European Union, with strong links towards European states and America. This choice will create another in-between situation with a permanent balance between Europe and United States.

We will show that Romania is transformed from 'security needed' to 'security provider' in the Alliance and European South East area. We will see that Romania becomes a crossroad from a borderland, through the accession process to NATO and the EU. The old geographical and political borders have shaped Romania's strategic identity of borderland and view as a point of exchange at imperial borders. However, the same geographical position with its natural resources brings Romania at the crossroads of geopolitical and political interests in the past as well as today. In order to solve the question of the post-communism transition in the new geo-strategic situation, political leaders, as well as the other CEECs, proposed the project "to be back in Europe"<sup>1566</sup> and to be associated with the Western democracy, i.e. the European Union and NATO accession, as a natural path to the country's development. However, while in the Romanian school system, pupils learn that Romania is at the center of Europe, the country is viewed on map and by many institutions, as we will explain hereafter, as a Balkan state at the border of Europe. From a geographical point of view, Romania is in the middle of the European continent, at the middle between the Atlantic Ocean and the Urals.<sup>1567</sup>

---

<sup>1565</sup> To see: Marino, Adrian and Antohi Sorin. *Al treilea discurs: cultură, ideologie și politică în România* (The third discourse: culture, ideology and politics in Romania). București: Editura Polirom, 2001. (Duplex). p. 120.

<sup>1566</sup> To see : Marino, Adrian. *Pentru Europa. Integrarea României. Aspecte ideologice și culturale*. 2nd ed. București: Editura Polirom, 2005 [1995]. (Plural). Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1567</sup> Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b.

## **V.1 The Others and the Impact on Romania**

From the beginning of Romanians' history, the 'Others' has played an important role in its construction and has given Romanians their identity, allowing them to create it actively. The national identity is wedged between a dual process of the 'Self', i.e. stressing the similarities of the in-group and the existence of a contrasting reference – the 'Others', as the necessary requirement to have a perception sense of difference vis-à-vis the out-group.<sup>1568</sup> In order to understand, first we need to know how we can define the terms of 'other' and 'identity', and later on develop the 'national identity'. Of course, we will describe and explain the importance of the others in the modern period of Romania's international Relations.

### **V.1.1 The Others and their Importance for Romania**

#### **V.1.1.1 Others**

In general, according to the New Oxford American Dictionary, 'Other' refers "to a person or thing that is different or distinct from one already mentioned or known about".<sup>1569</sup> The other is part of what defines or even constitutes the self (the self as seen by psychology, philosophy, sociology and the concept itself) and other phenomena and cultural units. The term was used in social sciences to designate the processes by which societies and groups define themselves and exclude others or those that want to subordinate or do not fit in their society. The 'self' is a key construct in several schools of psychology, broadly referring to the cognitive representation of one's identity. The

---

<sup>1568</sup> To see: Hall, Stuart. Ethnicity: Identity and Difference. In Eley, Geoff and Suny Ronald Grigor (Eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. and Young, Iris Marion. Together in Difference: Transforming the Logic of Group Political Conflict. In Kymlicka, Will (Ed.), *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

<sup>1569</sup> McKean, Erin other adj. [online]. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 [2001]. (The New Oxford American Dictionary). [cited 22 May 2009]. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t183.e54991>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

earliest formulation of the self in modern psychology<sup>1570</sup> refers to the distinction between the self as I, the subjective knower, and the self as Me, the object that is known.<sup>1571</sup> Current views of the self in psychology diverge greatly from this early consideration, positioning the self as playing an integral part in human motivation, cognition, affect, and social identity.<sup>1572</sup> In sociology, the self refers to an individual person or a group from the perspective of that person or group. It is the individual's or group's conception of himself or herself, and the underlying capacity of the person's mind or intellect or group perception which formed that conception (one's 'true self'). What an individual or group thinks of himself/herself/itself is, at least temporarily, directly influenced by interactions with others.

In philosophy and sociology, the term is used as 'the Other' and refers to that, "which is distinct from, different from, or opposite to something or oneself".<sup>1573</sup> Linked with 'the Other', the notion of 'otherness' is also an integral part in understanding a person or a group, as people build their own roles in relation to 'Others' as part of a feedback process that is not necessarily related to stigmatization or condemnation. Others are imperative for the creation of national identities, where the practices of segregation and acceptance or rejection can form and maintain boundaries and the national character. To reinforce the meaning, we can develop the term of 'significant others', a

concept, which is derived from the Mead theory of the self,<sup>1574</sup> highlights the ability of social actors to take the role of others. There are

---

<sup>1570</sup> 'Modern Psychology' is the scientific study of mental processes and behaviors of individuals. 'Modern psychology' has undergone a transformation to bring human mental and behavioral processes into a developed scientific field of study. The first book written in 1890 by William James - *The Principles of Psychology* - which turned out to be one of the most important texts in the field of psychology. In 1892, the American Psychological Association was founded by G. Stanley Hall.

<sup>1571</sup> Williams, James. *The Principles of Psychology* [online]. 2 vols. Vol. 1. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931 [1918, 1890]. [cited 22 May 2009]. Available from: <<http://www.archive.org/details/theprinciplesofp01jameuoft>>.

<sup>1572</sup> Sedikides, Constantine and Spencer Steven J. *The Self*. New York: Psychology Press, 2007. (Frontiers of Social Psychology).

<sup>1573</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Other* [online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009k. (The Oxford Pocket Dictionary Of Current English). [cited 22 May 2009]. Available from: <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/10999-other.html>>.

<sup>1574</sup> The 'Mead theory of the self' has been developed by the American pragmatist George Herber Mead (1863-1931) in his 'theory on the self', and by extension as defined the term 'significant others'. To see: Mead, George Herbert. *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* [online]. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934. [cited 22 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mead\\_1934\\_toc.html](http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mead_1934_toc.html)>.



many others whose roles may be taken—ranging from those of strangers to that of the whole community. Significant others are those who have an important influence or play a formative role in shaping the behaviour of another.<sup>1575</sup>

Moreover, as says Taras Kuzio<sup>1576</sup>, “[t]his ‘Others’ can be defined in ideological, ethnical or territorial terms (or a combination of them).”<sup>1577</sup> In addition, the other allows us to define the ‘us’ and, by opposition, to build an identity. The sensitive issue of otherness is viewed in two different ways: Others, represented by the outside of the country and Romania; others, represented by the minorities (the Hungarians, the Jews and Roma), as the insider.<sup>1578</sup>

Occupied or dominated by foreign powers in different Romanian countries (Moldavia, Transylvania, and Wallachia) along the country’s history, the people have to adapt to and to behave in a certain way under various foreign rules and models. Lucian Boia emphasizes that

two characteristics of Romanian history have contributed to the placing of the other in a specific light: on the one hand, the reaction of a rural and somewhat isolated civilization, and on the other, the massive and uninterrupted impact of foreign rules and models.<sup>1579</sup>

For Lucian Boia, “[t]he ‘Other’ is an omnipresent figure in the imaginary of any community”<sup>1580</sup> and as the author appreciates, the relationships with the ‘foreigners’ are an important part in the process of self-identification of every social group, including ‘Romanians’.<sup>1581</sup> It

---

<sup>1575</sup> Scott, John and Marshall Gordon *Significant Others* [online]. 3th revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1994, 1998, 2005]. (A Dictionary of Sociology). [cited 22 May 2008]. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e2091>>. 2005] #2573

<sup>1576</sup> Kuzio Taras is a senior research fellow in the Chair of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Toronto. He was editor of several economic and political magazines, and autor or editor of 14 books, 5 think thank monographs, 25 book chapter and 60 political articles on post-communist, Ukrainian and European politics and security affairs.

<sup>1577</sup> Kuzio, Taras. Identity and Nation-Building in Ukraine: Defining the ‘Other’ [online]. *Ethnicities*, 2001, vol. 1, no. 3. [cited 29 April 2008]. Available from: <<http://etn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/3/343>>. p. 349.

<sup>1578</sup> To see: Boia, Lucian. History and Myth in Romanian consciousness. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 159-187.

<sup>1579</sup> Ibid. p. 153.

<sup>1580</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1581</sup> To see: Boia, Lucian. Romania - Borderland of Europe. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 191-225.

is important to remark that “[t]he construction of the ‘Other’ is therefore tied to both domestic and foreign policy politics”.<sup>1582</sup>

### **V.1.1.2 Identity**

The concept of ‘Identity’ is an umbrella term used throughout various disciplines in recent years, such as social and behavioral sciences, to describe an individual's comprehension of himself or herself as a discrete, separate entity. The concept “has become ubiquitous” and “cutting across disciplines from psychoanalysis and psychology to political science and sociology”,<sup>1583</sup> is including the two forms of social psychology<sup>1584</sup>, the study of how people and groups interact. “Each of these disciplines, however, has one or more conceptualizations of ‘identity’ that make a common discourse difficult.”<sup>1585</sup>

As explains Peter J. Burke,

[i]n political science [(one of our field of study)] and some fields within sociology, [...] the term is often taken to refer to one’s national identity or ethnic identity within a national boundary. In this context, the term identity is nearly synonymous with a social category, and all persons within the social category are assumed to have the ‘same’ identity.”<sup>1586</sup>

Non-Romanian people, the others, brought the discovery of identity to the country a very important topic for Romanians, given which we know that people have suffered a number of influences over the centuries. Even before the foundation of the modern country, Romania had known the Scythian, Sarmatian, Gallic, the Greek,

---

<sup>1582</sup> Kuzio, Taras. Identity and Nation-Building in Ukraine: Defining the ‘Other’ [online]. *Ethnicities*, 2001, vol. 1, no. 3. [cited 29 April 2008]. Available from: <<http://etn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/3/343>>. p. 349.

<sup>1583</sup> Burke, Peter James, Owens Timothy J., Serpe Richard, and al. *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Publishers, 2003. p. 1.

<sup>1584</sup> These theories place themselves in the tradition of ‘psychological’ social psychology, they focus on explaining an individual's actions within a group in terms of mental events and states. However, some ‘sociological’ social psychology theories go further by attempting to deal with the issue of identity at both the levels of individual cognition and of collective behavior.

<sup>1585</sup> Burke, Peter James, Owens Timothy J., Serpe Richard, and al. *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Publishers, 2003. p. 1.

<sup>1586</sup> Ibid.

Illyro-Thracian influences and the Roman's work (106-279),<sup>1587</sup> followed by the Austro-Hungarian, Greek, Ottoman and Russian influences, without forgetting the French and German influences.

The idea developed by Adolf Armbruster<sup>1588</sup> and Romanian scientists about Romania's origin, a recurrent question in the Romanian history that has shaped the collective identity, is that the Romanians have existed along centuries, from the ancient times to the nineteenth century, only by their nomination<sup>1589</sup> by neighbors or conquerors, and by their different origin and culture vis-à-vis the Slavs, the Byzantine and the Hungarians.<sup>1590</sup> To reinforce that idea, in the 10th century, when the Hungarians arrived in the Pannonian plain, according to the *Gesta Hungarorum*<sup>1591</sup> written around 1146 by an anonymous chancellor of King Bela III of Hungary, the plain was inhabited by Slavs, Bulgarians, Vlachs or *pastores Romanorum* (shepherds of the Romans).<sup>1592</sup> During a long period (10th - 13th centuries), the statement at the international level, in relation to the Eastern Romanity, was that the Romanian people were, in various forms, called differently according to the Others. "The affirmation of

---

<sup>1587</sup> To see : Iorga, Nicolae. *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* [online]. (History of Romanian and their Civilization). 21 Aug. 2007 at 11:34.: None, 1920. p. 12. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from:

<[http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoire\\_des\\_Roumains\\_et\\_de\\_leur\\_civilisation](http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoire_des_Roumains_et_de_leur_civilisation)>.

<sup>1588</sup> Adolf Armbruster is a historian during the Ceaușescu period and developed the Romanity of Romanian in a Ph.D thesis presented in 1971 at the Historic Institut of "Nicolas Iorga" of Bucharest.

<sup>1589</sup> Different name will be used to nominate the Romanian during centuries. But according to Armbruster, two manes will be retain Valachus (Vlachs) "the appearance of this name, given the Romanians by foreigners in the Middle Ages ..." the Slavic and Romani (Rumani, Roman) word used by the Romanians themselves to nominate, "involving the memories of Rome and the special meaning, designating them the exclusive." To see: Armbruster, Adolf. *Romanitatea romanilor : istoria unei idei* (Romanity of the Roumanians - History of an Idea). Trans. La romanité des Roumains - Histoire d'une idée by Grecescu, Cirașă București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977. (Bibliotheca Historica). p. 21.

<sup>1590</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1591</sup> de Kéza, Simon. *Gesta Hungarorum*. Trans. *The Deeds of the Hungarians* by Veszprémy, László and Schaer Frank Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999.

<sup>1592</sup> In original: *sclauij, Bulgarij et Blachij, ac pastores romanorum*. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

self in relation to the other”,<sup>1593</sup> says Armbruster. This people have been identified by several writings, such as a letter from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II - Bulgaroctonus (Bulgarian-Slayer) - under the name of 'Vlachs', as it is mentioned in a document of 1020. This name, which will be transformed in Wallachian thereafter, has several forms depending on the nominations by neighbors such as the Germans' (Wallachian = Roman or Romanized Gauls). Later, German will restrict the meaning... (for example, Waliser, Wales, etc.). For Slavs, the word "Vlachs means a foreigner, a non-Slavic with Roman language"<sup>1594</sup>; for Hungarians, the Byzantine "as numerous and varied are the forms it takes, the substance remains the same and the term refers to the same ethnic reality: a people of Roman origin."<sup>1595</sup> In short, two names will be retained - Walachus (Vlach) – this is "the appearance of this name, given to Romanians by foreigners in the Middle Ages ..." <sup>1596</sup>, the Slavic and Romani (Rumani, Roman) word used by the Romanians themselves to describe themselves, "involving the memories of Rome and the special sense, to be designate in exclusivity."<sup>1597</sup> Various 'foreign' sources (Vatican, Hungarian, French, Slavic, and Byzantine) speak about Romanians or rather "Vlachs" as a homogeneous population of shepherds identified as being of Roman origin. Shaped by the others, as Armbruster says, the "evidence of the Roman origin of the Romanians is not the object [...]: aware of this origin, we definitely believe that it is demonstrated".<sup>1598</sup> "The name 'Romania' was regularly given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople by its contemporaries", as demonstrates Robert Lee Wolf, a professor of history at Harvard University, in 1948.<sup>1599</sup>

---

<sup>1593</sup> Armbruster, Adolf. *Romanitatea romanilor : istoria unei idei* (Romanity of the Roumanians - History of an Idea). Trans. La romanité des Roumains - Histoire d'une idée by Grecescu, Cireaşa Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977. (Bibliotheca Historica). p. 19. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1594</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1595</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1596</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>1597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1598</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>1599</sup> To see: Wolff, Robert Lee. *Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople* [online]. *Speculum, a Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, January, 1948, 1948, vol. XXIII, no. 1. [cited 5 Feb. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-7134%28194801%2923%3A1%3C1%3ARTLEOC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U>>.

### **V.1.1.3 National Identity**

In the construction of the national identity, the “[i]dentity is inconceivable without difference”<sup>1600</sup> forcing the others to play an important role. As argues Taras Kurio, the “[n]ational identity is never fixed but always in the process of changing and evolving. Its construction differs over time, requires difference, and is never a finished process or complete.”<sup>1601</sup> Romania has been defined in opposition to and collaboration with the others, i.e. neighbors, European States, etc.

Already in the twenties, the question arose about the Romanians’ identity, advocating the integration of Romania into post-war Europe in opposition to the populist ideas promoted by the left-wing traditionalist trend known as Poporanism.<sup>1602</sup>

For Vianu Tudor<sup>1603</sup>, “if the program of ethnic culturalism was adopted, Romanian culture would regress to an undignified provincial level”<sup>1604</sup>, not being able to be a European one. Developing the same

---

<sup>1600</sup> Neumann, Iver B. *Russia as Central Europe’s Constituting “Other”*. *East European Politics & Societies*, 1993, vol. 7, no. 2. p. 350.

<sup>1601</sup> Kuzio, Taras. *Identity and Nation-Building in Ukraine: Defining the ‘Other’* [online]. *Ethnicities*, 2001, vol. 1, no. 3. [cited 29 April 2008]. Available from: <<http://etn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/3/343>>. p. 344.

<sup>1602</sup> The word ‘poporanism’ (Romanian populism) is derived from ‘popor’, meaning ‘people’ in the Romanian language. It is a Romanian traditional ideology, founded in the early 1890s by lawyer and journalist Constantin Stere, in the spirit of traditional trends that have started with Junimea - a Romanian literary society founded in Iași in 1863, through the initiative of several foreign-educated personalities (Titu Maiorescu, Petre P. Carp, Vasile Pogor, Theodor Rosetti and Iacob Negruzzi) which The foremost personality and mentor Maiorescu helped establish the basis of the modern Romanian culture. This was the most influential intellectual and political association from Romania in the nineteenth century -, and Samanatorism - an ideological and literary current formed in early twentieth century on the landership and peasant problems leaded by Nicolae Iorga its main theorist. To see: Călinescu, George. *Istoria literaturii române dela origini până în prezent* (History of The Romanian Literature from The Origin until Nowadays). Reedition ed. București: Semne, 2003. and Ornea, Zigu. *Sămănătorismul* (Samanatorism). București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998. (Critică și istorie literară).

<sup>1603</sup> Vianu Tudor (January 8, 1898 – May 21, 1964) was a Romanian literary critic, poet, philosopher, and translator. It was known for his left-wing and anti-fascist convictions, and he had a major role on the reception and development of Modernism in Romanian literature and art.

<sup>1604</sup> Vianu, Tudor *Prima expoziție internațională Contemporanul*. *Mișcarea Literară*, 1924, 1924, no. 4.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

idea, Filotti Eugen<sup>1605</sup> wrote that "traditionalism means nothing else than the megalomania of distress"<sup>1606</sup>. He continued on the same wavelength, saying in 1924 that

Under the banner of Orthodoxy and tradition, some intellectuals promote a static ideal, petrified in the hieratic byzantine-muscovite forms of a primitive culture, having no evolution whatsoever and no future. Our ideal is a dynamic culture, having the desire of growth, renewal and fecundity. The scope of our generation's endeavours should not be clinging to a sterile and, in some respects, imaginary tradition, nor cultivating exclusively the autochthonous character [...]. The type of culture we want to promote is European. Our light comes from the West.

The salvation lies in the Westernization of this country [...]. If we are talking about national assertion, we see this as being active and productive: the expression of our cultural and spiritual character in specific European forms [...]. As far as we are concerned, there is no antagonism and no incompatibility between Europeanism and 'Romanianism'. We have only the sacrilegious wish to harmonise Romanianism with the heartbeat of contemporary life [...]. We want this life to be liberated from Balcanism, from Asiaticism, from archaism and from the rustic simplicity which limits existence to the path from the village church to the village tavern [...].

We have a better opinion about our own people than all the traditionalists and that is why we want Romania to start making its entrance into Europe. Many nations, located between the Atlantic and our borders, have succeeded in being European without losing the specificity of their ethnic spirit. Why would we be the only ones who need a senseless and useless isolation?<sup>1607</sup>

The national identity has faced the others and we can retain three different cases in the contemporary Romania in which the national identity was threatened: the Hungarian and Magyar minority questions in Romania within the context of the Yugoslav war; the Republic of Moldova and its possible (re-)union with Romania; the others in opposition to Ukraine and Russia, or in association with European States and the United States.

---

<sup>1605</sup> Filotti Eugen (July 28 1896 – June 1, 1975) was a Romanian diplomat, journalist and writer. As a diplomat he worked at the League of Nations in Geneva and then as minister plenipotentiary in Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Hungary.

<sup>1606</sup> Filotti, Eugen. Gândul nostru (Our Thought). Cuvântul liber, vol. II-a, no. 1, 1924

<sup>1607</sup> Filotti, Eugen. Europeism sau românism (European or Romanian). Cuvântul liber, vol. II-a, no. 1, 1924 and Filotti, Eugen. Europeism sau românism (European or Romanian). Cuvântul liber, vol. II-a, no. 2, 1924. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

#### **V.1.1.4 Nation-Building**

Following the Spring of Nations<sup>1608</sup> in 1848, Romania starts to seek union and independence by uniting the two principalities - Moldavia and Wallachia - in 1859, which was completed after the First World War, by the creation of the 'Greater Romania' with the addition of Transylvania. This union was "[b]ased on evidence that the three Romanian provinces have the same historical origin, Latin language and religion".<sup>1609</sup>

Romania did not achieve independence swiftly or unilaterally from the dominant Empire, as explained by Federic Kellogg, but along many stages<sup>1610</sup> with perplexing challenges from the neighboring Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires, and always with the support of and persistent meddling in their internal affairs by Western European great powers. In fact, "[t]he European powers - Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Sardinia/Italy, and Prussia/Germany"<sup>1611</sup> - guaranteed the existence of the Romania state, called by Kellogg the Danubian Romania. But rapidly, the Danubian Romania was under foreign game as we can see for the Romania foreign king nomination, Carol I of Romania, which was due to the blessing of French and German politics, and the non opposition of Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empire decision makers. Firstly, the Romanians looked for support from Russia, who they thought would help the Romanian Orthodox people in their struggle against the Islamic Ottoman Empire. The Spring of Nations reinforced the importation of the French model, the Latin identity of Romania and the idea of the Roman Empire origin. The support for the country's

---

<sup>1608</sup> The Spring of Nations, also known as European Revolutions of 1848, were a series of political upheavals throughout the European continent. Described by some historians as a revolutionary wave, the period of unrest began in France and then, further propelled by the French Revolution of 1848, soon spread to the rest of Europe.

<sup>1609</sup> Turdeanu, Emile. *Les luttes des Roumains pour l'indépendance: La défense du Danube, du XIVE au XVIe siècles*. In Hitchins, Keith (Eds) (Ed.), *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986 Vol. V. p. 40. Tranlated by Marc Bonnemains.

<sup>1610</sup> For Kellogg, Romania built its independence in five stages. The first stages was in 1948 through the Romanians' rebellions, the second by the union of the two principalities, the third by the election of a foreign prince followed by the fourth stage with sovereignty in 1880. The fifth stage is the creation of the Greater Romania after the First World War. To see: Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 2.

<sup>1611</sup> Ibid.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

independence was granted by one of the great powers of that time, France, through the active foreign policy of Napoleon the Third.

He [Napoleon III] wanted to be the champion of oppressed people, to act as a peacemaker, playing the role of providential referee in Europe and beyond. Turkey is threatened by the Russian Empire; he speaks in favor of Turkey in the Crimean War. Italy suffers under the domination of Austria; he does not hesitate to support Italy. Mexico is torn by strife, threatened with the absorption by the United States, Napoleon III develops the plan to pacify Mexico, to have it regenerated through the creation of a Latin Empire, which would include the Anglo-Saxon greed<sup>1612</sup>,

as explains historian Paul Guériot about the diplomacy of Napoleon the Third. Napoleon the Third played a key role in the birth of modern Romania by lifting the Russian protectorate and recognizing the Ottoman suzerainty over the Romanian principalities at the Congress of Paris (25 February-30 March 1856) after the Crimean war. The Treaty of Paris placed the two principalities – Moldavia and Wallachia - under the protection of European powers, notably France, which supported the union of Moldavia and Wallachia with the double election of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza and achieved a de-facto union of the two principalities (17 January and 5 February 1859), the first application of the policy of nationalities. The union was formally declared three years later, on 5 February 1862, and the new virtually independent state started bearing the name of Romania, with Bucharest as its capital city. For Romania, this blessing reinforced the country's belonging to Europe rather than to the Eastern side associated with Russia, the Balkan countries and the Ottoman Empire.

We can add that

[t]hey also sought to control their own destiny, free from the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and the meddling of neighboring Austria and Russia. They wished more-over to retain their Orthodox Christianity, rejecting a religious union with Catholic Rome, unlike some Romanians in Transylvania. Hence, Danubian Romanians dreamed of an independent nation-state in which their traditions would be preserved and strengthened.<sup>1613</sup>

---

<sup>1612</sup> Guériot, Paul. *Napoléon III (Napoleon III)*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Paris: Payot, 1933. (Collection Bibliothèque historique). Cited in Douay, Abel and Hertault Gérard. *Quand Napoléon III suscita la naissance de la Roumanie* [online]. (When Napoleon III sparked the birth of Romania). *Napoleon.org*. Paris: Fondation Napoléon, 2008. [cited 8 June 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://195.154.144.20/fr/salle\\_lecture/articles/files/471953.asp#notes](http://195.154.144.20/fr/salle_lecture/articles/files/471953.asp#notes)>.

Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1613</sup> Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 1-2.



After the First World War, the world was radically different, with “the formation of the first communist state, [...] the use of the nationality principle as the basis for the creation of new states (or enlargement of states already in existence)”<sup>1614</sup> and the creation of the League of Nations to guarantee security and peace. In this new context, Romania saw an opportunity to get out of the crisis and “Romanians saw their dreams becoming reality through the creation of Greater Romania, and by the union of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Crisana, Maramures and Banat with the Old Kingdom.”<sup>1615</sup> The country became the second largest state in Eastern and Central Europe, but the “newly acquired territories transformed Romania from a nation-state into nationalities states, in which ethnic Romanians made up only 72% of the population.”<sup>1616</sup> In this new context during the interwar period, Romania’s foreign policy was to assure the country’s integrity and protect Bessarabia from the Soviet Union.

This nation-building process was important and refers to the structuring of a national identity – Romanian - using the power of the state: as “[b]orders play an important role in state and nation building. They help to forge a political community and nation, signify the limits and extent of sovereignty, signal to which state the citizens belong and define them in relation to ‘Others’.”<sup>1617</sup> This process aims at the unification of the people or peoples within the state to remain politically stable and viable in the long run. This idea was an important one during the communist period, in order to protect the integrity of the state against Soviet domination and the Soviet economic integration plan for Eastern Europe. A certain opposition to the others, in this case the Soviet Union and COMECON, allows Romania to develop an open independent foreign policy that frequently diverged from the Soviet Union ones. This foreign policy was built on a differentiation process vis-à-vis the Eastern blocs that were part of the others, with a role of minorities in the Romanian foreign policy, and using the Sino-Soviet Split, the Third World and Western relationships. Romanian minorities were used by Ceausescu’s government to obtain foreign funds by imposing a tax per person to be paid by the foreign state in question, while in exchange the government let - the Germans and the Jews - emigrate,

---

<sup>1614</sup> Mitrasca, Marcel Moldova: a Romanian province under Russian rule : diplomatic history from the archives of the great powers. New York, NY: Algora Publishing, 2002. p. 9.

<sup>1615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1617</sup> Kuzio, Taras. Ukraine: State and Nation Building. London: Routledge, 1998. (Studies of Societies in Transition). p. 117.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

the former to Western Germany, the latter to Israel.<sup>1618</sup> This policy represented an issue of conflict and of leverage with the Western German and Israeli governments, leading to an uneasily close relationship, which Romania used sometimes to act as an intermediary between the Soviets and those two governments. The largest minorities, the Hungarians, amounted to almost 2 million people, are located mainly in Transylvania. They played a determining role in the relation between Hungary and Romania. As for the Third World, Romania developed very close relationships in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In the Middle East, Arab countries in particular became some of Romania's closest economic partners, while in Asia, China's trade exchange increased and enabled Romania to attenuate the Soviet economic pressures in the seventies and in the eighties. Until the eighties, Romania's relations with the West were important, in particular with the United States. France was an incontestable support to Romania, through General de Gaulle in 1968, who called on Bucharest to set the history of the friendly Franco-Romanian cooperation and the future perspectives of the two Latin countries to work toward a unified Europe from "the Atlantic to the Urals". The two leaders were opposed to the bloc system – NATO and the Warsaw pact – and found here, with "their Latin origins, cement of their union".<sup>1619</sup>

Boia Lucian explains that Romanians had conflicting attitudes by being simultaneously hospitable toward foreigners and intolerant toward national minorities. Romanians react as a historically "rural and somewhat isolated civilization," hosting an "anti-urban

---

<sup>1618</sup> Tismăneanu, Vladimir (Pres.). Raport final - Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România [online]. (Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania). București: Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România, 2006. [cited 11 June 2008]. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT\\_FINAL\\_CPADCR.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT_FINAL_CPADCR.pdf)>. p. 542-572.

<sup>1619</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Voyage en Roumanie, discours à l'université de Bucarest* [online]. (Travel to Romania, Speech at the Bucarest University). 1968. Paris: Institut National de l'Audiovisuel. Charles de Gaulle, parole publiques. Video Clip. Available from: <[http://degaulle.ina.fr/Html/PrincipaleAccueil.php?ouvertureInitiale=1&requeteInitiale=Select+\\*+from+documents+WHERE+documents.DescripteursPrincipaux+LIKE+%27\\_+Politique+exterieure\\_%27+ORDER+BY+DateAffichage%3B&infoRequeteInitiale=Politique+exterieure&typeRequeteInitiale=sql&modeAffichage=fresque&documentZoom=Gaulle00273&documentVisionneuse=Gaulle00273&Hauteur=994](http://degaulle.ina.fr/Html/PrincipaleAccueil.php?ouvertureInitiale=1&requeteInitiale=Select+*+from+documents+WHERE+documents.DescripteursPrincipaux+LIKE+%27_+Politique+exterieure_%27+ORDER+BY+DateAffichage%3B&infoRequeteInitiale=Politique+exterieure&typeRequeteInitiale=sql&modeAffichage=fresque&documentZoom=Gaulle00273&documentVisionneuse=Gaulle00273&Hauteur=994)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

mythology”,<sup>1620</sup> a mythology “that is as anti-cosmopolitan, anti-Otherness, and anti-Western as it is anti-progress and populist-communitarian.”<sup>1621</sup> On the other hand, a highly Westernized elite has been built and shaped by the ‘French’ and ‘German’ myths.

Romanians recently reviewed, from the Soviet-Stalinism to an Oriental-megalomaniac model – à la Ceausescu –, the communist mythology while the post-communist imaginary seems to be built on conspiracy theories based on the “American mythology”<sup>1622</sup> and on a confused desire to become truly integrated into Europe, yet leave Romanian traditional values untouched.<sup>1623</sup>

One must remember that the modern Romania was built continuously, with two main steps as seen previously; in 1877 with the union of Moldavia and Wallachia; in 1918 with the creation of Greater Romania through the integration of Transylvania. Each time, the country has to reshape and rebuild a new identity in a new nation with, as Goga wrote, the common destiny of the three principalities. The country will share and combine the “contemplative spirit, represented by the poetry of Eminescu, a native from Moldova, the fighting spirit, represented by poet Octavian Goga, a native from Transylvania, and the speculative, playful spirit, represented by poet Martin Sorescu, a native of Wallachia”.<sup>1624</sup>

### **V.1.1.5 Nationalism**

In the case of Romania, we can consider that the traditional Western nationalism can be more view as an ‘Eastern’ style of nationalism, due to a lack of modern European political education and to the influence of 50-year long communist rules.

---

<sup>1620</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 153-154.

<sup>1621</sup> Roman, Denise. *Reviewed Works(s): History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness by Lucian Boia; James Christian Brown* [online]. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 2003, vol. 47, no. 2. [cited 22 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0037-6752%28200322%291%3A47%3A2%3C330%3AHAMIRC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>>.

<sup>1622</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 175.

<sup>1623</sup> Ibid. p. 169.

<sup>1624</sup> Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation (Romania, Culture and Civilization)*. Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 206. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

The presidential elections of 2000, when Vadim Tudor was a candidate, were an illustration of the Romanian nationalism specificity. The 'national theme' changed in the years following the 1989 anti-Communist revolution in Romania, offering a new ideology noted for its acts of hate speech against others, usually minorities and foreign countries. During Ceausescu's regime, Romanians experimented all nuances of nationalism, through a necessary need of an enemy 'of the nation', either real or imaginary, to oppose the collective self<sup>1625</sup> to the others and to justify the extreme 'patriotic' measures taken by Ceausescu and his government. The insistence on the need to develop the self-consciousness of the Romanian people in all spheres of life was a persistent theme in Ceausescu's cultural policy, with a concept of 'national specificity',<sup>1626</sup> which emphasized the uniqueness and special characteristics of the Romanian culture as compared to the others. Joja Athanase, former president of the Romanian Academy, launched the theory of 'national specificity'.

As Dragomir Marius<sup>1627</sup> explains, the Romanian nationalism has a long history in the construction of the country. The issue of Romanian nationalism goes back to the nineteenth century. At that time, the best known Romanian poet, Mihai Eminescu, extolled the 'national specificity', "bringing public attention to the danger that the 'others' posed,"<sup>1628</sup> for the first time, e.g. minorities and especially the Jews, blamed for trying to pauperize the Romanian nation.

At the beginning of the 20th century, intolerance towards the others increased the frustration caused by the fragmentation of the Romanian state. In addition, as Dragomir Marius wrote, "Nationalism went [at that time] beyond public discourse and manifested itself in Romanian art and literature."<sup>1629</sup> Nevertheless, these ideas suggested by ethnicity became a basis for the political state and encouraged the

---

<sup>1625</sup> To see : Sedikides, Constantine and Brewer Marilyn B. *Individual self, Relational self, Collective self*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2001. p. 1-3.

<sup>1626</sup> To see: Maier, Anneli. *Romanian "Protochronism" and the New Cultural Order* [online]. Budapest: Open Society Archives at Central European University, 1977. (Radio Free Europe Research). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://files.osa.ceu.hu/holdings/300/8/3/pdf/52-5-9.pdf>>. RAD Background Report #226.

<sup>1627</sup> Dragomir Marius is a Media Consultant and Media Policy Reports Editor at the Open Society Institute in London. To see: <<http://www.sun.ceu.hu/02-courses/course-sites/media/CV-Dragomir.doc>>

<sup>1628</sup> Dragomir, Marius. Curing the Past [online]. Central Europe Review, vol. 3, no. 10, 12 March 2001. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ce-review.org/01/10/dragomir10.html>>

<sup>1629</sup> Ibid.

nationalistic trend. This result became, for a large extreme right political movement, a fight for a pure ethnic Romanian state.

As states Dragomir,

the resurgence of a more accurate nationalism [trend] was brought by the Ceausescu regime (1965-1989) and had a surprisingly strong impact on the Romanian people at a time when some of the once best-known supporters of the right wing, like the theoretician of religions Mircea Eliade or the philosopher Emil Cioran, were retracting their ideas from the writings of their youth.<sup>1630</sup>

Under Ceausescu's regime, Romanians had to face all possible and unimaginable shades of nationalism, vis-à-vis potential - real or imaginary - enemies, symbolized by the others. The years of post-communist transition have experienced a resurgence of the 'national theme', which is an eclectic mix of all the elements of the Romanian nationalist trends throughout the Romanian history. The most significant facts are the support for the nationalist discourse of the Greater Romania Party, with the strong help of other 'brother' parties, such as the Party of Romanian National Unity (PUNR). This new wave of nationalism is the legacy of the communist state based on the religious component - the eternal Orthodoxy - and ethnic groups' issue, likewise the attack of the Hungarian minority by bringing the discussion of the Transylvania issue back into public debate.

### **V.1.2 The Victimization**

What matters are not things in themselves, but things, as they are perceived.

Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel<sup>1631</sup>

In the relations with others, Romania has developed a tendency toward victimization, a concept that Catherine Durandin explains very well in her book.<sup>1632</sup> Baicoianu Anca<sup>1633</sup> reinforces this idea by stating

---

<sup>1630</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1631</sup> Cited in Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). p. 36. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1632</sup> To see: Durandin, Catherine. *Roumanie, un piège? (Romania, a trap?)*. Paris: Jacques Hesse éditions, 2000.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

that "the temptation of victimization [...] seems to be typical of Romanian culture".<sup>1634</sup> It is for this reason that Romanians, in their turn, seek for a 'scapegoat' and/or at least, 'a savior', according to the situation, which is able to give rapid solutions to problems. Tomescu-Hatto Odette adds that this victimization trend is probably the reason for which Romania sometimes promotes the hatred against the West, and that West represents a sort of "universal savior".<sup>1635</sup>

The West as a universal savior was rapidly represented by the United States. The U.S. represented the guarantee of freedom and democracy, the unique challenger fighting against dictatorship and communism associated to the enemy of freedom during and after the Cold War period. This situation has reinforced the U.S. position as the World's Policeman devalued by the international situation and the collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>1636</sup> In his statement, Foreign Minister Mircea Geoana said, "we [former communist countries] feel a sense of obligation and gratitude for the Americans, who have helped to destroy communism."<sup>1637</sup> And as Tomescu-Hatto Odette points out,

The United States represents for the Romanians, since the years of communism, the 'perfect country', the 'country of all liberties' and a real power. After 1989, the United States have become a model for many of the Romanians who saw in that country the key to integration into NATO. [...]

---

<sup>1633</sup> Băicoianu, Anca has a Ph.D. in Literary Theory at the University of Bucharest (thesis: Strategies of Identity (Re)Construction in Postcolonial and Post-communist Literatures) and works as a Senior Editor in Publishing Houses in Bucharest and a Tutor in Literary Theory at the University of Bucharest.

<sup>1634</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1635</sup> Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. Identité et culture politique dans la Roumanie post-communiste. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârneli Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. p. 62.

<sup>1636</sup> To see in the second part of the thesis, the chapter - The Security: North Association Treaty Organization -.

<sup>1637</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Geoană: Fostele state comuniste au o "datorie" fata de SUA [online]. (Geoana: The Former Communist States Have a "Debt" to the U.S.). *Ziua - Politică*, 8 Apr. 2003. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/prt.php?id=114792&data=2003-04-08>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

This fascination with the United States persists to this day: it comes within the broad register of political post-communist myth-saving.<sup>1638</sup>

The circumstances around the end of the communist regime in Romania, with the Revolution of 1989, do not reveal a clear popular opposition to the regime, a real break in the democratic process and in the country foreign policy. In addition, one cannot therefore forget to ask oneself about the role played by foreigners in the Romanian Revolution.<sup>1639</sup> For us, the answer is not so important and does not fall in the scope of our thesis, but we explain in the first part the fact that the others, including foreigners and minorities, played an important role for the Romanians and their collective identity. The other will be a permanent reference, either for or against, for Romanians. The warm welcome expected from the West did not come soon, and the country's image was dramatically jeopardized by the first years of Ion Iliescu's presidency<sup>1640</sup>. Meanwhile Romania rejects communism considering itself as a victim of Yalta conference to attract the sympathy of the West. Once the first moments of euphoria passed, the fraternization and assistance from Western countries, and in particular France, remained pending the sign of democratization and economic liberalization from the political leaders. The country's undefined positioning in relation to the West (as Romania was viewed either as a Balkan's state nor as a Eastern European one) underlined the victimization feeling, reinforced by the Romanian leaders' perception of not being understood by the West concerning the real Romanian foundation and the country's sacrifice during the Cold War period.

### **V.1.2.1 Why Victimization of Romanians?**

This victimization is based, from the Romanians' point of view, on the Others' failure to understand the Romanian identity as being unique and the sacrifice made by Romanians to protect the West. As Lucian Boia argues,

[t]he image of a West protected thanks to Romania's sacrifice and a Romanian society strained and held back by fulfilling the function of

---

<sup>1638</sup> Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. *Identité et culture politique dans la Roumanie post-communiste*. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârneli Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>1639</sup> To see in the first part of the thesis, *Change into Continuity*.

<sup>1640</sup> To see the first part of this thesis – *Change into Continuity – A Controversial Period* -.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

defender of the European civilization has become deeply ingrained in the political vision of the Romanians, in their behavior and their reactions.<sup>1641</sup>

The idea of Romanian uniqueness is developed on three main factors: geographical, historical and cultural.

Baicoianu Anca states that “[f]rom the geographic point of view, there is a strong emphasis on Romania's strategic position as a ‘turning point’ between the Orient and the Occident, and, when necessary, as a defense line against all invasions.”<sup>1642</sup> In the Romanian imaginary, the ideal Romanian territory is between the Danube, the Dniestr and the Black Sea, including the three ancient principalities of Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia, without forgetting the Dobrogea and Bucovina regions, with the Carpathian Mountains as its backbone. This ideal country was born during the inter-war period by the creation of the Greater Romania and its loss after the Second World War due to the abandonment of the country by the West to Soviet Union influences. For Lucian Boia, this idea is reinforced in the Romanian consciousness by the feeling of “the role of the Romanians in defending the European civilization”<sup>1643</sup> on the one hand; “and on the other, the antiquity, and even priority, of Romanian achievements in a wide variety of fields.”<sup>1644</sup>

Historically, the origins of Romania have been described as illustrious, with famously double descent: the Dacian and the Roman, which gives the possibility “to claim superiority over the closest neighbours and to legitimate Romania's position as a rightful member of the European choir of nations.”<sup>1645</sup> But more than that, the identity of the Romanian people was built by “the symptom of an identity uncertainty overemphasized by the looseness of [territories,]

---

<sup>1641</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 156.

<sup>1642</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. *The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization* [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1643</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 48-49.

<sup>1644</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1645</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. *The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization* [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.



frontiers, regimes and rules"<sup>1646</sup> in an area of interference and political influences that built a "perpetual resistance against the expansionist impulses of the neighbouring empires (or states)."<sup>1647</sup> This situation, as says Baicoianu, built the Romanians'

topoi of isolation (Romanians are a Latin island in a Slavic sea, Romanians are the safe-keepers of the Byzantine legacy threatened by the influence of both the Hungarian and Polish Catholic kingdoms and the Muslim Ottoman Empire) and openness (Romania is at the crossroads of "worlds" and world-views) melt into one another in the idea of Romanian uniqueness.<sup>1648</sup>

Nevertheless, culturally speaking, the Latin origin of Romanians is not contested and was a factor emphasized at the beginning of the nineteenth century, accentuated in the following period during the Romanians' nation-building process. But, as Baicoianu underlines,

The common Byzantine heritage of the area, the ever present Ottoman threat, even in the calmer periods of peace, and the extensive use of Latin and Greek as cultural idioms, and of Church Slavonic as worship language all over the Balkan Peninsula worked, if not as cohesive factors, at least as a way of leveling the differences,<sup>1649</sup>

with the Others in the region.

The strong feeling of isolation was turned by Romania in the idea of uniqueness in a constant reaction against the identity of the others. When they feel threatened by the pan-Slavism project, they reacted with a strong affirmation of the Latin identity. When they feel too much 'integrated' in the Soviet Union system, they reacted by adopting openness and collaboration with the West, ... But also, from time to time, we have seen Romanians getting closer to the other in multiple sphere of interest and during certain periods of time, e.g. the Serbs during the Yugoslavian war, the Bulgarians for European Union accession, ...

---

<sup>1646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1647</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1648</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. Markers and Shifters of Romanian Identity [online]. The Annals of Ovidius University Constanta 2008, vol. XIX, no. 8. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.univ-ovidius.ro/litere/Anale/Fisiere/08%20volumul%20XIX%202008/01\\_Literary%20and%20Cultural%20Encounters/01\\_Anca%20Baicoianu%20tot.pdf](http://www.univ-ovidius.ro/litere/Anale/Fisiere/08%20volumul%20XIX%202008/01_Literary%20and%20Cultural%20Encounters/01_Anca%20Baicoianu%20tot.pdf)>. p. 10.

<sup>1649</sup> Ibid.

### **V.1.2.2 Several Examples of Victimization**

Already, in 1879, Bratianu Ion C. says in a speech delivered in the Romanian Parliament that:

We were the advance guard of Europe from the thirteenth century until very recently; we were the bulwark of Europe against the Asian invasions of the past. The European states were able to develop then because others sacrificed themselves in order to shelter them. It is for this reason-despite the ancient remains of Romanian civilization-which we have only recently embarked on the way of modern civilization.<sup>1650</sup>

The rejection of Romania by NATO in 1997, after huge efforts made by the country to achieve the necessary conditions and despite the Romanians' will to participate to the regional stability and security in the framework of NATO and the European Union, as it was the case during the Kosovo crisis, reinforced the attitude of victimization. The country felt rejected based on a discriminatory choice, but not because the country had not set sufficient conditions for democracy and the free market economy, i.e. one of the reason of rejection.

In 2003, the Romanian foreign policy was confronted with the problem of supporting the United States and their war in Iraq. To defend itself, the Romanian society will use the victimization process and accuse Europe that, fifty years ago, it abandoned Romania to the Soviet influence. But not only France will be slandered, Europe and Germany too.<sup>1651</sup> We can read the words of Nistorescu Cornel:

We can wonder what France and Germany did in fifty years of Communism in the East. The answer is simple: only business! And to us, imprisoned in the communist jails, they sent friendly greetings. [...] And now they are surprised to see that the ex-Communist countries do not believe in their mean artifices!<sup>1652</sup>

But other authors also attacked the Franco-German conception of Europe, saying that

---

<sup>1650</sup> Brătianu, Ion C. . *Acte și cuvântări* (Acts and speeches). 6 vols. Vol. 1. București: Cartea Românească 1932. p. 31-32. Cited in Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 156.

<sup>1651</sup> Nistorescu explains thus that "Germany was maintained after the war, while we them Romanian, we were stolen our riches by the Russians". To see: Nistorescu, C. *Mergem cu americanii si cu englezii* (We go with the Americans and the English). *Evenimentul zilei*, 18 Feb. 2003. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1652</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

it had believed to have eliminated [CEECs] for a few decades of 'European construction': ambitions of power articulated as at the 19th century around continental alliances (Berlin-Paris-Moscow against London-Washington-Rome, with Bucharest-Sofia-Warsaw placed at the corner of the map).<sup>1653</sup>

Culturally, Romania is seen as a Latine island in a Slav ocean, with the combination of the three original principalities and waves of different neighbors and rulers' behaviors, as well education influences. The country will adopte the influence of French and German culture (Bonjouriste and Romanian Prince reign), as the different culture of the country rulers (Russian, Phanariot, etc.). But in fact as Goga says, the country will share and combine the "contemplative spirit, represented by the poetry of Eminescu, a native from Moldova, the fighting spirit, represented by poet Octavian Goga, a native from Transylvania, and the speculative, playful spirit, represented by poet Martin Sorescu, a native of Wallachia".<sup>1654</sup>

### **V.1.3 The Need for Recognition**

Recognition is an important item treated in social and political theories, which most authors built in large sense the root, as Fanon Frantz<sup>1655</sup>, Hegel Georg Wilhelm Friedrich<sup>1656</sup>, Mead George Herbert<sup>1657</sup>, and Sartre Jean-Paul<sup>1658</sup>, and recently revisited by modern authors,

---

<sup>1653</sup> Ungureanu, Traian. Din nou, nimic nou pe Frontul de Vest [online]. (Again, nothing new on the West Front). *Revista 22*, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=389&nr=2003-03-17>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>1654</sup> Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 206. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>1655</sup> Fanon, Frantz *Les damnés de la terre*. Trans. The Wretched of the Earth by Philcox, Richard. Reprinted ed. New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 2004 [1961].

<sup>1656</sup> Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Trans. The Phenomenology of Mind by Baillie, James Black (Sir). 2nd ed. Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publication, 2003 [1931]. (Philosophical Classics Series).

<sup>1657</sup> Mead, George Herbert. *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* [online]. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934. [cited 22 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mead\\_1934\\_toc.html](http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mead_1934_toc.html)>.

<sup>1658</sup> Sartre, Jean-Paul. *L'Être et le néant : Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique*. Trans. Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology by Barnes, Hazel E. 12th ed. London, UK: Routledge, 1969 [1943].

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

likewise Fraser Nancy<sup>1659</sup>, Honneth Axel<sup>1660</sup>, Taylor Charles<sup>1661</sup> and Tully James<sup>1662</sup>. The theories understand the relations of recognition in terms of an inter-subjective dynamics of mutual trust, love, respect and esteem,<sup>1663</sup> claimed to play an important role in the processes of socialization, enculturation and individuation. The relations of recognition shape the subject's sense of identity by sharing identities and standards of expectation within social and political communities. Its develops practical relations to self which guide the self-understanding and relations to others. On the other hand, we can emphasize here Fraser's opinion, who became aware of the fight for recognition, which became a paradigmatic form of the 19th century political conflict.

### Recognition is

the identification of something as having been previously seen, heard, known, and also the perception of something as existing or true as well the acknowledgment of something as valid or as entitled to consideration.<sup>1664</sup>

In international law, it is "an official act by which one state acknowledges the existence of another state or government, or of belligerency or insurgency."<sup>1665</sup> As we have quickly explained in the first and third parts of this thesis, recognition is an important item of the Romanian culture at large and a political need in particular.

---

<sup>1659</sup> Fraser, Nancy and Honneth Axel *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung? Trans. Redistribution or recognition? : a political-philosophical exchange* by Golb, Joel, Ingram James and Wilke Christiane. New York, NY: Verso, 2003. (Political science - Philosophy 2. Social justice).

<sup>1660</sup> Honneth, Axel *Kampf um Anerkennung. Trans. The struggle for recognition: the moral grammar of social conflicts* by Anderson, Joel. Cambridge, MA The MIT Press, 1996 [1949]. (Studies in contemporary German social thought).

<sup>1661</sup> Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the self: the making of the modern identity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

<sup>1662</sup> Gagnon, Alain-G. and Tully James. *Multinational Democracies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

<sup>1663</sup> To see : Thompson, Simon. *The political theory of recognition: a critical introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2006.

<sup>1664</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Recognition [online]. *The American Heritage® New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*. 4th ed. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2009b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/recognition>>.

<sup>1665</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

### **V.1.3.1 The Recognition as an Independent State**

#### **V.1.3.1.1 Independence**

As Mihai Serban states, along centuries

[t]he relative independence enjoyed by the Romanian States, even in times of great tension such as the moment when Hungary became a Turkish pachalik and when the Ottoman armies besieged Vienna, is related to enormous material sacrifices that Romania is ready to make for the spirit of freedom that Romanians maintained close to the body.<sup>1666</sup>

During the contemporary period, Romania develops the need to be recognized as a distinct entity with its own identity. As a country at the periphery of Empires, an idea developed hereafter in the thesis, Romania has been always in a troubled relationship with its neighbors<sup>1667</sup> and tried to curve its identity and homeland. The question of recognition is an old one in Romanian history and has always been used as a geopolitical tool. As Kellogg says, “[t]he Romanians’ quest for independence deeply immersed their affairs in those of the European great powers.”<sup>1668</sup> From this period of building its independence, the new state got its recognition through the game of international actors.<sup>1669</sup> After the First World War, “The central problem [for Romania’s foreign policy] was to consolidate the national unity by bringing its recognition through the Peace Conference of Paris.”<sup>1670</sup> Moreover, in this period, Romania became a member of the international organization League of Nations, established at Geneva, believing that this organization would defend the “national independence and territorial integrity of its members”,<sup>1671</sup> and, consequently, Romania’s as well.

---

<sup>1666</sup> Şerban, Mihai E. *La Roumanie (Romania)*. Paris: Karthala Editions, 1994. (Coll. Méridiens). p. 76. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1667</sup> To see the second part of the thesis - From Isolation to Interdependence - The Neighborliness -.

<sup>1668</sup> Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 1.

<sup>1669</sup> To see the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>1670</sup> Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation (Romania, Culture and Civilization)*. Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 272. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1671</sup> *Ibid.* Translated by Marc Bonnemains

### **V.1.3.1.2 Affiliation**

In follow-up to the independence process, Romania has always felt the need to be recognized and, at the same time, affiliated with greater powers in order to gain influence in the international world politics and to maintain its own security. To illustrate this statement, we can say that the independence process was supported by France and Russia against the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires in the nineteenth century, as explained in the chapter of this thesis: The 'Others' - Nation-Building. To maintain its independence, Romania preserves long-term relations with France and England and participates, along the late modern period, in various political associations. The 'Little Entente'<sup>1672</sup> was a collective defense arrangement formed after the First World War, with the aim of stopping any encroachments on the independence of the member states committed by any European power and of strengthening the influence of its member states in international deliberations.<sup>1673</sup> The Pact of the Balkan Entente<sup>1674</sup> was signed in order to contribute to the consolidation of peace in the Balkans in the inter-war period. The Tripartite Pact<sup>1675</sup> or Axis Power was joined by Romania on November 23, 1940, partly due to the Romanian desire for protection against the Soviet Union. After the Second World War, the Yalta Conference

---

<sup>1672</sup> The Little Entente was an alliance formed in 1920 and 1921 by Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia with the purpose of common defense against Hungarian irredentism and the prevention of a Habsburg Empire restoration. The Little Entente began to break down in 1936 and disbanded completely in 1938. France had seen the Little Entente as an opportunity, in the interests of French security, to revitalize the threat of a two-front war against Germany. France supported the alliance by signing treaties with each member country. To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Pact of The Organization of The Little Entente* [online]. (The League of Nations). Vol. CXXXIX. Geneva: The League of Nations, 1933. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.rs/History/poa\\_e.html](http://www.mfa.gov.rs/History/poa_e.html)>.

<sup>1673</sup> Gordon, Alexander Graig and Gilbert Felix. *The Diplomats, 1919-1939*. Reprinted ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. p. 112.

<sup>1674</sup> The Pact of Balkan Entente was signed in 1934 between the Hellenic Republic, the Kingdom of Romania, The Turkish Republic and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to assure the peace in the Balkans. To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Pact of Balkan Entente, and Protocol-Annex. Signed at Athens, February 9th, 1934* [online]. Vol. 3514. Geneva: United Nations Treaty Collection, 1934. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001\\_120000/18/13/00034637.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/18/13/00034637.pdf)>.

<sup>1675</sup> The Tripartite Pact also known as the Axis Power was a pact signed in Berlin, Germany on September 27, 1940, between Germany, Italy and Japan. Several minor powers such as Romania formally adhered to the Tripartite Pact. This pact followed the proclamation of an 'axis' binding Rome and Berlin (October 25, 1936), with the two powers claiming that the world would henceforth rotate on the Rome-Berlin axis.

had granted the Soviet Union a predominant interest in Romania. The Paris Peace Treaties failed to acknowledge Romania as a co-belligerent of the conflict and the Red Army stayed on Romanian soil until 1956. Romania 'had no choice' and was integrated behind the Iron Curtain under the Soviet Union influence as a member of the Warsaw pact and COMECON.

A nation of peasants and more or less run by foreign elites, Romania is not a militarily powerful country, but a country which has always used diplomacy to survive. One has to remember that Romania's diplomacy and foreign policy during the Great Romania period (1919-1940) was under the leadership of Nicolae Titulescu, anchoring Romania's international visibility through international organizations such as the League of Nations and developing cooperation in order to guarantee peace and security and ensure Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty. After the country's integration in the Soviet bloc, Romania lost its political independence and, in continuity of its natural foreign policy, Romania affirms its independence and differences during Ceausescu's regime by an independent foreign policy within the limits of Soviet acceptance and by using the platform of International Organizations and, in particular, diplomatic contacts with the West, Middle-East, Third World, as well as Asian countries. Romania has always been a member of various international organizations, ever since its creation, e.g. the accession of Romania in 1973 in the IMF, the first Eastern European countries to do so. International recognition was an important element of Ceausescu's foreign policy, as well as the participation in international organization - an element of his political independence vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

### **V.1.3.2 Recognition as a Political Parlor**

After the revolution of '89, Romania faced many problems on the international and domestic stages. The need for recognition was a necessary element for the new government after the 89's Revolution to comfort the new power in place, as seen in the first part (A Controversial Period - State and Government Recognition). As says Ion Iliescu, "[t]he year 1989 marked the isolation [of the country]. Therefore, in the program of the Revolution, among the ten points, there was this: to end the international isolation of Romania and open

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

the country to the world."<sup>1676</sup> For Romania, the need to be recognized at international and regional levels is important and even crucial. These needs will be translated into a desire of power, and relative dominance of certain spaces: the political space with international and regional organizations, the Balkans and the Black Sea areas;<sup>1677</sup> the geographical area with the Republic of Moldova and the possible partial restoration of the Great Romania, and also the Bastroe Canal;<sup>1678</sup> and the economic space with the development of relations with Western, Eastern, non-aligned and Third World countries.<sup>1679</sup> Or, "[a]ccording to Mearsheimer, all states want to become regional hegemon,"<sup>1680</sup> and, in one way, Romania does not escape from this rule.

### **V.1.3.2.1 Political Space**

In the political space, as we explain along this thesis, Romania attaches a high importance to international organizations in order to exist. In addition, Romania has always sought for regional leadership toward the Balkans, in order to stabilize the area, to promote peace and to guarantee Romania's security and stability. This aim was Nicolae Titulescu's crusade in the inter-war period as Romania's foreign minister, but also as Chairman of the League of Nations, whose mission was to secure the Balkan area. As Goga says,

[i]n foreign policy after 1930, Romania has got closer to the countries of Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Romanian diplomacy at the League of Nations, under the chairmanship of the Romanian Minister of

---

<sup>1676</sup> Interview with Ion Iliescu in Ivan, Ruxandra. *La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultats* (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007. p. 433. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>1677</sup> To see: the first part - Change into Continuity -.

<sup>1678</sup> To see: the second part - From Isolation to Interdependence - The Neighborliness -.

<sup>1679</sup> To see: Ion Iliescu speech Departamentul comunicării publice. *Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- București, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică)* [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1680</sup> Jackson, Robert H. and Sørensen Georg. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. 3th ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.



Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Titulescu, has campaigned for disarmament [in the Balkans] between 1932 and 1934,<sup>1681</sup>

with no success due to the accession of Germany's Nazi power in Europe.

In the recent period, during the Yugoslav war and after that, Romania will seek, in a natural way, to play an important role in order to stabilize the Balkans area. First, with a wait-and-see attitude toward NATO and the European Union, Romania does not want to jeopardize the Romanian-Yugoslav relations; second, Romania takes on a more active role toward the Yugoslav conflict after 1999, and seeks to negotiate with all stakeholders and Russia in order to find solutions to the conflict. In addition, Romania's political leaders took another factor into consideration: the Balkan countries direct control on the land routes between Western Europe and South West Asia (Asia Minor and the Middle East). Moreover, one can remark that an informal Orthodox block appears an informal convergent diplomacy of Athens, Belgrade and Bucharest. This theme will be developed hereafter in another paragraph.

The head of the Romanian state concluded that "Romania wants to take on an active role in solving the issues at the Black Sea. Not playing this role would mean not to treat the regional matter seriously".<sup>1682</sup> The importance of the Black Sea area was confirmed later on in 2008 by the Romanian political leader, who emphasized again on the region's importance: "Through the Black Sea, the European area strategically meets Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Middle East, hydrocarbon production and transit areas."<sup>1683</sup>

In 1992, the Romanian diplomatic effort started to convince interested stakeholders that the importance of the Black Sea area pays dividends through multiple associations and conferences. The area became important for strategic reasons, but also for many

---

<sup>1681</sup> Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 273. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïn

<sup>1682</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 10 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communiqué - January 10th, 2005* by Departamentul comunicării publice. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1683</sup> Cited in Apostol, Monica. *Basescu: Romania, supporter of Nabucco, PEOP projects* [online]. *Nine o'Clock*, 15 May 2008, no. 4181. [cited 23 Sept 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nineoclock.ro/index.php>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

economic reasons. Many Black Sea neighboring countries are underdeveloped or need economic resources. Moreover, the recent energetic issue places the Black Sea at the heart of the European Union energy security questions. For Furfari Samuele<sup>1684</sup>,

[t]his is the geopolitical situation of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey - among the major energy producers in Russia and the shores of the Caspian Sea and the major energy producers in Russia - which gives Southeastern Europe its importance as a transit point for natural gas supplies,<sup>1685</sup>

as members of the Alliance and the European Union for Bulgaria and Romania. Despite the Romanian lobby toward the Black Sea, "[t]he European Union has long neglected the area of the Black Sea."<sup>1686</sup> And it is only after 2005, in the perspective of the Bulgarian and Romanian accession to the EU, that Europe will take the Black Sea area seriously in consideration in relation to the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).<sup>1687</sup> This European interest will boost Romania's leadership in the area. The Romanian idea of the Black Sea Euro-region<sup>1688</sup> expressed after the International Conference on Interregional Cooperation in the Black Sea<sup>1689</sup> within the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union, will become a reality through the creation of the Black Sea Euro-Region

---

<sup>1684</sup> Furfari Samuele has a PhD in applied sciences and teach the 'Energy geopolitic' at the Free University of Bruxelles. From 1982, he is working at the European Commission on energy questions.

<sup>1685</sup> Furfari, Samuele *Le Monde et l'énergie. Enjeux géopolitiques. Les cartes en mains.* 2 vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Editions Technip, 2007. (Collection Géopolitique). p. 66. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1686</sup> Di Puppò, Lili. *L'Union européenne avance à tâtons sur la mer Noire* [online]. *Caucas EuropeNews*, 2 Nov. 2005, 2005. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.caucas.com/home/breve\\_contenu.php?id=284](http://www.caucas.com/home/breve_contenu.php?id=284)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

Di Puppò is the Redactor-in-chief of European politic department of the newspaper 'Caucas EuropeNews'.

<sup>1687</sup> To see: European Parliament. Regulation (EC) No 1638/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument [online]. Vol. L 310. Strasbourg: European Parliament, 2006. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj\\_l310\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj_l310_en.pdf)>.

<sup>1688</sup> To see the first part of this thesis: *Change into Continuity – A Wind of Change – The Black Sea Region.*

<sup>1689</sup> The International Conference on Interregional Cooperation in the Black Sea was organized under the aegis of the Romanian presidency of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and held in Constanta on March 2006. To see: Romanian National News Agency ROMPRES. *We need friendship and cooperation climate in Black Sea - President Basescu* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://canberra.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=8239>>.

(BSER)<sup>1690</sup> in 2008, an organization chaired by Romanians<sup>1691</sup>. As the Chairman of the BSER says:

the 26th of September 2008 has become a historic day because, after three years of intense efforts, [...]. My opinion is that the creation of this Euro-region is a huge step for the authorities in the Black Sea area.<sup>1692</sup>

### **V.1.3.2.2 Geographical Space**

#### *In the Past*

As states Catherine Durandin, "[t]he Romanians claim a space that goes from the Carpathians to the Danube and Dniester in the East, but this space has been fragmented into separate principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania which were reunited late."<sup>1693</sup> But, one has to remember that the three Romanian principalities<sup>1694</sup> (Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia) had already been united for several years in the sixteenth century (figure 23), under Michael the Brave's reign<sup>1695</sup>, who was seen as one of Romania's greatest national heroes, being assassinated in 1601.

---

<sup>1690</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Constitutive Act of The Black Sea EuroRegion Association*. Constanta: European Union, 2008i. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.bser.eu/dyn\\_doc/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20CONSTITUENT\\_ACT\\_BSER\\_EN.pdf](http://www.bser.eu/dyn_doc/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20CONSTITUENT_ACT_BSER_EN.pdf)>.

<sup>1691</sup> Nicușor Daniel Constantinescu is the first President of the Black Sea Euroregion created on September, 2008. He was the president of the Regional County Council, and in 2006 President of the Council for the Regional Development of the South-East Region.

<sup>1692</sup> Nenciu, Robert. Nicușor Constantinescu, președinte al Euroregiunii Marea Neagră [online]. *Telegraf*, vol. XIV, no. 225 (4500), 27-28 Sept. 2008, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.telegrafonline.ro/pdf/4574b5b9aa8c07adf9445369bca1715f.pdf>>

Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1693</sup> Durandin, Catherine. *Histoire des Roumains (Romanians' History)*. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1995. p. 18. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1694</sup> Sugar, Petre F., Hanák Péter and Frank Tibor. *A History of Hungary*. Reprinted ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994. p. 97. and Treptow, Kurt W. and Popa Marcel D. *Historical Dictionary of Romania*. 49 vols. Vol. 15. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996. (European Historical Dictionaries). Available from: <Portable Document Format>. p. 131. and Giurescu, Dinu C. and Fischer-Galați Stephen. *Romania: a historic perspective*. Vol. 457. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1998. (East European monographs). p. 141.

<sup>1695</sup> Michael the Brave was the Prince of Wallachia (1593-1601), of Transylvania (1599-1600), and of Moldavia (1600), the three Romanian principalities that he united under his rule until his assassination in 1601.

## Romania, a Crossroad



**Figure 23: Romania under Michael the Brave's reign in the sixteenth century.**

According to Romanian historian Giurescu Constantin: "Never in the Romanian history has there been a moment of such high glory so closely followed by bitter failure",<sup>1696</sup> by the impossibility to maintain the new kingdom's unity. Michael the Brave was considered later on, in Romania's modern periods, as the precursor of the modern Romania, an idea which was defended by Balcescu Nicolae<sup>1697</sup>, becoming a point of reference for nationalists, as well as a catalyst for various Romanian forces to achieve a single Romanian state during and after the inter-war period.<sup>1698</sup>

---

<sup>1696</sup> Giurescu, Dinu C. and Fischer-Galați Stephen. *Romania: a historic perspective*. Vol. 457. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1998. (East European monographs). p. 200.

<sup>1697</sup> Nicolae Bălcescu (1819-1852) was a Romanian Wallachian soldier, historian, journalist, and leader of the 1848 Wallachian Revolution. To see his books: Bălcescu, Nicolae. *Românii supt Mihai-Voievod Viteazul* (Romanians under the Rule of Michael the Brave). București: Litera International, 1998 [1849]. (Biblioteca Școlarăului).

<sup>1698</sup> Giurescu, Dinu C. and Fischer-Galați Stephen. *Romania: a historic perspective*. Vol. 457. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1998. (East European monographs). p. 211-213.

After the country's unification known as the Greater Romania, Romania has always been afraid of losing or alienating part of its territory, and eventually seeks to restore the geographical space of the inter-war period. One has to remember that it was part of Romania's inter-war diplomatic action, done by Nicolae Titulescu to preserve Romania's territorial integrity. During the entire inter-war period, the Romanian foreign policy was focused on the territorial status quo to maintain the new borders obtained by international recognition at the end of the First World War.<sup>1699</sup> This fear of territorial alienation is a permanent fear of the Romanians, which we can easily explain if we take into consideration the Romanian history and the permanent domination by Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. In order to guarantee the status quo and to preserve the inter-war international system (the Versailles system), Romania's political leaders will champion security through the support of international organizations (the League of Nations) and through the promotion of regional alliances with European states (more specifically Great Britain and France) and Balkans states (the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente), as well as with Eastern European states (Poland<sup>1700</sup>). They have the determination in their foreign policy to oppose "all forms of territorial revision - the restoration of Habsburgs, the idea of Mitteleurope, and the Anschluss"<sup>1701</sup> - and to show the inter-war great powers "that the nations of Central Europe could manage their own affairs and would no longer tolerate being merely the object of bargaining by others."<sup>1702</sup>

#### *After the Cold War*

After the Revolution of 1989, the Romanian foreign policy will seek to continue to promote international and regional organizations, to get support from the main international powers - Europe, the United States and Russia, when the country becomes powerful on the international scene -, and to oppose any kind of territorial revision by

---

<sup>1699</sup> Mitrasca, Marcel Moldova: a Romanian province under Russian rule : diplomatic history from the archives of the great powers. New York, NY: Algora Publishing, 2002. p. 10. and Hitchins, Keith. Rumania: 1866-1947. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). p. 426.

<sup>1700</sup> The Polish-Romanian treaty signed on March 3rd 1921, renewed in 1926 and 1931. The most important article of the treaty provided a common defense against a Soviet Union attack, a large concern for Poland's Eastern territories and Romania's Bessarabia.

<sup>1701</sup> Hitchins, Keith. Rumania: 1866-1947. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). p. 431.

<sup>1702</sup> Ibid.

## ***Romania, a Crossroad***

signing treaties with neighboring countries.<sup>1703</sup> Romania has difficulties in recognizing the balkanization of Yugoslavia and does not recognize the new Kosovo state, a policy which is more aligned to Yugoslav and Russian policies rather than to the United States and European foreign policies in the Balkans. But during all the recent period, the Romanian government will have an ambiguous attitude towards the Republic of Moldova, including former Bessarabia, an inter-war Romanian territory. The political leaders will recognize the new state's independence without hesitation, but will push for reunification during some periods and let the situation as it is: 'one culture, two states' during other periods. From the country's revolution period until nowadays, part of the political leaders and population<sup>1704</sup> will seek to restore the Greater Romania with the incorporation of the Republic of Moldova, even without the non-recognition of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic. The fight for the Bessarabian territory will take various forms, such as religious domination and cultural support. This means that, despite current political issues, the Metropolis of Bessarabia (Romanians) is now recognized as 'the rightful successor' to the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and Hotin, which existed from 1927 to 1944, when it was dissolved and its canonical territory put under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church's Moscow Patriarchate in 1947. Romania's limit was established by two factors: the first was the conflict with Hungary concerning the possible retrocession claim of Transylvania ; the second was the Russian interest in the Republic of Moldova for geopolitical purposes.

The control for geographic areas will also be extended to the Black Sea, giving birth to a neighborhood conflict with Ukraine in relation to the Black Sea delimitation process of the continental shelf and the Bastroe channel. These two cases were important in the post-Cold War economic context for Romania to control the Danube access ways, considered by Romanian experts as a geostrategic position and the Snakes Island continental shelf, considered as a strategic area with its hydrocarbon resources. In these two cases, Romania wins after a long political and legal fights.

---

<sup>1703</sup> To see the second part of the thesis - From Isolation to Interdependence  
- The Neighborliness -

<sup>1704</sup> To see the second part of the thesis - From Isolation to Interdependence  
- The Neighborliness -

**V.1.3.2.3 Economic Space**

A strong economic country at the beginning of the Second World War, Romania took advantage during the Cold War of its particular domestic and independent foreign policy, in-between East and West, and of the specific relations with the Third World and the Middle East, in order to develop power and economic relations in the whole world. After the '89 Revolution, the economic situation of the country was catastrophic and needed development and large investments, considering the economic actors and Ceausescu's obsession during the eighties to pay the country's debt. The different space and alliances gave Romania not only political power, as explained herebefore, but also potential economic power towards the Black Sea area with relations with the Caucasus states, towards the Balkans with traditional economic relations, later on towards the European and Eastern states in the process of EU accession and programs implementation, as well towards United States in the context of NATO accession and the new World context and the fight against terrorism. Romania's geographic position, in the new energetic context in the dawn of the twenty-first century, gives Romania a certain power in the energy economic space vis-à-vis the Alliance and the European Union. Through its actions, Romania tries to get the leadership in economic area as well, by means of the economic diplomacy, which is a component of Romania's foreign policy.<sup>1705</sup>

**V.1.3.3 The Recognition as a European Country**

The adhesion process to NATO and the European Union is also a way to recognize Romania's historical European heritage, as well as to repair the damage done to Romania at the Yalta conference, after the Second World War. Adrian Severin said in 1997 that the adhesion is "a natural and legitimate option"<sup>1706</sup> because Romanians are the same as other European people, and that this adhesion will enable the country to reform more quickly while contributing to the stability not only of the area, but also of the "entire continent". He finished his plea by specifying "that these historical meetings will bring to

---

<sup>1705</sup> To see herebefore in the first part - Change into Continuity – The Comeback – The Foreign Policy New Line -.

<sup>1706</sup> Severin, Adrian. L'integration de la Roumanie dans l'UE et l'OTAN (Romanian Integration into EU and NATO). Paper presented at the Un acquis pour la sécurité en Europe on 24 mars 1997. Bruxelles: Institut Royal des Relations Internationales. pp. 17-30. p. 17-30. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Romania, a Crossroad***

Romania the act of justice which it well deserves after a half of century of waiting and sacrifices",<sup>1707</sup> along the line of the Romanians' feeling of victimization.

In addition to the political purposes, the country sought recognition for a geopolitical reason as we saw, during Ion Iliescu's first presidential mandate, with the hesitation to choose between Eastern and Western partners, with Emil Constantinescu and his initiative: 'Romania, at the Crossroads' (România la răscruce), and with Traian Basescu and his consolidation of Romania's position within NATO and the European Union. The country needed to be viewed as an Eastern European country and not as a Balkan state as we will detail in the next chapter.

---

<sup>1707</sup> Ibid. Paper presented at. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



## V.2 Romania In-between

Our parents looked to the East and we  
look to the West.

Alecu Russo<sup>1708</sup>

Because, “[t]he history of Romania is in an area of boundaries: extreme border of the Roman Empire, the border of the Byzantine Empire, the border of Russia’s expansion and Turkey’s expansion, the border between Russia’s expansion and Western hegemonies led by Berlin and Vienna in the nineteenth century”<sup>1709</sup>, Romania always felt in-between. When Romania is under the Ottoman domination, it woos Russia; when it is in the Warsaw Pact, Romanians look to the United States; when Romanians are within the USSR, they court the Chinese; ... As explains Baicoianu Anca, Romania is “[a] space of ‘in-between peripherality’<sup>1710</sup>, a border at the confines of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, a temporality disrupted by the constant prospect of backwardness shape the distinct profile of a culture defining itself in relationship with its multiple others”<sup>1711</sup>, as explained herebefore. An ‘in-between peripherality’ as Totösy de Zepetnek Stephen defines it<sup>1712</sup>, is the space of cultural interference between the West and the East. Romania’s position between the East and the West has consolidated heir status ‘of intermediaries in the

---

<sup>1708</sup> Alecu Russo (1819-1859) was a Moldavian Romanian writer, literary critic and publicist, and took part in the Revolution of 1848.

<sup>1709</sup> Durandin, Catherine. *Histoire des Roumains* (Romanians' History). Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1995.

<sup>1710</sup> To see: Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven *Comparative Cultural Studies and the Study of Central European Culture*. In Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven (Ed.), *Comparative Central European Culture*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 2002 Vol. 1.

<sup>1711</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. *The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization* [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, *Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies* 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1712</sup> Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven *Comparative Cultural Studies and the Study of Central European Culture*. In Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven (Ed.), *Comparative Central European Culture*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 2002 Vol. 1. p. 10.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

culture<sup>1713</sup>, and reinforced the idea of Romanian uniqueness previously seen.

In the wave of Balkan instability, Romania was afraid that the country could be partially split, with the potential retrocession of Transylvania to Hungary. It was also afraid to be in an in-between situation with the East and the West, in a sort of No Man's Land.

### **V.2.1 Romania between West (Latinity) and East (Orthodoxy)**

In 395, the Roman Empire split in two – the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire –; the Byzantine Empire was thus born. The Eastern Roman Empire became known since the eighteenth century, and then Orthodoxy will gradually replace the Roman legacy, eventually unifying the Empire. In the eleventh century, disagreements between Orthodox (East) and Catholics (West) grew and these rivalries led to a schism in 1057.<sup>1714</sup> Two churches with different practices and customs were born: the Orthodox Church in the East, the Catholic Church in the West. Yet, Romania was part of the Eastern Roman Empire, on the line between the two new churches. After the conquest of the Muslims and the fall of Constantinople, the Russian Church claimed the title of the Third Rome for political reasons, unless if all Churches under Ottoman domination were attached to Constantinople, as was the case for Romania (Moldavia and Wallachia). The theory of the Third Rome<sup>1715</sup> was developed for political reasons, but never really claimed by Moscow, being used geopolitically since the eighteenth century in the fight against the Ottomans and toward the Black Sea. This theological question is an important topic in the legacy of the church.

The Orthodox religion linked Romania to the Balkan and the Eastern side of the faiths dominated in turn by the Byzantine Empire

---

<sup>1713</sup> To see : Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 28.

<sup>1714</sup> To see: Clément, Olivier. *L'église Orthodoxe* [online]. (Orthodox Church). 2008 ed. Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis Online, 2008. (Encyclopaedia Universalis). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.universalis-edu.com/article2.php?nref=N131851>>.

<sup>1715</sup> The theory of the Third Rome found its argumentation under the plume of the most famous monk Pskov, Philothée. He wrote: "And now the whole earth radiates more dazzling than the sun, the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church of the Third New Rome, your powerful empire [...], and there will be a fourth." Cited in: *Ibid*.

and by the Russian Empire, as opposed to the Latinity that linked the country to Western Europe and European values. Romania is dual, constituted by the inter-space of two religions from Eastern and Western sides, and by various conflicts between the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman and Russian Empires.

### **V.2.1.1 Latinity**

The Romanian people appeared in history as a Latin nation and were considered already Christian, especially by Romanian intellectuals. Thus, the Romanian people are one of the few nations that, without having a fixed date of its Christianization, was born Christian, being the only Latin Orthodox people, and at the same time, the oldest Christian people in this part of Europe. In its turn, forced by historical circumstances, it had to receive the Slave language in the practice of the Church, using it until the seventeenth century. We have seen in the first part – Change into Continuity – that Romania's Latinity anchor is strongly emphasized and with it, the strong link with France, and by extension, with Western and European values. As says Bratianu Ion in the late nineteenth century: "Each Romanian has two homelands; the second is France".<sup>1716</sup> The link between the two countries is old and took on different facets.

Latinity, an undefined idea, was more valued by the Others, and became root of the Romanian nation in the wave of the 'Spring of Nations' through the influence of the Bonjourist<sup>1717</sup> and the work of the Transylvanian scholars, consolidated by the union of Transylvania with the Greater Romania. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the French influence on the Romanian culture, and consequently of the Latinity, occurred through various 'instruments' such as the presence of French people as secretaries, tutors or diplomats in Moldavia and Wallachia, and the presence of Romanians in France (pleasure trips and travel studies from sons of boyars), the existence of books that circulated in the original French version or translated into Romanian, the creation of theater in French in Iasi and Bucharest, etc., - all these anchored the French language and culture and, consequently, the Latinity. We have to remember that the French language was already present in Europe in the eighteenth

---

<sup>1716</sup> 'Chaque Roumain a deux patries ; la seconde, c'est la France'. Ion I. C. Brătianu was several times Prime Minister of the Romania Kingdom. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1717</sup> Bonjourist was the name given to a number of young boyars who had been sent to Paris for their education.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

century as the language of diplomatic relations. But the Latinity also came through Transylvania, shaped by the influence of the Holy Roman Empire (962–1806), the Austrian Empire (1804-1867) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918).

The Latin origins, the basic myth which motivated (and still motivates) the attitudes and mentalities of the Romanians, functioned as a strong argument to obtain the support of the great powers and cultures, among which one was France in the nineteenth century – and helped the country achieve its emancipation and build a modern state. Due to the close relationship with France, the French culture played a great role in this process of Westernization of the country's elite and maintained this impact until the late twentieth century. "The self-image of Romania as 'a Latin country which has always believed itself to be an extension of the West toward the East', helps to explain why it has often differentiated itself from its neighbours"<sup>1718</sup> says Dorina Nastase, Romanian political reporter and International Relations expert. But, when Romania became a periphery of the Soviet Union, the French and the Western impact on the Romanian thinking became subject of change and we can say that "[t]wo decades after the return of the West, the swinging between East and West is the living proof of the in-between spatial functioning of Bulgaria and Romania, which are trying hard to become the actors of their own super-national becoming."<sup>1719</sup>

Romanian leaders reminded Westerners that Romanians contributed in the past to the European culture, and especially to French culture, through personalities such as essayist and performance artist Tzara Tristan, sculptor Brancusi Constantin (Brâncuși Constantin), playwright and dramatist Ionescu Eugen (Eugène Ionesco), photographer Brassai (Gyula Halász jr), historian and philosopher Eliade Mircea, composer Enescu George and philosopher Cioran Emil, or Princess Bibescu Marta (Marthe Bibesco), a writer, and Princess Bibesco-Bassaraba Anna Elisabeth, who became Anna de Noailles by marriage.<sup>1720</sup>

---

<sup>1718</sup> Gogolewska, Agnieszka, Năstase Dorina and Osolnik Marko. The 'other Europe' seeks a welcome *The World Today*, 1997, vol. 53, no. 5. p. 123.

<sup>1719</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union)*. *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>1720</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Point de vue - Europe - la plus-value roumaine [online]. (Viewpoint - Europe - the Romanian capital gain). *Le Monde*, 24 Jul. 2001. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/Document/lemond0020010725dx7o00019>>.

### **V.2.1.2 Latinity - A Tool for Survival**

With the 'Spring of Nations', the French influence and the geopolitical situation in Europe raised in Romania the idea of Latinity as a tool for independence. The Latin origins functioned as a strong argument in obtaining the support of the great power and culture of the nineteenth century, i.e. France, for the country's emancipation.<sup>1721</sup>

As Armbruster wrote,

[...] the climax of the century of the Enlightenment being precisely the moment when the idea of the Romanity of the Romanians became an intellectual weapon, handled with effectiveness by the Romanian people in their fight to have their rights as a nation recognized, from the social and political points of view.<sup>1722</sup>

He will underline also, with an important statement, that "the idea of its Romanity will surface in a symptomatic manner, each time the construction of modern Romania arrives at a turning point of its history".<sup>1723</sup> The French culture had a great role in this process of Westernisation, and maintained this impact until late Twentieth century. That is why, in 1989, the strong link with France, maintained during the Cold War<sup>1724</sup>, will be one of the first steps in Romania's reintegration into the club of democratic countries and in Europe. To do so, given a strong sense of Francophone feelings supported by its 'cousin' – France –, Romania applies for membership and integrates in the OIF in 1993 as the first step of recognition, in Romania's viewpoint, of a country having the same basis of European civilization.

---

<sup>1721</sup> To see: Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 59-110.

<sup>1722</sup> Armbruster, Adolf. *Romanitatea romanilor : istoria unei idei (Romanity of the Roumanians - History of an Idea)*. Trans. La romanité des Roumains - Histoire d'une idée by Grecescu, Ciraşa Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977. (Bibliotheca Historica). p. 15. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1723</sup> *Ibid.* Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1724</sup> The travel of Charles de Gaulle in May 1968 and the cooperation and trade agreement signed between the two countries.

### **V.2.1.3 Orthodoxy**

Thual François<sup>1725</sup> describes that<sup>1726</sup>, before the nineteenth century, the Orthodox religion was led by the Orthodox Church from the Ottoman Empire and was only grouped by patriarchs. But with the 'Spring of Nations', the religious emancipation for the church autonomy will be the basis of the national claim for independence. In the past, the Orthodox Church fought to avoid the country's Hellenisation and struggled for national identity against the Phanariot power of key areas in Moldavia and Wallachia. The Church was helped by the Russians, who wanted to expand their influence in the Balkans. The emergence of a national consciousness derived from the model of the nation-state based on the West; in addition, the 1848 French Revolution was supported by the French for geopolitical reasons, even at the beginning, when the movement started on a religious basis. The Russian Empire expected to take advantage from this movement, because a new orthodox independent country could be an advantage for easier control of the Balkan area.<sup>1727</sup> But by its reaction against the domination of foreign elites, Romania discovers its Latin consciousness and, in the fight between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church, it takes advantage of it so as to get rid of the Ottoman and Hellenic dominations, with a reinforcement of the myth of the Western Latinity. Because "religion [, for political leaders,] was a means to better control civil society and, in their mind, the subservience of the Church was only an instrument of its domestication"<sup>1728</sup> and, consequently, a tool for better control of the people.

In fact, as wrote Thual,

[t]he religious factor is primarily related to the non-religious. This means that politicians and supporters of nationalism in those countries refer less to religion as a spiritual experience as opposed to a shelter of the national identity along the centuries and as an ultimate incarnation of the national spirit.<sup>1729</sup>

We need to add that

---

<sup>1725</sup> Thual François is a French geopolitics authored or co-authored of more than thirty books devoted mainly to geopolitical method and its application to various parts of the world.

<sup>1726</sup> To see: Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS").

<sup>1727</sup> Ibid. p. 46.

<sup>1728</sup> Ibid. p. 41. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1729</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

the interference of religion and geopolitics operates in a specific way in this universe; the specificity of Orthodoxy is the state of symbiotic fusion between the national and the religious. The fact that we describe the national phenomenon under these three aspects - development of the national feeling, nationalism and expansionist nationalism; we see the profound interweaving of Orthodoxy with the national fact in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. [...] Religion in the Orthodox space is one of the main operators in nation-building.<sup>1730</sup>

Thual explains that "[t]he particular efficiency of orthodoxy in the political life of these countries was related to the fact that the identification process was done in a double way, vis-à-vis its own self as self-affirmation, and vis-à-vis others, designated as potential enemies with the role of reinforcement factors."<sup>1731</sup> One can remember that "[d]uring Ceausescu's dictatorship, the church was partly tolerated", because "there was a complex relationship between the Church and the state".<sup>1732</sup> The church was seen "as a useful national tool"<sup>1733</sup> by communist leaders, taking into account that "Romanians remained attached to their Church, because in their minds, the Church remained the symbol of the Romanian nation".<sup>1734</sup>

After the First World War, Romania became the Greater Romania and was confronted to a major stake, given the need to create a new national entity due to the addition of territories – Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina, Bessarabia... -. Hitchins Keith explains that the elites and the population – the peasant masses – could only join on the faith pole, through the Orthodox religion<sup>1735</sup>, because the "Orthodox Church embodies the specificity of a Romanian identity differentiated from the Latin Western Europe",<sup>1736</sup> part of traditional national history. This identity partially bases on faith was not only used during the communist period, but also after the 89' Revolution because "[t]he new Romania, despite the ethnic

---

<sup>1730</sup> Ibid. p. 125. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1731</sup> Ibid. p. 127. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1732</sup> Binns, John. *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 22.

<sup>1733</sup> Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). p. 41. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1734</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1735</sup> To see: Hitchins, Keith (Eds). *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985. Vol. V*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986.

<sup>1736</sup> Durandin, Catherine. *Orthodoxie et Roumanité: Le débat de l'entre deux guerres* (Orthodoxy and Roumanity: The debate in between the two wars). In Hitchins, Keith (Eds) (Ed.), *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986 Vol. V*. p. 107. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

and religious pluralism that prevailed there”,<sup>1737</sup> saw “the Orthodox Church continuing to play a major role in the inspiration of Romanian nationalism and in the leadership of the nation,”<sup>1738</sup> despite the fact that officially the country, “according to the Constitution, [...] is a secular state and the fifteen recognized religions have the same status”<sup>1739</sup>, but with a large part of the population<sup>1740</sup> to be orthodox confession.

However, this large “claim of massive Orthodox belonging is not necessarily related to a return to the traditional values established by the Church as norms”<sup>1741</sup>, explains Capelle-Pogăcean Antonela. But for her, the church and the military represent the two symbols of national independence, through the role they played in maintaining the national identity of Romanians during modern history. In the desert of the post-communist era, the return to the nation is the return to religion and vice-versa.

In the nineteenth century, the Romanian Orthodox church was recognized in 1885 as the Metropolis of Romania, after a long period of negotiations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Church was raised to the rank of Patriarchy in 1925 and became independent. The Romanian Orthodox Church is the only orthodox church of a country receiving Apostolic Christianity, using the Christian calendar and speaking a romance language derived from Latin. This is also the second largest Orthodox Church after Russia. This specific situation reinforces the Romanian feeling of uniqueness. Its jurisdiction covers the territory of Romania, with dioceses for Romanians living in nearby Moldova, Serbia and Hungary, as well as

---

<sup>1737</sup>Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). p. 75. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1738</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1739</sup> Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Du 'retour de l'orthodoxie' dans la Roumanie post-communiste. In Collectif (Ed.), *L'Autre Europe*. Paris: L'Age D'Homme, 1998 Vol. 36-37.

<sup>1740</sup> According to the 1992 census, 87% of Romanians are Orthodox versus 0.3% atheist. But the Orthodox Church put forward in 1984 that 80% was Orthodox and the estimates made by compulsing a variety of sources by Berindei Mihnea (To see: Berindei, Mihnea *Religion et politique en Roumanie. Autour des statistiques* (Religion and politics in Romania. Around statistics). In Ibid. 1989 Vol. 20-21.) in 1989 gives 70-71% Orthodox and 6% of non-believers. At the 2002 census, 86,79 % of the population is declared orthodox. (to see: \_\_\_\_\_. *Ethno-demographic Structure of Romania* [online]. 2002c, 16 June 2009. Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center. [cited 18 June 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.edrc.ro/recensamant.jsp>>.)

<sup>1741</sup> Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Du 'retour de l'orthodoxie' dans la Roumanie post-communiste. In Collectif (Ed.), *L'Autre Europe*. Paris: L'Age D'Homme, 1998 Vol. 36-37. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



Diaspora communities in Central and Western Europe, North America and Oceania. In 1993, the Romanian Patriarchate re-established jurisdictions in areas that had been part of the Romanian territory in the interwar period from 1927 to 1944, northern Bukovina (now in Ukraine) and Bessarabia, most of which is in the independent Republic of Moldova.

#### **V.2.1.4 Romanian Orthodox Church and Moldova**

The Romanian Orthodox Church recovered jurisdiction over a minority of believers in Moldova (720 000)<sup>1742</sup>, who belonged to the Metropolis of Bessarabia, as opposed to the majority, who belonged to the Moldovan Orthodox Church, under the Moscow Patriarchate. The Orthodox Church in Moldova had been part of the Russian Orthodox Church since World War II and had just been granted autonomous status by Moscow. This link with the Republic of Moldova was used to promote Romania's influence over the reintegration of the country, with the aim of re-establishing the Greater Romania. But the government of the Republic of Moldova supported the jurisdiction linked to Moscow and did not allow the new Romanian jurisdiction (Romanian church) to register officially on the territory, declaring the Metropolitan Church of Moldova within the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow the legal successor of the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia, which normally belonged to the Romanian Orthodox church. After a long period of legal trials in the Moldovan justice

---

<sup>1742</sup> Necsutu, Madalin and Borcea Tudor. Biserica Ortodoxă Română, atacată de bisericile 'surori' (The Romanian Orthodox Church, Attacked by Its 'Sister' Churches). *Ziua Online*, no. 4146, 31 Jan. 2008 [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/news.php?data=2008-01-31&id=3053>>

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

system and within European Union institutions,<sup>1743</sup> the Romanian Orthodox church won the right to be active on the Republic of Moldova's territory and was recognized as the legal successor of the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and not of the Metropolitan Church of Moldova within the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow. But both the Moldovan President and the Parliament still opposed it by placing legal restrictions.<sup>1744</sup>

According to Russian politician Konstantin Zatulin, the Romanian Orthodox Church made 'proselytism' against the Russian Orthodox Church in Moldova, with the supposed aim of annexing these territories to Romania. He explains that there is "the danger of eroding Moldova's sovereignty from within by the pro-Romanian political forces and dismantling the Moldovan statehood in favour of Romania."<sup>1745</sup> He adds that if the situation persists, the annexation will get support "not only among the Romanian political elite but also among the nationalists in Moldova, who consider themselves Romanians and who want to be integrated into Romania as soon as possible."<sup>1746</sup> In addition, the Romanian Orthodox Church confirms the

---

<sup>1743</sup> The Metropolitan Petru of Bessarabia complained about discrimination and persecution, but in December 1997 Moldova's Supreme Court ruled in favor of the government and rejected the right of the Romanian Orthodox church to be registered in the country. The trial went to the Strasbourg-based European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) against the Government of Moldova, and The Romanian Orthodox church wins the case in 1997, 2001, and 2004. To see: Parliamentary Assembly. Written declaration no. 265 on the decision of the Court of Appeal of the Republic of Moldova on the legitimacy and freedom of the Metropolis of Bessarabia. Strabourg, FR: Council of Europe. 3 Oct. 1997, 1997. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/workingdocs/doc98/edoc7946.htm>>. and European Court of Human Rights. Judgment in the Case of Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and Others v. Moldova. Strabourg, FR: Council of Europe. 13 Dec. 2001, 2001. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.echr.coe.int/eng/Press/2001/Dec/MetropolitanChurchofBessarabiajudpress.htm>>. and Parliamentary Assembly. Right of the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia to its own succession in title. Strabourg, FR: Council of Europe. 26 Jan. 2004, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/workingdocs/doc04/edoc10042.htm>>.

<sup>1744</sup> To see: Corley, Felix. MOLDOVA: Religion Law again with President, but concerns remain [online]. Forum 18, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/46b306d2.pdf>>.

<sup>1745</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian Patriarchate's activity aimed at Moldova's absorption by Romania: Konstantin Zatulin. *Regnum*, 12 May 2007 19:29. Moscow: Regnum News Agency, 2007d. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.regnum.ru/english/927412.html>>.

<sup>1746</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

opening of dioceses in Pridnestrovie and Ukraine, not recognized by the Moscow Patriarchate on the canonical territory of the Moldovan and Ukrainian Churches. The church declares that is justified by a number of historic and legal arguments...<sup>1747</sup> "The decision was perceived by the Russian Patriarchate as an invasion of the territory" as we can read in the Romanian newspaper Ziuă.<sup>1748</sup> Bucharest's attempt through the Romanian Orthodox Church serves the interests of nationalism in Moldova, but not those of Orthodoxy... According to the position of the Romanian Orthodox church in the public and political spheres, the church is an instrument used in politics and foreign policy.

### **V.2.1.5 Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism**

As explains Lucian Boia, "until the nineteenth century, Romanians were integrated in the Eastern cultural space"<sup>1749</sup>, on the Eastern side of the Roman Empire, which included all of the Eastern European countries south of the Danube and east of the Drina, all provinces in Asia and Egypt. The fact that separated the East from the West was the wave of barbarian invasions that overwhelmed the West, but almost let the East in peace.

#### **V.2.1.5.1 The Russian Expansion**

However, the Russian expansion gave rise to a series of wars between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, under various excuses for strategic needs toward the Black Sea and the Area of Influence along the Empire Borders. As explains

---

<sup>1747</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Novy ustav Rumynskoy tserkvi podtverdil "vossozdaniye" trekh eparkhy v sostave "Bessarabskoy mitropolii" (Новый устав Румынской церкви подтвердил "воссоздание" трех епархий в составе "Бессарабской митрополии") [online]. (Romanian Orthodox Church Confirms Establishment of Eparchies in Ukraine and Moldova). *Interfax Religion*, 24 January 2008, 12:48. Moscow: Interfax, 2008g. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=22510>>.

<sup>1748</sup> Necsutu, Madalin and Borcea Tudor. Biserica Ortodoxă Română, atacată de bisericile 'surori' (The Romanian Orthodox Church, Attacked by Its 'Sister' Churches). *Ziuă Online*, no. 4146, 31 Jan. 2008 [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/news.php?data=2008-01-31&id=3053>>

<sup>1749</sup> Boia, Lucian. History and Myth in Romanian consciousness. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 37.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

Frederic Kellogg, "[t]he Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia had concluded agreements with Russia during the last half of the seventeenth century for joint efforts in the name of Christianity against Islam".<sup>1750</sup> With the consolidation of the power by Peter I the Great (1672–1725), Russia had become the largest state in the world through expansionist policies in general, and particularly toward the southern frontier, which successfully advanced Russia's southern boundary to the Black Sea against the Ottoman domination. Catherine's 'Greek project' - the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe and the renewal of a Byzantine Empire under Russian control - accelerated the Russian expansion and increased Russia's influence over the Balkans. But wars fought between the Imperial Russia and the Ottoman Empire impacted each time on the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, following either Russian occupation or yield of territories to the Russian Empire. One has to remember that the characteristic of the Russian Empire was the Russification of minorities because, at that time, "nationality policies often overlapped with foreign affairs. Those who were 'foreigners' one year might become part of the empire the next".<sup>1751</sup> "The Russians were no longer the great liberating Orthodox brothers,"<sup>1752</sup> but, following their conquest and expansion to reach the Balkan area and join the Mediterranean Sea, they became a danger and a threat to the Romanian independence and the "absorption and assimilation of Romania (as it had just happened with Bessarabia<sup>1753</sup>)".<sup>1754</sup>

In the nineteenth century, one more Russian-Turkish War (1877–1878) had its origins in the rise of nationalism in the Balkans as well as in the Russian goal of recovering territorial losses it had suffered during the Crimean War. Russia reestablished itself in the Black Sea in following by its help the political movement attempting

---

<sup>1750</sup> Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 138.

<sup>1751</sup> Moss, Walter G. *A History of Russia: Since 1855*. 2nd ed. II vols. Vol. II. London: Anthem Press, 2005. (Anthem Series on Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies). p. 65.

<sup>1752</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 37.

<sup>1753</sup> By the Treaty of Bucharest of May 28, 1812 — concluding the Russo-Turkish War, 1806-1812 — the Ottoman Empire ceded the eastern half of the Principality of Moldavia, called Bessarabia, to the Russian Empire. Administratively, Bessarabia became an oblast of the Russian Empire in 1818 and a guberniya in 1873.

<sup>1754</sup> Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 37.

to free Balkan nations from the Ottoman Empire. With the help of the Russian Empire as an ally, "the Romanians entered the war against the Ottomans rather late after being subjected to enormous pressure by the Russians."<sup>1755</sup>, although the treaty of alliance between Romania and the Russian Empire specified that the Russian Empire would respect the territorial integrity of Romania and not claim any part of Romania. Romania obtained its independence with the support of the seven powers that signed the Paris peace treaty and with the support of Russia. "In considering the attitude of tsarist Russia toward the Balkan peninsula, it is important to remember that the region had a major geopolitical significance for wider imperial policy"<sup>1756</sup>, and Romania was the country link and on the way to the Balkans for the Russian troops. But "extreme difficulties that can be encountered by a great power in dealing with a small peripheral state occupying a strategically geographic position, whose policies might at times contain dangers for its large neighbor."<sup>1757</sup>

#### **V.2.1.5.2 National and Geopolitical Expansion Tool**

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Russian Orthodox Church experienced a phenomenal geographic expansion by subordinating other Metropolia<sup>1758</sup>; nowadays, the church has the "desire to restore its former domination in Orthodox Slav lands [...] a key motivation for the Patriarchate's attitudes toward religious life in the newly independent states."<sup>1759</sup> The Russian Orthodox Church sees it as "a challenge to claims that Russia has a messianic mission and that Moscow has a unique place in the Orthodox world."<sup>1760</sup> We can add that "the relationship of tsarist Russia with the Balkan national movements, [and] with the emphasis on the special relationship that existed between the Russian government and the Orthodox and Slavic peoples of the region"<sup>1761</sup>

---

<sup>1755</sup> Karpat, Kemal H. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. p. 680.

<sup>1756</sup> Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 267.

<sup>1757</sup> Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p. 292.

<sup>1758</sup> The annexation of the Kiev Orthodox Church, the Bessarabian Orthodox Church, the Orthodox Church of Estonia, ...

<sup>1759</sup> Knox, Zoe Katrina. *Russian Society and The Orthodox Church*. New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005. p. 81.

<sup>1760</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1761</sup> Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 266.

was an additional element of the Russian domination's will of the Balkans.

### **V.2.1.5.3 Geopolitical Development Tool**

The new Romanian nationalism heritage from the 'Spring of Nations' opposed the "nationalism of the Slav peoples and Pan-Slavism"<sup>1762</sup> because their national construction contradicted the Romanian one. And the "hypothetic threat of pan-Slavism was answered with a powerful reassertion of Latinity seen as a legitimate way into a Europe that had actually never been left."<sup>1763</sup>

Pan-Slavism, a "theory and movement intended to promote the political or cultural unity of all Slavs"<sup>1764</sup>, advocated in the seventeenth century, was a movement in the mid-nineteenth century developed in opposition to Pan-Germanism, in order to unify all the Slavic peoples. Originally an anti-Russian movement<sup>1765</sup>, it was transformed into militant and nationalistic Russian Pan-Slavism, with the aim of liberating, in the Balkans, the Southern Slavs ruled and oppressed for centuries by the three great empires, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Venice. The goal was to form a Russian-dominated Slavic federation.<sup>1766</sup> Pan-Slavism was used as a political tool by both the Russian Empire and its successor, the Soviet Union, as today by Russia to have a foot in the Balkan and to assure the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea domination.

---

<sup>1762</sup> Boia, Lucian. History and Myth in Romanian consciousness. Trans. Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997] by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 37.

<sup>1763</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1764</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Pan-Slavism* [online]. Sixth ed. s.l.: HighBeam™ Research, Inc., 2008h. (Encyclopedia.com). HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Pan-Slavism.aspx>>.

<sup>1765</sup> The First Pan-Slav congress was held in Prague, Bohemia in June, 1848, during the revolutionary movement of 1848, and was specifically both anti-Austrian and anti-Russian.

<sup>1766</sup> To see : \_\_\_\_\_. *Pan-Slavism* [online]. Sixth ed. s.l.: HighBeam™ Research, Inc., 2008h. (Encyclopedia.com). HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Pan-Slavism.aspx>>. and

### **V.2.1.6 Orthodox Feeling Toward the Balkans**

Orthodoxy is linked to the national feeling, as part of the country's independence and as the symbol of the nation. Orthodoxy links Romania to the Balkans and Russia via the religious faiths that support the Russian hegemony through religion toward the Black Sea and the Balkans in general. Even if Romania is not a Slavic country, the religious faith, as well as the common history of liberation from the Ottoman dominations, associates Romania to the other countries to the South of Danube, such as Bulgaria, Croatia, and Serbia...

#### **V.2.1.6.1 The Balkan Area and Orthodoxy**

In addition, this association with Balkan countries in the post-'89 situation, as well as the minorities' claims went with the war in the former Yugoslavian area and constituted a threat, from Romania's perspective, for Romania's political stability and for its accession to NATO and the European Union. We can see in the first part – Change into Continuity – that, from the beginning of the new democracy, the Romanian leaders will do everything to share an image that is closer to that of Eastern European states, in order to avoid association with Balkan states and instability and threats of the Magyar minority's claims. In fact, no specialist can agree on the definition and geographical situation of the 'Balkans', and everyone, including the European Union, European specialists, NATO, American specialists, historians, and geographers, goes with their own definition. This situation was advantageous to Romania, which used the definition that best suited its geopolitical situation; one day close to Eastern European countries, the other day favoring the Balkan proximity and the historical relation heritage. Our thesis's topic is not to define the Balkan historical, geographical and geopolitical limit, but we will draft a quick understanding of the definition used by Romanians themselves and by others.

Already in 1930, Iorga Nicolae stated that "the Bulgarians remain today [1930] the only Balkan people, and Bulgaria the only Balkan state", even if "[h]istorically, the Balkans were in possession of the Byzantine emperors"<sup>1767</sup> and if "[b]etween the Balkans and Romania, there could not have been a more strongly marked political

---

<sup>1767</sup> Iorga, Nicolae. Is Romania a Balkan State? [online]. (Reproduction). Roumania - A Quarterly Review, 1930, vol. VI, no. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roconsulboston.com/Pages/InfoPages/Commentary/Balkan.html>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

contrast."<sup>1768</sup> For Iorga, "the recognition of Turkish suzerainty by the prince"<sup>1769</sup> did not mean that the country became a Balkan one. During the post-revolution era, Romanian leaders' discourses, from 1990 to 1999, will focus on demonstrating that Romania is an Eastern European country, dissociating it from the Balkan image as described in the first part – Change into Continuity –. After positioning the country as a CEEC, Romanian leaders will use the argumentation of strong historical and political links, especially after 2000, with the Balkan countries seen as a factor of stability and peace promoter in the region. Eventually, Romania 'sold' to NATO and the European Union its capacity to be a regional leader in the area, as we explain in the second part - Isolation to Interdependence.

### **V.2.1.6.2 The Balkans and Their Definition**

Related literature has emphasized on the negative connotations carried out by the word 'Balkans', as it was exemplified by the term 'Balkanization', "which has come to mean fragmentation into mutually hostile entities."<sup>1770</sup>

As explains Siani-Davies Peter<sup>1771</sup>,

Balkanization is the exact opposite of integration and, as such, it can be seen to represent Europe's past. Indeed, according to Ole Weaver, it is not an external threat that today is Europe's defining 'other', but this conflict-driven (sic) past. [...] They are no longer the lands suspended between Occident and Orient. [...] they represent the European past which cannot become the future. [...] A region still peripheral and separate from the EU, suspended somewhere between the inclusive promise of integration and the exclusion [...].<sup>1772</sup>

The Balkan Peninsula, also called in short 'the Balkans', is a historical and geographical regional part of Southeastern Europe. It has several definitions, but the region takes its name from the Balkan Mountains, coming from "the Turkish word for a chain of wooded

---

<sup>1768</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1769</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1770</sup> Siani-Davies, Peter. *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995*. London: Routledge, 2003. p. 2.

<sup>1771</sup> Peter Siani-Davies is Director of the Centre for South-East European Studies and Senior Lecturer in Modern South-East European Studies, School of Slavonic and East European Studies in the University College London.

<sup>1772</sup> Siani-Davies, Peter. *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995*. London: Routledge, 2003. p. 2.



mountains"<sup>1773</sup>, which run through the centre of Bulgaria into Eastern Serbia. The term – 'the Balkan Peninsula' (Balkanhalbinsel) – was used for the first time in 1808, by mistake, by German geographer Johann August Zeune. It may be defined as an area of Southeastern Europe surrounded by water on three sides: the Adriatic Sea to the west, the Mediterranean Sea (including the Ionian and Aegean seas) to the south and the Black Sea to the east. Its northern boundary is often considered as being limited by the Danube, Sava and Kupa rivers.<sup>1774</sup> The area was also known, in the eighteenth century, due to constant Austro-Hungarian and Russian fights<sup>1775</sup> and, later on by the consequences on the two world wars<sup>1776</sup>, even if we can claim that the area had no name until the nineteenth Century and was only known as 'European Turkey or Turkey-in-Europe', the term used for the European territories of the Ottoman Empire.

According to common usage, it covers the territory of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, the states resulting from the fall of Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and the European part of Turkey. However, some authors add Romania<sup>1777</sup>, while others set the limit to Slovenia and Croatia. Many countries considered as Balkan states can be defined in many respects, according to the geographical definition, as borderline countries, not Balkan countries, such as Romania and Slovenia, and sometimes Croatia and Greece. Nevertheless, Misha Glenny<sup>1778</sup> writes that "[t]he difficulty in defining the Balkans arises from the conflation of political and geographic descriptions that are

---

<sup>1773</sup> Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries II vols.* Vol. 1. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. p. 1.

<sup>1774</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1-3.

<sup>1775</sup> Norris, David A. *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999. p. 21 a verifier.

<sup>1776</sup> Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans.* updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997]. p. 33. And Jezernik, Božidar. *Wild Europe, The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travelers.* London: SAQI in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004. p. 23-24.

<sup>1777</sup> To see: Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries II vols.* Vol. 1. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

<sup>1778</sup> Misha Glenny is a former British BBC central Europe correspondent and has written articles published in *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Sunday Times* and *Financial Times*. He specialised in reporting on the Balkans independence wars in the late 1980s and early 1990s that followed the collapse of Yugoslavia. Glenny won the 1993's Sony Gold Award for his 'outstanding contribution to broadcasting'. He has also written several books about the Balkans. He ran, for three years, an NGO helping with the reconstruction of Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

themselves problematic”, requiring “a century for this inaccurate description to eclipse other classical or geo-political names [...]”, and emphasizing the fact that “a consensus has never been found.”<sup>1779</sup>

The population of the Balkans, set up in waves, is a complex national, linguistic and cultural patchwork with many different cultural influences, sharing a number of common cultural features with a common past. In fact, it is a region geographically inextricable from Europe, yet culturally constructed as ‘the other’, the Balkans having often served as a repository of negative characteristics upon which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the ‘European’ and the ‘West’ has been built.<sup>1780</sup>

The term of ‘Balkanization’ associated to the region, used in December 1918 by Rathenau Walther, refers “to division of a multinational state into smaller ethnically homogeneous entities”, and “used to refer to ethnic conflict within multiethnic states”,<sup>1781</sup> as in the former Yugoslavia in the nineties. Because of the negative connotations of the term ‘Balkans’, a new term was set up, as explains Todorova Maria<sup>1782</sup>, i.e. ‘Southeastern Europe’, a term already used by Iorga Nicolae. The term is used in certain cases as a synonym, depending on the sensibility. The term ‘Southeastern Europe’ covered a larger area, including all the peripheral countries which rejected the Balkan country denomination, such as Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary and Romania.<sup>1783</sup>

Neither, Romania’s belonging to the Balkans was disputed nowadays, and they were a tension of self-identity present towards political leaders. In the first half of the twenties, Iorga Nicolae placed his country “between the center of Europe and the Russian steppe, the somber lands of the north and the sunny Balkan peninsula in the

---

<sup>1779</sup> Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*. New York, NY: Vicking Penguin, 2000.

<sup>1780</sup> Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997]. p. 455.

<sup>1781</sup> Pringle, Robert W. *Balkanization* [online]. 2009 ed. Chicago, IL: Encyclopædia Britannica Oline, 2009. (Encyclopædia Britannica). [cited 24 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/50323/Balkanization>>.

<sup>1782</sup> Maria Todorova holds a Ph.D and she is a professor of History at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She specializes in the history of the Balkans in the modern period. She was awarded the prestigious John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship prize in 2000.

<sup>1783</sup> Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997]. p. 3-37.

south"<sup>1784</sup>, delimitating the Balkan boundary on the Danube river. Todorova Maria explains that Iorga used the Southeastern Europe as units of analysis within Romania, instead considering Romania as a Balkan country.<sup>1785</sup> The use of this term 'South-Eastern Europe' was used, after the communist revolution, as a means of identification for the area, despite the bad connotation term of "Balkans". As we saw in the first part – Change into Continuity - and second part – From Dependence to Interdependence -, Romanian leaders after the 89' Revolution avoided to be classified by Westerners as a Balkan country, because of the term's negative impact, but even more so in the nineties, because of the Yugoslav war and ethnic problems in the country's south-western borders. Romania realized a long ago that being associated with the Balkans would separate it from the European root and delay or avoid the European Union and NATO accession.

### **V.2.1.6.3 Romania, 'In' or 'Out'?**

However, the challenge was not so easy, if we consider the multiple views on what is meant by 'Balkan' and whether Romania is 'In' or 'Out' of it.

For Robert Kaplan David,<sup>1786</sup> Romania is 'In'<sup>1787</sup>. We can summarize his point of view by quoting The New York Times' journalist, Sulzberger Cyrus Leo, who wrote in his diaries:

The Balkans, which in Turkish means 'mountains,' run roughly from the Danube to the Dardanelles, from Istria to Istanbul, and is a term for the little lands of Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and part of Turkey, although neither Hungarian nor Greek welcomes inclusion in the label.<sup>1788</sup>

At the same time, Kourvetaris George A., Roudometof Victor, Koutsoukis Kleomenis, and Kourvetaris Andrew G., mention, in their

---

<sup>1784</sup> Iorga, Nicolae. A History of Roumania : Land, People, Civilisation. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925.

<sup>1785</sup> Todorova, Maria. Imagining the Balkans. updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997]. p. 46.

<sup>1786</sup> Robert David Kaplan is an American journalist, a national correspondent for various american newspapers and publications. Kaplan had not set out to influence U.S. foreign policy, but his work began to find a wide readership in high levels of government, espacially thru the book: 'Balkan Ghost'.

<sup>1787</sup> Kaplan, Robert D. Balkan Ghosts: a Journey Through History. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

<sup>1788</sup> To see: Sulzberger, Cyrus Leo. A Long Row of Candles. Memoirs and Diaries, 1934-1954. London: Macdonald, 1969.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

book 'The New Balkans: Disintegration and Reconstruction' the following countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and the former Yugoslavia as being in the Balkans, also referring to them as Southeastern Europe.<sup>1789</sup>

The Balkan Trust for Democracy<sup>1790</sup>, a project of The German Marshall Fund, the USAID and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, includes Romania in the Balkan context. The Southeast Europe Online<sup>1791</sup> project funded by USAID to promote interaction between NGOs, defines its geographic scope in the Balkans and covers seven countries: Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Former Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Romania. In addition, the center for Southeast European Studies<sup>1792</sup>, based in Sofia, focuses on security issues, includes the following countries under its grouping: Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Slovenia.

For 'Le Courrier des Balkans', an electronic publication, which publishes information and analyses in French of the democratic press in the Balkans, which the main purpose is to translate articles published in: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Greece and Turkey. For them, Romania is 'In'.<sup>1793</sup>

At the opposite end, the Balkan Crisis Group<sup>1794</sup> excludes Romania from the Balkans, as "work in the Balkans presently spans Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia."

---

<sup>1789</sup> Kourvetaris, George A. , Roudometof Victor , Koutsoukis Kleomenis , *and al. The new Balkans: disintegration and reconstruction*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002.

<sup>1790</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Balkan Trust for Democracy* [online]. 2009t. The German Marshall Fund of the United States. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gmfus.org/balkantrust/>>.

<sup>1791</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Southeast Europe On Line* [online]. 2004i. Southeast Europe On Line. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.southeasteurope.org/>>.

<sup>1792</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The Center for South East European Studies* [online]. 2009u. The Center for SouthEast European Studies. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.csees.net/>>.

<sup>1793</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Le courrier des Balkans* [online]. 2009v. Le Courrier des Balkans. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://balkans.courriers.info/spip.php?page=apropos>>.

<sup>1794</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The Balkan Crisis Group* [online]. 2009s. International Crisis Group. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1239&l=1>>.

As one can see through this short list, Romania was considered more as a Balkan country by the others and many scholars rather than an Eastern European Country. Even Romanian scholars recognize that, even though the Balkan Peninsula does not include Romania, it is in many ways a Balkan country.<sup>1795</sup>

Yet, given the undefined position and indirect help to Serbia during the first Yugoslav war and the population's contestation, Romania appears to be more a Balkan state anchored to the east rather than a European state anchored to the west. One can remark the 'traditional links' that unifies Romania and the 'Serbian people'.<sup>1796</sup> In order to explain the Romanians' attitude in general, it is useful to cite Thual's reflection that "the Orthodox phenomenon as socio-political reality, despite the Turkish occupation and forty years of Communist rule, remains more than a hundred years after independence, a key factor of internal geopolitics of post-socialist Romania."<sup>1797</sup>

The breakdown was done under Constantinescu's presidency, when a clear signal was sent to the Alliance and the EU. The Romanians' will to separate Serbia from its contested leader helped Romania to limit the degradation of their long good relations. By the Leaders attitude, the country was positioned more on the Western side and escaped from the Balkan westerners' classification.

### **V.2.2 Permanent Balance Between Europe (EU) and the United States (NATO)**

The will to be a member of the European Union and NATO, after being on the 'dark side' of the Iron Curtain for almost 50 years, sometimes put Romania's foreign policy in a difficult position, along with other former communist countries in Eastern Europe. Due to a certain divergence between American and European international

---

<sup>1795</sup> Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 11.

<sup>1796</sup> Châtelot, Christophe. *Profession: trafiquant d'essence: Les autorités roumaines doivent faire face à l'expansion du commerce illégal des carburant depuis l'instauration de l'embargo* (Profession: traficker gasoline: The Romanian authorities are faced with the expansion of the illegal trade in fuel since the imposition of the embargo). *Le Monde*, 28 Aug. - 29 Aug. 1994.

<sup>1797</sup> Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). p. 76. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

policies, Romania “was caught in the middle and pressured to take one side or another.”<sup>1798</sup> There were several situations in international politics between the Europeans and the Americans which tended to lead to clashes and in which Romania was pressured to make a decision for example with International Child Adoptions, Kyoto Protocol, International Criminal Court (ICC), the Middle East crisis, George W. Bush’s ‘axis of evil’ and War in Iraq.<sup>1799</sup>

Before explaining the need for permanent balance between Europe and the United States, we have to remember Romania’s motivation to join the European Union and NATO.

### **V.2.2.1 Why Did Romania Join the European Union?**

For Romania, the integration into the European Union was a natural path in the country’s development, in the wave of the 89’ Revolution. Even if Romanian leaders hesitated regarding the foreign policy direction until the fall of the Soviet Union, they chose unambiguously the European Union integration road as the natural historic path of the country’s foreign policy. First, the integration in a large community was the natural way for Romania’s foreign policy as developed in the interwar period by Romanian political leaders, through various project for regional integration<sup>1800</sup>. Second, the European Union at the border of CEEC was symbolized Democracy and Economical success, a necessary needs of the new ‘liberated’ countries, as Romania. But, if the will of Romania, as that of other CEECs, was to re-integrate into Europe, the European Community and, afterwards the European Union, did not immediately show an interest in hurrying to integrate the new candidates and imposed numerous complicated conditions, in the opinion of the CEECs population and political leaders. The construction of the European Union also brings a lack of readiness, cohesion and coherence concerning the Union’s security and foreign policy, creating divergences and different political attitudes among members on the issue of the integration process too, as described in the second part. We saw that this lack of unity was exploited by the United States as well as by the CEECs whenever necessary. For the people in Central and Eastern Europe, “the ambiguities of the European Community in

---

<sup>1798</sup> Micu, Mircea. Romanian foreign policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2.

<sup>1799</sup> To see: Ibid.

<sup>1800</sup> To see, in this thesis, the chapter ‘From Borderland to Crossroad?’.

relation to its enlargement and to the promotion of security in its vicinity can only make the US presence more desirable in the region, on short and medium terms"<sup>1801</sup>, the Black Sea and the Balkans.

### **V.2.2.2 Why Is Romania Attracted by the United States?**

The attraction for the United States is not only a Romanian attitude, but it is also the general 'new Europe' attitude. Hatto Ronald<sup>1802</sup> demonstrated that the American influence in Central and Eastern Europe is based on physical evidence, such as as diplomacy, economy, military capabilities and high technology, but also on intangible elements represented by cultural products and positive image.<sup>1803</sup>

#### **V.2.2.2.1 Physical Evidence**

Winner of the Cold War, the United States became the only superpower with military capabilities used to secure geographical and strategic points on the globe, in order to assure energy supplies for them and for the West in general, to maintain and send troops all around the world. The U.S. military power, with their efficiency, modern and sophisticated equipments in high quantities, created fascination for the new young Eastern democracies. Through the fight against communism during the Cold War, the U.S. is viewed as a friend, an opinion reinforced by the perception of the American excellence in all fields, including freedom and democracy. The last argument is that the U.S. new strategic military deployment in

---

<sup>1801</sup> Hatto, Ronald. *Stratégies et intérêts : les relations des Etats-Unis avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale* [online]. (Strategies and Interests: the Relationship of the United States with Countries of Central and Eastern Europe). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id\\_article=292](http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id_article=292)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1802</sup> Ronald HATTO has a PhD in Political Science of the Institute d'Etudes Politiques (IEP) in Paris. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Center d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) and taught international relations and strategic studies at the IEP of Paris.

<sup>1803</sup> To see: Hatto, Ronald and Tomescu Odette. *Les Etats-Unis et la "nouvelle Europe" - La stratégie américaine en Europe centrale et orientale* (The United States and the 'new Europe' - The U.S. strategy in Central and Eastern Europe). Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

Europe and the economical advantage added to being members alongside the US, in the Alliance, resulted in military and civilian investments and in US troops expenses on Eastern national soils.

An important element is the role played by the U.S. in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as a strong sponsor and decision maker. The U.S. decision in the CEECs accession to NATO, as demonstrated in 1999 at the Madrid Summit by the American refusal of Romania's integration in the first wave against other allies' opinion and the French strong support, is a undeniable reality. Moreover, in the mind of Romania's political leaders, the friendship with the U.S. contributes to the accession to NATO and reinforces Romania's regional leadership. The U.S. political and military leaders recognize rapidly the importance of the South European region and of the Black Sea area for the issues of energy and security, and the potential role that Bulgaria and Romania could play. Through its accession to NATO, Romania saw its interest "in promoting certain values and concepts highly necessary within an extremely volatile area of Europe: liberal democracy, the market economy and the rule of law"<sup>1804</sup>, to promote its regional leadership historically developed during the inter-war period.

### **V.2.2.2.2 Intangible Elements**

For Central and Eastern European Countries, the fascination of the population and the political elite for United States was facilitated by works done by various media (radios, films, ...) and by American universities (scholarship programs, ...) during and after the Cold War to render the Eastern Europeans sensitive to American values,<sup>1805</sup> an efficient soft power strategy. During the entire Cold War period, only the United States declared that they would not leave Central and Eastern Europe under Russian domination and they would fight until

---

<sup>1804</sup> Stefan, Adina. Romania's Engagement in Subregional Co-operation and the National Strategy for NATO Accession [online]. December 1999 ed. Vol. 10. Groningen, Netherland: The Center of European Security Studies (CESS), 1999. (Harmonie Paper). [cited 23 July 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cess.org/publications/harmoniepapers/pdfs/harmoniepaper-10.pdf>>.

<sup>1805</sup> To see : Hatto, Ronald. Stratégies et intérêts : les relations des Etats-Unis avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale [online]. (Strategies and Interests: the Relationship of the United States with Countries of Central and Eastern Europe). Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id\\_article=292](http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id_article=292)>.



their liberation<sup>1806</sup>. This created a positive image for America, especially in the context of the European treason of Yalta. In this context, radios became a tool of freedom and information against communism dictatorships<sup>1807</sup>, supported through the campaign for Truth<sup>1808</sup> and the Crusade for Freedom<sup>1809</sup>. The 'Voices of America' (Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty et Voice of America) became a tool for the integral strategy of the United States during the Cold War. This strategy continuing after the Cold War in order to put in a good place american medias in the post-communism media landscape. "The media influence of the United States in Central and Eastern Europe continues, but this time through television, an industry where the U.S. investment has been very important. [...] The cable operator United Pan-Europe Communications (UPC), with U.S. capital, is one of the first investors that entered the Eastern market,"<sup>1810</sup> and Romania in particular. In addition, the U.S. influence on the political and intellectual elite was built with the support of the State Department's public diplomacy programs and U.S. international broadcasting, through the role of higher education by means of large scholarship programs, a significant U.S. soft power, in order to win hearts and minds. As U.S. leaders put it, that it is a "valuable asset to our country [U.S.] than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here [in U.S. university]"<sup>1811</sup>, and that "[t]hese student

---

<sup>1806</sup> To see: Brzeziński, Zbigniew Kazimierz. *The choice: global domination or global leadership*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2004. (Art of Mentoring Series).

<sup>1807</sup> To see: Sémelin, Jacques. *Communication et résistance : Les Radios occidentales comme vecteurs d'ouverture à l'Est* [online]. (Communication and resistance: Radios Western as opening vectors to the East). *Réseaux*, 1992, vol. 10, no. 53. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.persee.fr/showPage.do;jsessionid=81B7FCDF8590B6D4472ADB9C7C444F53.vesta?urn=reso\\_0751-7971\\_1992\\_num\\_10\\_53\\_1970](http://www.persee.fr/showPage.do;jsessionid=81B7FCDF8590B6D4472ADB9C7C444F53.vesta?urn=reso_0751-7971_1992_num_10_53_1970)>.

<sup>1808</sup> Hill, Cissie Dore. *Voice of Hope: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* [online]. *Hoover Digest*, no. 4, [cited 26 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3475896.html>>

<sup>1809</sup> Faure, Justine. *Croisade américaine en 1950: La délivrance des "Nations captives" d'Europe de l'Est* [online]. (American Crusade in 1950: The issue of "Captive Nations" in Eastern Europe). *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, no. 73, Jan. 2002 - March 2002, [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0294-1759%28200201%2F03%290%3A73%3C5%3ACAE1LD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23>>

<sup>1810</sup> Hatto, Ronald and Tomescu Odette. *Les Etats-Unis et la "nouvelle Europe" - La stratégie américaine en Europe centrale et orientale* (The United States and the 'new Europe' - The U.S. strategy in Central and Eastern Europe). Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007. p. 52. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1811</sup> Collin Powell cited in Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power and Higher Education* [online]. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2001. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/ffp0502s.pdf>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

ambassadors, who make lasting friendships in America and better understand our values and way of life, are the future world leaders with whom we will sit down to forge alliances around the globe."<sup>1812</sup> For the U.S., "the American university system remains a potent mechanism for socializing foreign elites. Students studying in the United States become familiar with U.S. mores while simultaneously absorbing mainstream U.S. views on politics and economics."<sup>1813</sup>

This popularity combined with the local effectiveness of Washington's integrated strategy certainly allowed to seek long-term positioning of U.S. troops in Central and Eastern Europe Countries, as well as in Romania.

### **V.2.2.3 Permanent Balance**

After the 89' Revolution, the primary objective of Romania's foreign policy was the integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, as explained above in the second part. At first, the CEECs did not make the difference between the two organizations, considering them as a whole, understanding it only later, in light of their divergences. Transatlantic conflicts emerged from the fact that the U.S. and old European countries perceive threats differently. In fact, the United States

seems to be more sensitive to threats than its European allies, in part due to its role as military and economic superpower that has to take most of the community's security burden upon its shoulders. In addition, Europe should not be seen as a homogenous entity, especially in matters of defense and foreign policy.<sup>1814</sup>

As for many CEECs, Russia remained a threat and, after 1991, the post Soviet Union political instability and the instable democratic

---

<sup>1812</sup> Riley Richard W., former U.S. Secretary of Education cited in Clubb, David Brian. Foreign Students Boost National Security Keeping Our Universities Open to the World Is Vital to Winning Hearts and Minds [online]. Pittsburg Post-Gazette. New York, NY: Institute of International Education Network, 2002. [cited January 9, 2002]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=29462>>.

<sup>1813</sup> Walt, Stephen M. The downside of soft power [online]. Foreign Policy - Stephen M. Walt's blog, January, 28 2009. Washington, DC: Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC., 2009. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/category/topic/australia>>.

<sup>1814</sup> Micu, Mircea. Romanian foreign policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2.

situation did not arrange the situation. Recently the Russian ability to use energy resources (oil, gas, ...) as a weapon to impose its will to the former soviet union member countries and to put pressure on Western European countries reinforced this threat. The common fear of the Russian power reinforced the CEECs alignment to the U.S. strategy and the will for integration in NATO. Since the end of the Cold War, United States has always tried to develop a strong presence in the Caucasus, an area under permanent Russian influence, with mitigated result. After 9/11 and given the new international context, the U.S. made a successful comeback with more aggressive policies and supported regional initiative, such as GUAM, of which Romania is also a member. The Western influence on the Caucasus region is growing, especially through other initiatives, such as the Black Sea Forum, initiated by Romania, which aim at building a Black Sea Defense system (border security, information exchange, surveillance, ...). Moreover, Romania and some other Black Sea neighbor states (Bulgaria, Georgia, Ukraine) support the extension of NATO in the Black Sea towards Turkey, a strong ally of the United States in the region (shaping Europe and being a gateway to the Middle-East), strongly jeopardized by Turkey's ambiguous attitude during Iraqi Freedom and the Russian-Turkish discussion concerning the Black Sea Security in 2001, and military exercise in the Black Sea (Black Sea Harmony) in 2006. "Finally, we observe that the Black Sea and the three Caucasian countries form the link that links the United States to the republics of Central Asia",<sup>1815</sup> important energy suppliers, and then United States will not hesitate to push its position through allies in the Black Sea region, such as Romania.

The failure of the European Union to end the Yugoslavian war alone, without the help of U.S. troops and the U.S. diplomacy, reinforced the attraction for the Alliance. In addition, the ambivalence of the EU towards the CEECs for their integration in the Union did not improve the situation either. The relation between the EU and Russia, and "[t]he negotiations of Western European powers with Russia (ignoring Poles or Ukrainians) to ensure a stable supply of oil has

---

<sup>1815</sup> Struye de Swielande, Tanguy. *Caucase et Asie Centrale : La guerre pour le contrôle du Rimland* [online]. (Caucasus and Central Asia: The War for The Control of The Rimland). *Les Cahiers du RMES*, 2007, vol. IV, no. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.rmes.be/CDR7/6TSCR7.pdf>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

encouraged the reactions of power politics (Realpolitik) from the new allies."<sup>1816</sup>

For Romania, the obligation of a permanent balance between Europe and the United States was due to their different approaches concerning various situations and international political topics, of course related to their own interest. The unity seen by the CEECs at the end of the Cold War existed only at the element level, the threat of Soviet Union. In order to be recognized by the significant others, represented by the Europeans, Romania aligned on the European policy concerning the Kyoto protocol.<sup>1817</sup> It was necessary to implement new norms in the case of inter-country adoption policy in conformity with the European Union in opposition to the U.S. will. It was a way to reaffirm Romania's European identity and its will of integration. This position for the Kyoto protocol also provided Romania with a lucrative business by selling emission reduction units to other countries. Concerning other cases, such as the ICC and the Iraqi War, Romania decided to favor the United States interest for a practical and immediate benefit (NATO accession) versus "a long-term philosophical European problem"<sup>1818</sup>, due to the lack of European cohesion and the necessity to affirm Romania's transatlantic identity, which was possible only with the U.S. support. Moreover, the position of the United States as a dominant actor in the international system favored Romania's decision towards better coordination with them. For the case of the Iraqi war support, Romania anticipated the NATO's membership by the application of the 5<sup>th</sup> article of the charter. The lack of European unity in this case favored Romania and other CEECs' decision.

Romania is a historic European country willing to integrate into the European Union by complying with the Union's criteria. Romania transatlantic identity necessary for the security of the country by the integration in NATO could be materialized only with the U.S. support. When Romania's "European' identity was arguably put in danger, Romania found a middle-way so that, in time, both US support and

---

<sup>1816</sup> Hatto, Ronald and Tomescu Odette. *Les Etats-Unis et la "nouvelle Europe" - La stratégie américaine en Europe centrale et orientale* (The United States and the 'new Europe' - The U.S. strategy in Central and Eastern Europe). Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007. p. 129. Translated by Marc Bonnemaïns

<sup>1817</sup> Romania was the first developed country to ratify the Kyoto Protocol in March 2001, and save Romania from pressure of any party concerning the conflicting debat on this matter!

<sup>1818</sup> Micu, Mircea. Romanian forein policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2.

evolving EU norms were secured."<sup>1819</sup> In brief, the membership of CEECs to the European Union arose tensions for them in their commitment to Atlantism in opposition to a European identity, especially in the defense area. CEECs do not want to be forced "to choose between the United States and Western Europe; they want good relations with both"<sup>1820</sup>, making "the leaders of eastern European states uncomfortable"<sup>1821</sup> when divergences occur.

### **V.2.3 An In-between Geopolitical Situation**

Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; Who rules the World Island commands the World.

Sir Mackinder Halford John<sup>1822</sup>

Being situated on the main energy power-providing routes of Europe, becoming regional security and energy providers seem to be obvious priorities in a complicated context in which the Euro-Atlantic tropism is marked by an American pause and by Russia's comeback in the Black Sea region. Each of the two countries manages boundaries and neighborhoods depending on their features and strategic culture.

Despite the integration in NATO and the European Union accession, Romania has its specificity, an important country in size, with a key geographic location, at the border of the Balkans and the Black Sea area. Romania's foreign policy interest is inherited from its past historic background and geopolitical situation, aggregate of the historical Romanian's countries (Moldavia, Transylvania, Wallachia). Because Romania had always been a borderland in the past, the country sought support to balance powerful and greedy neighbors, such as Russia. Romania, "in its search for international affirmation

---

<sup>1819</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1820</sup> Larrabee, Stephen F. Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe. Foreign Affairs, 2006, vol. 85, no. 6.

<sup>1821</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1822</sup> Mackinder, Halford John, Sir. The Geographical Pivot of History [online]. The Geographical Journal, Apr. 1904, 1904, vol. 23, no. 4. [cited 30 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-7398%28190404%2923%3A4%3C421%3ATGPOH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

that ensures national security and if possible a regional leadership, illustrates this constraint of neighborhood and effort to become the intermediary between the superpowers."<sup>1823</sup> In order to achieve its goals, the country developed many collaboration axes towards Moscow, Paris, Tel Aviv, London, Washington and Ankara, integration with NATO and access to the European Union as a member.

As explain Rey Violette and Groza Octavian, "[t]he analysis of the role of [...] Romania in the contact area of 'Balkan Europe, Russia, Great Middle East' showed the paradoxical character of specific issues to that in-between space, with its implications for the entire European Union,"<sup>1824</sup> as well for the Alliance. A location that can be evaluated as a rentable situation for Romania, in the light of Black Sea importance in the geostrategical interest of the U.S. with Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus' situation especially after 2001, but also for geoeconomic question concerning energy supplies. Romania is, also, located in a critical area, the Central and Eastern Europe, area in which the recurrence of events whose irremediable nature and severity of effects beyond the perimeter.<sup>1825</sup> The entire region has been in a transition process since 1990 with the changing of borders and disappearance of some states in a peaceful manner (GDR, Czechoslovakia) or not, such as Yugoslavia which remains a critical area at the border of Romania.

Now let us step back and return to the classical geopolitical thinking of the last century, where world politics was essentially a struggle over who will control the Eurasian heartland, the most important part of the civilized world, with increased concentration of population, resources and industrial facilities. In fact, we return back to the geopolitical issue concerning the work of Sir Mackinder Halford

---

<sup>1823</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne* (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union). *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1824</sup> Ibid. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1825</sup> For exemple, The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Fanz Ferdinand (1863-1914) and his Czech wife in Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) in 1914; The German annexation in 1938 of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland; Danzig and the Polish Corridor in 1939; the opening of the Austro-Hungarian border and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

John about land-power and sea-power domination<sup>1826</sup>, and Spykman Nicholas John's maritime fringe, the Rimland<sup>1827</sup> for the control of contact area. As explain Rey and Groza, these strategies had been consolidated and refined during the Cold War period by the the conceptualization of the functioning of center-periphery and the notion of semi-periphery, within the definition of 'shatterbelt' and more recently 'gateway'. Each term specifies, in one location at a particular time, the functioning of international relations power.<sup>1828</sup>

Center-periphery describes patterns of unequal relations between relatively developed centers, using military, political, and trade power, and less developed outlying areas, within an economy or another system such as communist. The concept of semi-periphery "corresponds to the intermediate space in a unipolar vision of a center and its various peripheries"<sup>1829</sup>. Shatter-belt is an area characterized by the combination of two properties: a certain political fragmentation and the interference of external forces.<sup>1830</sup> This area also drains a high potential of crises and conflicts. We can add that for some political experts, Eastern Europe is a shatterbelt because it is a zone of persistent splintering and fracturing ... Gateway functions as a gate, a bridge or a link between poles. In the new international context, in the post Cold War, Rey and Groza introduce the in-between concept, because we "exceed the external forces acting to focus on medium and long-term space properties thus categorized

---

<sup>1826</sup> Mackinder, Halford John, Sir. *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* [online]. Re-edition ed. Washibgton, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996 [1942, 1919]. (Defense Classic Edition). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/Books%20-%201979%20and%20earlier/Democratic%20Ideals%20and%20Reality%20-%201942/DIR.pdf>>.

<sup>1827</sup> Spykman, Nicholas John and Nuicholl Helen R. *The Geography of the Peace* [online]. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace and Co, 1944. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.questia.com/library/book/the-geography-of-the-peace-by-nicholas-john-spykman-helen-r-nicholl.jsp>>.

<sup>1828</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union)*. *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4.

<sup>1829</sup> Ibid. p. 375. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1830</sup> Kelly, Phillip L. *Escalation of regional conflict: testing the shatterbelt concept*. *Political Geography Quarterly*, 1986, vol. 5, no. 2.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

and on the associated identity building".<sup>1831</sup> The in-between concept is "an area of passage and initiation, where lack creates the occurrence of change, whose effects are possibly elsewhere, a passage that raises new developments that will expand elsewhere if the conditions for development are more favorable..."<sup>1832</sup>. The concept is characterised by three factors: the predominance of external forces over the internal forces with the fragmentation of political jurisdictions; the need 'to start over from scratch' with each change of dominating influence and to overcome oscillations towards old temporalities, that are ignored, yet latent; the state of being places of creativity often without effective implementation.<sup>1833</sup>

Or, from the end of the Cold War, the CEECs including Romania are no longer in shatterbelt and or semi-periphery situations, because they were "nor semi-periphery nor shatterbelt"<sup>1834</sup> but there was an emerging overlap of the two<sup>1835</sup>, in changed contextual conditions and internal dynamics. For the first concept, the external issues do not represent a decisive weight, ie. the slow intervention of major powers in the Yugoslavian war and the slow foreign investments. For the second one, the closeness to the West after the kidnapping by the East (Iron Curtain), moved the semi-periphery more eastward.<sup>1836</sup> Despite many uncertainties, there is a real cultural area inscribed in the very long term between Eastern and Western Europe. In fact,

the background and neighborhood effects show the return of otherwise distant external forces. The process of state fragmentation surrounds [...] [Romania] with the support of the United States (as is the

---

<sup>1831</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union)*. *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1832</sup> Rey, Violette. *L'Europe de l'Est*. In Bailly, Antoine, Ferras Robert and Pumain Denise (Eds.), *Encyclopédie de géographie*. Paris: Economica, 1992a. p. 819. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1833</sup> Rey, Violette, Billaut M., Daniel O., and al. *Europes orientales*. In Rey, Violette (coord.) and Brunet Roger (Eds.), *Europes orientales, Russie, Asie centrale*. Paris, Montpellier: Berlin-Reclus, 1996. (Géographie Universelle). p. 10.

<sup>1834</sup> Rey, Violette. *L'Europe de l'Est*. In Bailly, Antoine, Ferras Robert and Pumain Denise (Eds.), *Encyclopédie de géographie*. Paris: Economica, 1992a. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1835</sup> Cohen, Saul B. *The Eurasian Convergence Zone: Gateway or Shatterbelt?* *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2005, vol. 46, no. 1.

<sup>1836</sup> To see: Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *The Capitalist World-Economy: Essays*. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1979. (Studies in modern capitalism).



case of the five, then seven, post-Yugoslavian states), of Russia (as is the case of the Republic of Moldova with Transnistria).<sup>1837</sup>

After the Cold War, the great powers have maintained the logic of shatterbelt in a subtle blend of ideology (national self-determination) and realpolitik. For the United States, it offers the possibility to introduce separate discussions and lobbying toward CEECs, including Romania, and to offer global protection within NATO. We saw a concrete application for the political and military support of Iraqi freedom. As for Russia, this situation allows it to introduce division and to reintroduce a game of domination through geoeconomic pressures vis-à-vis its neighbors. For the European Union, the fragmentation generates complexity and indecisiveness in the construction and enlargement of the Union. In the same time, Romania strongly supports the Turkish integration in the European Union and advocates for the Union and NATO's enlargement eastward in order to share common values and facilities (democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles and sustainable development, security...). Romania as well as some other Black Sea states found a strong support for it from the United States. We remark "[t]he importance of Central Asia and that Caucasus for Washington" which "can be explained in terms of more complex geopolitical conflicting issues for the control of Rimland,"<sup>1838</sup> a situation particularly in the inertia of the political and psychological aim at 'containment' of Russia, comparable to the Cold War strategy, which created tension and discomfort for Russia. On the other hand, the European Union and Russia tried through both the ENP and CIS to create an intermediate neutral space, a gateway. Moreover, the relations with European states are Russia's traditional foreign policy priority especially with Western European states (old Europe), "primarily with such influential ones as Britain, Germany, Italy and France, which represent an important resource for Russia's defense of

---

<sup>1837</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne* (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union). *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1838</sup> Struye de Swielande, Tanguy. *Caucase et Asie Centrale : La guerre pour le contrôle du Rimland* [online]. (Caucasus and Central Asia: The War for The Control of The Rimland). *Les Cahiers du RMES*, 2007, vol. IV, no. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.rmes.be/CDR7/6TSCR7.pdf>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

its national interests in European and world affairs, and for the stabilization and growth of the Russian economy".<sup>1839</sup>

The identity dimension of this in-between zone, "where the properties of the area are incorporated (situations, resources ...) within the historical experiences of multi-membership and multi-temporality"<sup>1840</sup>, then works very well with the entry of Romania as well Bulgaria into the European Union. The country in its contradiction seeks support from the U.S., but at the same time looks for good relations with Russia. While being member of the European Union, the country manages to be in-between situations by seeking neither special favor nor status. Romania hoped to be an interface within the hubs of transnational networks and an outposts' protection of the EU.<sup>1841</sup> The country looks in fact to have to experiment an 'in-between with' and an 'in-between against'.<sup>1842</sup> As wrote Rey and Groza, "[t]he unpredictability and reversibility properties are part of the property of the in-between space."<sup>1843</sup>

---

<sup>1839</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation Approved by the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin, June 28, 2000* [online]. Moscow: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2000b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mid.ru/Bl.nsf/arh/1EC8DC08180306614325699C003B5FF0?OpenDocument>>.

<sup>1840</sup> Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian *Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union)*. *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4. p. 376. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1841</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1842</sup> Expression suggested by Roger Brunet cited in Ibid.

<sup>1843</sup> Ibid. p. 376. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

### **V.3 From Borderland to Crossroad**

Romania during its historical formation was by its geographic situation and by the individual history of the three principalities: Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia, at the borderland of Empires. The Romanian's countries have a geographical and political frontiers heritage by the borders limits situation in many Empires across the history - Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire -. By the geographical situation that we will explain here after, the country was also on the roads of Empires strategical expansion and at the crossroad of powerful interests. By the historical modification, the country inherits a space of multiple influences with Roman versus Barbarian, political domination from Ottoman Empire, Hapsbourg Empire and Tsars Empire, likewise in recent period Soviet Union domination and religious faiths from orthodox versus catholic and protestant.

Romania by its geography and history plays a role for foreign power to offer a rampart against threat. For example, in the inter-war period the country was in a buffer zone (Cordon sanitaire), built to form a defensive union against the Bolshevist Russia and thus quarantine the spread of communism to Western Europe. After the Second World War, Romania was the south border of the Iron Curtain to protect the Communist foundation.

As many other scholars and scientists, Bulei Ion<sup>1844</sup> underlines that

The history of the Romanians is a permanent search for identity. The country of Romanians does not belong to Central Europe or the Balkans or Western Europe, or the vast expanse of the Slavic East. It is the crossroads? Its history is a history of borders: the extremity of the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, on the outskirts of the Ottoman expansion, Russian, or later, Western.<sup>1845</sup>

---

<sup>1844</sup> Bulei Ion has a PhD and post graduated in International Relations. He is Professor at the Faculty of History of Bucharest University, head of the Chair of History of the Romanians. He was appointed Director of the Romanian Cultural Institute in Venice (1997-2003) and since 2004 he is also the Director of the Political Sciences and International Relations Institute of the Romanian Academy.

<sup>1845</sup> Bulei Ion cited in Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 14. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

### **V.3.1 The Complexity of the Bordeland**

In order to discuss and to explain 'borderland' importance in the Romania's International Relations, it is necessary to further examine the term 'borderland' based on different notions used for its definition. A comprehensive review of all the literature in this field is not in the scope of our thesis, and will need to be treated separately. Instead, we decided to review only few definitions in order to select some definitions according to our understanding for our thesis' subject.

In the Online dictionary definition, a 'borderland' is a land forming a 'border' or 'frontier' or an uncertain intermediate district, space, or condition<sup>1846</sup>. It is the area of land close to the border between two countries or major areas. For a better understanding, it is useful to present some general definitions of the terms used in the definition of 'borderland', in order to understand and delimitate the scope of study. Without explaining the meaning of Border, boundary and frontier, it will be impossible to define what borderland is.

#### **V.3.1.1 Border or boundary**

First of all, what did we understand by border? The 'border' is "a line separating two countries, or areas"<sup>1847</sup>, but for geographer it is "a 'boundary' line established by a state, or a region, to define its spatial extent,"<sup>1848</sup> an international boundary line as we can add for modern period. Than the boundary is a demarcation indicating some division in spatial terms.

---

<sup>1846</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Borderland* [Online]. Random House, Inc., s.d.-c. (Dictionary.com Unabridged (v 1.1)). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Borderland>>.

<sup>1847</sup> Soanes, Catherine and Stevenson Angus. *Border n.* [online]. 12th ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. (The Concise Oxford English Dictionary). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e6416>>.

<sup>1848</sup> Mayhew, Susan. *Border* [online]. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. (A Dictionary of Geography). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t15.e371>>.

### **V.3.1.2 Frontier**

Second, the 'frontier' is a zone of contact with or without specified boundary line. It is interesting to relate the explanation of Kristof Ladis K. D.<sup>1849</sup> on this topic. Historically, he explains the etymology of the word means 'in front' and was part of the concept of hinterland often called borderland. We must stress that the 'frontier' term's signification and representation has evolved during the history.<sup>1850</sup> The 'frontier' has an historical heritage based on the Roman Empire with territoriality, the Middle Ages thru the Peace of Westphalia and the nineteenth century with the French revolution and the 'Spring of Nations'.<sup>1851</sup> From the antiquity to modern period, the term was neither a legal nor a political or intellectual concept, but represented "the margin of inhabited worlds"<sup>1852</sup>, the line between the sedentary society versus the nomad one, the limes<sup>1853</sup> of the Roman Empire, the Western civilization to be protected from the 'ecumene'<sup>1854</sup>. In the two last centuries, the frontiers have represented "the political division between two states, or the limit of permanent settlement".<sup>1855</sup> Today, frontiers represent more human settlement and the limit range of economic development.

The terms 'boundary' and 'frontier' have been used by geographer and others scholars as synonyms and often

---

<sup>1849</sup> Kristof, Ladis K. D. is a Romanian-born Armenian who immigrated to the United States after World War II and a professor emeritus at the Portland State University in Oregon, US. As a famous political geographer, he wrote many articles and books on this topic. He was the Vice-president of the American Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

<sup>1850</sup> To see : Kristof, Ladis K. D. The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries [online]. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1959, vol. 49, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2561460>>.

<sup>1851</sup> Anderson, Malcom. *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. p. 13-24.

<sup>1852</sup> Kristof, Ladis K. D. The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries [online]. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1959, vol. 49, no. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2561460>>. p. 269-270.

<sup>1853</sup> The limes (or more specifically the Limes Romanus) was a border defense constituted as a delimiting system of the Roman Empire to protect from the barbarians. It marked the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

<sup>1854</sup> Ecumene (in Greek Oikumene - οἰκουμένη) is a term originally used in the Greco-Roman world to refer to the inhabited world (or at least the known part of it).

<sup>1855</sup> Blacksell, Mark. *Political Geography*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005. (Routledge Contemporary Human Geography). p. 144.

interchangeably, especially at national level,<sup>1856</sup> but the terms have their own different sense. On the light of Knezevic Hocevar Duska remarks, we can states that in political geography there is a standardized used of the conceptual pair 'boundary/frontier', where 'boundary' is reserved for a precisely defined political border of sovereign nation-states when the meaning of 'frontier' remains vague.<sup>1857</sup>

### **V.3.1.3 Signification**

We can reinforce the difference between border and frontier, by explaining their signification.

The 'border' as arguments Ratzel Friedrich "is the reality and the border line the abstraction thereof".<sup>1858</sup> According to Prescott John Robert Victor, "borders were a factor influencing state power". Ratzel reinforces it by arguing that "[p]olitical balance [between countries] is to large extent dependent on the [characteristics of] borders between them."<sup>1859</sup> But, in general "[t]he term 'borderlands' straddles the distinction between frontier and border and is often used as a synonym for frontier as a zone."<sup>1860</sup>

For us, borderland can have two significations: the first one, it is an exchange space between two areas, and the second one it is a limit of areas, that can means isolation and to be forgotten. To reinforce the definition, for the Dictionary of Geography, the borderland "are fundamental to the way that citizenship, identity, and

---

<sup>1856</sup> Prescott, John Robert Victor. *Bounderies and Frontiers*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978. p. 33.

<sup>1857</sup> Knežević Hočvar, Duška *Studying International Borders in Geography and Anthropology: Paradigmatic and Conceptual Relations* [online]. *Geografski zbornik*, 2000, vol. XXXX. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://giam.zrc-sazu.si/zbornik/knezevic40.pdf>>. p. 87.

<sup>1858</sup> Ratzel, Friedrich. *Politische geographie*. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1897. p. 538.

<sup>1859</sup> *Ibid.* p. 584. Cited in Prescott, John Robert Victor. *Bounderies and Frontiers*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978. p. 15.

<sup>1860</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Borderlands Borders and Global Frontiers - Defining Borders, Borderlands, And Frontiers* [online]. s.l.: Net Industries LLC., 2009j. (Science Encyclopedia - The History of Ideas Vol 1). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://science.jrank.org/pages/8485/Borders-Borderlands-Frontiers-Global-Defining-Borders-Borderlands-Frontiers.html>>.

the nation are imagined, policed, and performed”<sup>1861</sup> and can send back to the nation and nationality construction, discussed herebefore. And as Augelli states it, “borderlands [...] tend historically to be zone of cultural overlap and political instability where the national identity and loyalties of the people often become blurred”.<sup>1862</sup> But “[f]rontiers figure prominently in the history of nations”,<sup>1863</sup> when “[b]orderland are sites and symbols of power”.<sup>1864</sup> We can add that the borderland between two things (East – West, ...) is an area which contains features from both of these things so that it is not possible to say that it belongs to one or the other<sup>1865</sup>, and can generate an in-between situation.

#### **V.3.1.4 Romanians’ Signification**

The borderland is an important component in the Romanian history even before the spring of Nation and the principautities union. We will not go back in the earlier foundation during the Roman Empire, but in a more recent period from early modern history when the three principautities were independent.

As we can see on historical maps, each principality was a borderland of Empires: Moldavia at the border of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth until the Sixteenth century and at the border of Imperial Russian Empire as the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Eighteenth century and later; Transylvania a semi-independent state at the border of Hungarian kingdom and at the end of the seventeenth century was attached to the Habsburg controlled Hungary; Wallachia at the border of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth century and later on as Austro-Hungarian Empire from the Eighteenth century. By the definition of borderland, the principalities were place of exchange in different historical, economical, cultural and political fields that shape the countries’ traditions and cultures,

---

<sup>1861</sup> Mayhew, Susan. Border [online]. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. (A Dictionary of Geography). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<https://accs-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t15.e371>>.

<sup>1862</sup> Augelli, John P. Nationalization of Dominican Borderlands. *The Geographical Review*, 1980, vol. 70. p. 19.

<sup>1863</sup> Donnan, Hastings and Wilson Thomas M. *Borders. Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 1999. p. 49.

<sup>1864</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

<sup>1865</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Borderland. Collins (Ed.), *Collins English Dictionary*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd 2009a.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

and a country that presents many paradoxes. For example, “[t]he history of the Romanians is a history of unresolved contradictions”<sup>1866</sup>, underlines Catherine Durandin. Likewise Romania's culture is the product of its geographical position and of its distinct historical evolution with the three principalities. It is fundamentally defined as the meeting point of three regions: Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Balkans, but cannot be truly included in any of them. The borderland situation could be part time a good situation, when forgotten by the others the countries could develop its independence. Borderland of large Empires – Austro-hungarian Empire, Russian Empire and Ottoman Empire, Iron Curtain with Soviet Union, Romania occupies a unique position on the map of Eastern Europe, standing at the interface of several different regions, with a diversity of ethnic cultures. Romania was a zone of influence and interest for Ottoman Empire and later on Turks; zone of influence and interest for England and France in the Nineteenth-twentieth (1870-1930); area of influence and interest for Germany in the interwar period (1930-45); a Russian area of interest from at least the nineteenth (1812 until nowadays) ... But time to time, the situation jeopardized the principalities independence and obliged them to find alliances and protections by association or submission with neighbors or large Empire.

As Lucian Boia says with other words:

This permanent ‘frontier’ situation has had two complementary and contradictory effects. On the one hand, it gave rise to a certain degree of isolation, an attenuated reception of outside models, the perpetuation of traditional structures and a mentality attached to indigenous values. On the other hand, it produced an extraordinary combination of ethnic and cultural infusions from all periods and in different ways from one region to another, elements as diverse as Turkish and French, Hungarian and Russian, Greek and German.<sup>1867</sup>

### **V.3.1.4.1 In the past**

In fact, Romanian’s territory was on the road of multiple interests and has been used for example as “a buffer zone during the third quarter of the nineteenth century”<sup>1868</sup> by the Ottoman Empire,

---

<sup>1866</sup> Durandin, Catherine. *Histoire des Roumains* (Romanians' History). Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1995. p. 17.

<sup>1867</sup> Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 13.

<sup>1868</sup> Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 2.



after a long relation of dependence from the fifteen century to at least 1877. Romanian's principalities independence was challenged over the time by the Habsburg Empire (1452-1918), champion of the Catholic Christianity and by the Russian Empire (1613-1917) with the need for ice-free ports and access to the Mediterranean sea, and the will to represent the Orthodox church power in accessing to Constantinople because "[i]n the sixteenth century there was developed in Muscovy the doctrine of 'Moscow, the third Rome'."<sup>1869</sup> Only when Romanians' principalities was on the road of Empire foreign policy interest, they become a center of attention and generally a crossroad of different power interests and oppositions, for the good or the worse where the country could get personal gains in politic, military and economical fields. But, during all this period until the revolutions of 1848 in European history and Danubian Romania foundation, the countries was at the limit, often isolated nor forgotten preventing the country development. In the wave of the liberal nationalism across Europe in 1848, the great powers of the period, for their foreign policy interest started to look again after the Romanians situation, and the country at that time became a international element of interest which give it some international political power, and give bird to the Romanians dream by the foundation of Greater Romania in the interwar period. This specific situation as borderland developed the principalities and after the Romania foreign policy among centuries toward a neither bandwagoning nor hard and soft balancing policy according international political situations. After the revolution of 1848 and the nationalism bird, the others played a role in Romania construction by turns in opposition nor in association. Without the others wills, the great powers and their foreign policy contingency, the Romania country would not be created so easy, even never as we explain herebefore. The importance of the great powers will in their foreign policy contingency, shaped all along the contemporary period the Romania destiny and fixe definitively the importance of the others in Romania's international relations. In the early 1930s Romania's foreign policy, under the leadership of Nicolae Titulescu was pursuing a system of alliances, which would enable the smaller countries of the Balkan region to oppose any aggression. Already, the Romanian's political leaders dream at the unification of European countries to avoid domination and wars.

---

<sup>1869</sup> Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1967]. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). p. 31.

### **V.3.1.4.2 Present Time**

In present time after the Revolution of 89' and the new international situation, the situation did not change for Romania. As we explain before, Romania was a country without borders with the European Union and Romanians political leaders were afraid to be forgotten again after a period of isolation in the eighties, and to stay in an in-between<sup>1870</sup> situation toward the East and the West, Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The lack of borders after 1989 with the Union put Romania in an uncomfortable situation which was reinforced by the borders with the CIS and the Balkans instable areas during the nineties, but also by the foreign policy during the first years of the Romanian new democracy under Ion Iliescu mandate. The link with Moscow was strong enough to maintain the Romania partnership with Russia in the beginning of nineties, reinforced by the history of communist elites, training and networks they maintain with Moscow and the fraternal parties, have to be taken seriously in consideration to explain the issue of autonomy between Bucharest from Moscow. This idea is reinforced by the the downstream of Moscow for the succession of the 'Conducator'. As Radulescu Bogdan says :

Outside, the Gorbachev era saw the gradual implosion of the Soviet Union and the general ebb of Communism. Gorbachev has supported fringe reformist Communist Party of Romania. When Ion Iliescu was designated by the central committee as the best candidate to succeed Ceausescu, the die was cast.<sup>1871</sup>

Also, in the light of the book "Red Horizons, Chronicle of a communist spy chief"<sup>1872</sup> of the controversial former chief of Romanian foreign intelligence services Pecepa Ion Mihai, we can ask the question of Romanian independence and autonomy vis-à-vis of Moscow. This unclear situation has certainly been one of the elements in the borderland situation for Romania. An unclear foreign policy toward the west in the new international situation, with Russian's power decline on international scene, reinforced the Romanian position as a borderland. The Yugoslavia breakup and the Balkan crisis in the nineties at the Romanian border, deprived Romania of an important market and a friendly neighbor. The Romanian unofficial

---

<sup>1870</sup> Explain in the *Romania In-between* chapter in this part.

<sup>1871</sup> Radulescu, Bogdan. *La Roumanie à la croisée des chemins* [online]. (Romania at The Crossroad). *Eléments*, 1997, vol. 90. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/\\_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#](http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#)>.

<sup>1872</sup> Pecepa, Ion Mihai. *Red horizons: chronicles of a Communist spy chief*. Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1987.

support for Serbia unless the international embargo in the beginning of nineties reinforced the exclusion and a borderland situation with the Union and the military Alliance.

But if the Cold War and the block confrontation left after 1989 an empty sphere, Romania wanted to fulfill it by the Visegrad membership, the Francophonie membership and then the NATO accession and European Union integration. The reasons of lack of borders with the EU, pushed Romania actively attracts interest of the European countries thru historical connection, which France, Germany, and entered rapidly in international and regional organizations to be not forgotten and to develop political influence. In the same time Romania reaffirms the appartenance of the European community and democratic club through it new foreign policy especially during the Constantinescu's mandate<sup>1873</sup>. If Eastern Europe is a construction of the West<sup>1874</sup> within Romania, all the attributes of the Occident model becomes an ideal, and "the attempts to reach it are marked by a specific pathos"<sup>1875</sup>, an European identity projected "as a positive utopia, a flawless identity".<sup>1876</sup> Romanians' leaders knew that in the new international situation Romania will be isolated in the economical, political and military fields and they wanted to assured security and stability against potential threat. Baicoianu Anca<sup>1877</sup> arguing that

[b]y contrasting it to an imagined Europe, the Romanian identity (re)discovers, anguished, its constitutive tension; measuring against Western standards had not helped to soothe, but had sharpened the conflict instead. Unable to find its own pace and constantly fearing to be "left out",

---

<sup>1873</sup> Explain in the chapter: *Change into Continuity*.

<sup>1874</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1875</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1876</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1877</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela has Ph.D. in Literary Theory at the University of Bucharest (thesis: Strategies of Identity (Re)Construction in Postcolonial and Post-communist Literatures ) and works as a Senior Editor in Publishing Houses in Bucharest (Polirom). She is a tutor in Literary Theory at the University of Bucharest and author of a number of articles, literary reviews, conference papers and translations.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

the Romanian culture struggles to achieve a however fragile balance between its specificity and a longing for integration.<sup>1878</sup>

Romania geographical situation with the borders of CIS countries and the Balkans instable areas during the nineties reinforced the fright of Romanian's leader to be snap up by the neighbors' situations within a difficult intern situation with minorities extremist political parties and questioning on boundaries. The feeling to be in an in-between zone isolated from alliances and geopolitical groups pushed Romanian's foreign policy to be very active in all direction in order to anchor the country somewhere, and particularly within the western club, i.e. the Alliance and the European Union. The situation was not so easy due to the Romanian hesitation to take position between East and West, and to the unclear message on political and economical reforms sent to the westerns democracies in the beginning of the nineties.

Romania is situated on the black Sea border, where develops in the recent period geostrategic and geopolitical rivalry between countries (Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine)<sup>1879</sup> within the political game of NATO and United States. The region, a 'closed sea' under Russian domination during the cold war becomes nowadays an 'open sea' with direct link to the Nordic Sea, by the Rhine-Main-Danube navigation channel, and with an increased foreign presence. From a 'Russian lake' during the cold war, the Black Sea tens to become a 'NATO lake' with the support of old and new NATO members (Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey), and the future candidate of the Alliance (Georgia and Ukraine). Romania, an insignificant political and economical player country comparing to others black Sea's neighbors as Russia, Ukraine and Turkey could remain a borderland to the region. But the situation was without effect of Romania geographical situation and Romanian's foreign policy programs. As a borderland of the black Sea, Romanian's leader bet and fight for the Bastroe Channel project<sup>1880</sup>, an element of the Rhine-Main-Danube navigation channel, a key link in the strategic connection between the Black Sea and the North Sea. The Danube as

---

<sup>1878</sup> Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization [online]. Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>.

<sup>1879</sup> To see: Blank, Stephen. Analysis : Black Sea Rivalry [online]. Moldova.org, April 03, 2007. Washington, D.C.: The Moldova Foundation, 2007. [cited 23 September 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/analysis-black-sea-rivalry-40082-eng.html>>.

<sup>1880</sup> To see herebefore the Chapter: *The Neighborliness - Ukraine*.

strategic position in the ninetieth century, is also an oldest question and a link with Europe and its member states. In the light of the European Union development and integration, the Danube corridor, the Corridor No. VII for European Union, represented a particular importance for the whole of Europe on the development of pan-European transport infrastructure, a priority for the European Union, and the link of two important economical region and easier acces to eastern richness. Also, Romania fought for the delimitation of continental shelf and exclusive economic zones with hydrocarbures resources.<sup>1881</sup>

### **V.3.2 Crossroad**

With borderland situation, as an exchange area Romania has always become an important territory on the road of Empire interest toward different areas (Balkans, Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea, ...). In the Romania history, within the large Empire expansion interest, quid to the Balkans zone, the Black Sea access, the Mediterranean access, Romania becomes the crossroad of political and others' foreign policy interest.

In the light of recent event of the iron curtain fall, the geographical position of the country at the borderland of new political ensemble as CIS and European Union, as well the borderland with unstable area – the Balkans and the Black Sea with Caucasus countries – will push Romania to transform its situation into a crossroad country, for political interest in the Balkans conflict and the Black Sea domination, but also to valuated its application for EU and NATO. By its location and by capitalization on Romania's history, the new democratic country will seek to become a country on which we can rely within the new international situation after the soviet Union fall with its difficulties and after the 9/11 event as a normal path of the country. This is not the first time that the country leaders seek to present Romania as a crossroad in economic, in politic as in military fields. Already from 1992, if the president Ion Iliescu spoke about positioning Romania between East and West, Central Europe and Balkans,<sup>1882</sup> it is in 1997 that Constantinescu Emil launched the

---

<sup>1881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1882</sup> Departamentul comunicării publice. *Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- București, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică)* [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul comunicării publice). București: Președintele României, 1994a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

initiative 'Romania, at the crossroad' (România la răscruce)<sup>1883</sup> a project on the construction of an economic passage between central Asian countries and Europe via Romania, a gateway for economic purpose in a geopolitical oil context. Romania has always sought a position in her benefit by alliance nor opposition to defend, as much as possible, its independence, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As Bulei Ion wrote "Romanian space has always been a crossroads of civilizations and current ideas."<sup>1884</sup> A crossroad of civilization between the Orient and the Occident, the land that would become Romania absorbed many influences from the three major different powers in the region (Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires) as well from dominant elite (Saxon, Germanic and Greek), as influence from cultural wave (French). The country is a synthesis of diversity as explains Bulei Ion.<sup>1885</sup> Also, the Romanian religious authorities, with reference to their origin as a neo-Latin people, consider their "Church as the one 'Latin-Orthodox Church' that can act as a mediator for greater understanding between East and West".<sup>1886</sup> As Jean Paul the Second says, "Romania is the country bridging East and West, lying at the crossroads between Central and Eastern Europe",<sup>1887</sup> and "[t]he cooperation between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches is growing at various levels",<sup>1888</sup> under the patronage of Romania.

---

<sup>1883</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. p. 146. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1884</sup> Bulei, Ion. *Le pays des Roumains : une synthèse des diversités* [online]. (The Country of the Romanians: A Synthesis of Diversity). *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 2008, vol. 10. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/10/q10\\_071.pdf](http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/10/q10_071.pdf)>. p. 72. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1885</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1886</sup> Eleuterio, Fortino F., Mons. *The Romanian Orthodox and Roman Churches*. *L'Osservatore Romano English Edition*, Januray, 10 2009. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ewtn.com/library/CURIA/PCCUORTH.HTM>>.

<sup>1887</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania - A bridge Between East and West. A Challenge for the Future*. Bucharest: Radio Romania International, 2009e. [cited May, 22 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rri.ro/art.shtml?lang=1&sec=11&art=21886>>.

<sup>1888</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

Romania has been always from the nineteenth century an element of political interest for the 'Great Powers'<sup>1889</sup> thru the 'Eastern Question'. In European history, The Eastern question encompasses the diplomatic and political problems posed by the decay of the Ottoman Empire and included a variety of issues raised during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including instability in the European territories ruled by the Ottoman Empire. As the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was imminent, the European powers engaged in a power struggle to safeguard their military, strategic and commercial interests in the old Ottoman domains. Imperial Russia and the Habsburg Empire stood to benefit from the decline of the Ottoman Empire and agreed to partition the Ottoman Empire between their respective nations; on the other hand, especially France, Prussia and United Kingdom deemed the preservation of the Empire to be in their best interests.

The Habsburg Empire had been the main threat to Ottoman Empire, but in the nineteenth century rulers of a multi-national empire, Austria was too weak to absorb the Western Balkans, an economic resource and a potential market as the key to allowing Austria's foreign trade to pass through the Adriatic Sea and to oppose to other empires expansion. The weak empire was impossible to oppose the creation of Romania and smother questions of irredentism by controlling the new state through political alliance and economic treaties. Because at that time, Romania feared Russian occupation, Bucharest accepted alliances with Austria.

The Russian Empire wanted to gain control over the Black Sea coast to access to the Mediterranean Sea, including the Balkans and to be protector of the Orthodox Christians of Ottoman Empire, with special rights in Wallachia and Moldavia. Russia developed the will to represent the Orthodox Church power in accessing to Constantinople because "[i]n the sixteenth century there was developed in Muscovy the doctrine of 'Moscow, the third Rome'."<sup>1890</sup> In the Early Modern period, Russia began the most backward of the Great Powers but also was view as the state with the greatest potential to tap new resources and to grow. In Eastern Europe and the Balkans, a succession of states have opposed Russian interests (or at least perceived Russian interests): The Ottoman Empire, the French under Napoleon, then the British Empire, then the Germans and their allies

---

<sup>1889</sup> Besides Turkey, there were six Great Powers during the late nineteenth century: Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia.

<sup>1890</sup> Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1967]. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). p. 31.

## ***Romania, a Crossroad***

during the two world wars, and most recently the United States. To oppose the other great power, as Austria and Turkish, Russia had fewer their support to regional rival, as well ties to non-Slavic states like Romania, but often came as mere domination, especially when Russia annexed territory, such as Bessarabia which was seized in 1878 and in 1940.

In the nineteenth century, Great Britain was Russia's rival for Balkan influence; interests derived from interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, not only for simple geopolitical influence but also where economic played a large role. Great Britain had developing interests in the Mediterranean Sea for commercial and strategic reasons, to secure the road to India and had important trading interests within the Ottoman Empire itself and later within the successor states. Also, at that time Great Britain had humanitarian interests in the Ottoman parts of the Balkans<sup>1891</sup>.

France, like Great Britain had political and economic interests in the Balkan. Under Napoleon the third, France followed a policy of support for nationalists which gave meaning support for rebels against the Ottomans. In the same time, it was a special affinity with seems like an outpost of Latin culture in a sea of Slavs. France supported the creation of the Romania country, because for Napoleon the third, "the idea was simple: Romania to be born will be a 'bastion' against the Russians and Turks, whose power worries the French diplomacy"<sup>1892</sup>, in the Black Sea area.

After 1859, Italy became a new Great Power and looked the Western Balkans as her natural zone of influence. In the eighteenth century, thanks to their Latin-based language, Romanians found a second alternative cultural model in Italy. For the new German Empire, the Balkans were interested as an economic outlet and as a political interest in order to dominate the continent by forging strong alliances against its rivals (first against France, later Great Britain and ultimately Russia). German's Balkan policy was a mix of support for Austria, and economic and military investment in Turkey, in opposition to Russia and also Great Britain. The new king of Romania was minor members of the German royalty that increased the stature

---

<sup>1891</sup> To see : Erickson, Edward J. *Defeat in detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-13*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.

<sup>1892</sup> Radulescu, Bogdan. *La Roumanie à la croisée des chemins* [online]. (Romania at The Crossroad). *Éléments*, 1997, vol. 90. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/\\_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#](http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#)>. p. 3.



of the Balkan states, and also placed the country (Romania) under the control of Prussia.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire stretched from Asia Minor to North Africa. It was a substantially intact on the Southern Europe part of the Empire, bordered Austria and Russia. All centuries long, the Romanian King had maintained an independent policy in relation to the Ottoman Empire outside the eyalet system where Romanian's states (Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia) paid a tribute to the Ottoman's vassal. Romanian states varied over time with different path of economical and political development before the Union, but in general served as buffer states between the Ottomans expansionism and Christendom in Europe.

In fact, the Romania territory was on the road of multiple interests and has been used for exemple as "a buffer zone during the third quarter of the nineteenth century"<sup>1893</sup> by the Ottoman Empire, after a long relation of dependence from the fifteenth century to at least 1877. Romanian's principalities independence was challenged over the time by the Habsburg Empire (1452-1918), champion of the Catholic Christianity and by the Russian Empire (1613-1917) with the need for ice-free ports and access to the Mediterranean sea.

At the economical and political level, in the recent past, under Soviet hegemony, Romania thru its relation with the West already play a crossroad role between East and West, Communist and Capitalism system, to take more independence from the CMEA. But,

[w]e do not know today if this strategy had been decided by the Romanian secret services in accordance with the KGB, but still is it that the Soviets were quickly used this opening to the West to carry discreetly through Romania, trade and investment outside COMECON"<sup>1894</sup>

said Radulescu Bogdan. As Durandin Catherine says, "the French version of 'autonomy' Romania joined the American vision to find its full development under construction in Europe of States/Nations sought by General de Gaulle",<sup>1895</sup> but do not necessary

---

<sup>1893</sup> Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. 2.

<sup>1894</sup> Radulescu, Bogdan. *La Roumanie à la croisée des chemins* [online]. (Romania at The Crossroad). *Éléments*, 1997, vol. 90. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/\\_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#](http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#)>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1895</sup> Durandin, Catherine. *Autonomie ou non de la politique extérieure roumaine ? (Autonomy or not of the Romanian foreign policy?)*. *Cahiers du CEFRES*, 2001, vol. 25. [cited January, 10 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cefres.cz/pdf/C25F/C257.pdf>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

reflect all the reality. After the 89' Revolution, Romania sought a new geo-political position within Alliance and European European in order to avoid an in-between situation. In the new international situation, "as soon-to-be frontier states for the European Union as well as NATO, Romania [...] viewed the possibility for attracting greater attention and shaping collective responses to the region [i.e. Balkan zone and larger Black Sea area] by those institutions as key niche roles they could play."<sup>1896</sup> As "a state located in a strategic important area, Romania seeks to play a substantial role in the process designed to define and implement NATO and EU stabilization and security assistance policies in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe", because the country is a dynamic vector of security and prosperity in the wider black Sea Region as we can read in the document for *the National Security Strategy of Romania*.<sup>1897</sup>

### **V.3.2.1 Within NATO**

After a long hesitation and despite the fact of Romanian bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union in the beginning of the nineties, the relation with U.S. warmers under President Emil Constantinescu and U.S. President Bill Clinton with the initiation of a bilateral strategic partnership initiative.<sup>1898</sup> Despite broad popular sympathy for Serbia, in the end of the nineties, Romanian "leaders clearly aligned their countries' values and security interests with those of the North Atlantic Alliance"<sup>1899</sup>. After September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the

---

<sup>1896</sup> Moldovan, Dorinel, Pantev Plamen and Rhodes Matthew. Joint Task Force East and Shared Military Basing in Romania and Bulgaria [online]. *Occasional Paper Series*, 2009, vol. 21. [cited Dec. 19, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<[http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F\\_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper\\_21-en.pdf](http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper_21-en.pdf)>. p. 13.

<sup>1897</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania. The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a Better Life in a Democratic Safer and More Prosperous Country* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007g. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>.

<sup>1898</sup> For a critical approach of the Romania's NATO relation progress up to this time, see Watts, Larry L. Reform and Crisis in Romanian Civil-Military Relations 1989-1999. *Armed Forces & Society*, 2001b, vol. 27, no. Summer 2001.

<sup>1899</sup> Moldovan, Dorinel, Pantev Plamen and Rhodes Matthew. Joint Task Force East and Shared Military Basing in Romania and Bulgaria [online]. *Occasional Paper Series*, 2009, vol. 21. [cited Dec. 19, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:

<[http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F\\_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper\\_21-en.pdf](http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper_21-en.pdf)>. p. 11.

American territory and the lunch of the Global War on Terror (GWOT), Romanian signed the letter of the Vilnius Ten and made significant troop contributions to NATO's ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) in Afghanistan. The Romanian political leaders, "who had opposed support for NATO during Allied Force"<sup>1900</sup> were publicly marketing their country for further U.S. use of Romanian facilities as the sea port of Constanta and the Mihail Kogalniceanu Air Base, up to amend the constitution to allow the deployment of foreign military troops in the country.<sup>1901</sup>

As a new NATO's ally, Romania took a position as crossroad facilities for the Alliance in the fight against 'fails states', rogue states and terrorism. Romania provides not only an anchor for the U.S. in the Black Sea after Turkey's breakdown, but offer facilities in its country to the U.S. military to position personnel, storage facilities, and some logistical support, placing the U.S. to reach easier Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>1902</sup> Romania plays an important role as an active member with "strong political leadership"<sup>1903</sup> and "a strategic position on the map"<sup>1904</sup>, to share "values of security, freedom and democracy to the frontiers of Europe – and beyond [i.e. Balkans and across the Black Sea within CIS neighbor's states, in the Caucasus and Central Asia]."<sup>1905</sup>

In the mainstream of the U.S. strategy in the Black Sea Region<sup>1906</sup>, the Pentagon's gateway to three continents and the Middle

---

<sup>1900</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1901</sup> To see : Ibid.

<sup>1902</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Rice Hails Romania as One of United States' "Strongest Friends" [online]. *U.S. Mission to the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State, 2005d. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://useu.usmission.gov/Article.asp?ID=755B2E9A-F26E-4A90-B7C3-CC1FEEFED643>>.

<sup>1903</sup> NATO. *Supporting an Active Romania in an Active Alliance. Speech by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer at the NATO House* [online]. Bucharest: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004d. [cited 30 July 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s040513b.htm>>.

<sup>1904</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1905</sup> Geoană, Mircea. *Speech to the Ceremonial North Atlantic Council, Romania's Accession to NATO* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004. [cited 27 Nov. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=8531&idlnk=2&cat=4&lang=en>>.

<sup>1906</sup> Cohen, Ariel and Conway Irwin. *U.S. Strategy in the Black Sea Region* [online]. *Russia and Eurasia*, December 13, 2006. Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 2006. [cited April 10, 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#\\_ftn29](http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#_ftn29)>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

East<sup>1907</sup>, Romania launched few initiatives in order to aimed at consolidating the profile of the Black Sea region and to promote the regional interests by drawing the international community's attention to the importance of this area, with its opportunities and challenges. As remark Cohen Ariel<sup>1908</sup> and Conway Irwin<sup>1909</sup>, "[t]he region [- the Black Sea -] is geopolitically significant precisely because it is a nexus of cultures, international trade (both legal and illicit), ideas, and influences"<sup>1910</sup>, as an important region to built a plat-form for facilities (military and stabilization operations, reconstruction...) in the middle east, as well as for the protection of energy transit between the Caucasus region and Western markets. Romania can expect by its NATO membership and the U.S. troops, as the headquarters of the the command of Joint Task Force East (JTFE) on Romanian soil, to develop more influence towards its eastern neighborhood. Romania's with Bulgaria's had intentions, as NATO member states, to expand the Active Endeavor operation from the Mediterranean Sea to the Black Sea, but the initiative was counteracting by a new naval cooperation structure, Black Sea Harmony, established by Turkey in 2004.

The NATO summit in Bucharest on 2008, came in the mind of Romanian political leaders as recognition of Romania's importance in the region and within NATO<sup>1911</sup>. The hallmark of the Bucharest summit was that members agreed in principle to expand the Alliance more east by admitting more members and the recognition of the importance of the Black Sea region. In the wave of the participation in NATO and links with the U.S., Romania joined the U.S. missile

---

<sup>1907</sup> Rozoff, Rick. Black Sea: Pentagon's Gateway to Three Continents and the Middle East [online]. Global Research. Montreal, QC: The Centre for Research on Globalization, 2009. [cited April 10, 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=12400>>.

<sup>1908</sup> Cohen, Ariel is Senior Research Fellow in Russian and Eurasian Studies and International Energy Security in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Cen-ter for Foreign Policy Studies, a division of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for International Studies, at The Heritage Foundation.

<sup>1909</sup> Conway Irwin is a Washington-based freelance writer.

<sup>1910</sup> Cohen, Ariel and Conway Irwin. U.S. Strategy in the Black Sea Region [online]. *Russia and Eurasia*, December 13, 2006. Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 2006. [cited April 10, 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#\\_ftn29](http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#_ftn29)>.

<sup>1911</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Video interview with Traian Basescu, President of Romania* [online]. 2008a, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Brussels, Belgium: NATO HQ. Opinion. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2008/s080630b.html>>.

defense shield<sup>1912</sup>, a Romania's foreign policy success<sup>1913</sup>, views as a chance for strengthening Europe's and Romania security with a desire to gain an important position in the U.S.-led global security system.

### **V.3.2.2 Within EU**

Romania seeks in the Union to develop influence on the European politic as states by the Romanian President<sup>1914</sup>. Before the accession, Romania has always pleaded for the European attention to the Balkans and the Black Sea neighborhood and its implication for economy opportunities and political stability, as well its impact on European Union economical and political landscape. If the western Balkan states (Albania, Bosnia, Croatia<sup>1915</sup>, Serbia, Macedonia<sup>1916</sup>, Montenegro, and the region of Kosovo) are all recognized potential EU candidates and are in the EU's natural process of enlargement after the admission of Bulgaria and Romania, the Black Sea Eastern neighbors (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) are not nowadays in the scope of the Union enlargement even if discussions were held with some potential future candidate. The Union in 2003, in the light of the future enlargement of 2007 and the

---

<sup>1912</sup> To see: Kulish, Nicholas and Barry Ellen. Romanians Accept Plan for Basing of Missiles [online]. *The New York Times*, 4 Febr. 2010. New York, NY: The New York Times Company, [cited 8 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/05/world/europe/05romania.html>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. La Roumanie accueillera une partie du bouclier antimissile américain [online]. (Romania will host a part of U.S. missile defense system). *NovelObs.com*, 4 Febr. 2010. Paris: Le Nouvel Observateur, 2010d. [cited 4 Febr. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/europe/20100204.OBS5874/la\\_roumanie\\_accueillera\\_une\\_partie\\_du\\_bouclier\\_antimiss.html](http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/europe/20100204.OBS5874/la_roumanie_accueillera_une_partie_du_bouclier_antimiss.html)>.

<sup>1913</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Defence Minister Oprea - US invitation to Romania, a foreign policy success.pdf [online]. *www.romaniapress.com*. Bucharest: Romanian National Press Agency 2010c. [cited 8 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romaniapress.com/news-1004328.html>>.

<sup>1914</sup> To see: Departamentul comunicării publice. Discursul președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București [online]. (Speech by Romanian President Traian Băsescu, at the Meeting of the Beginning of the Year with Heads of Diplomatic Missions in Bucharest). București: Președintele României, 2010. [cited 10 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://cms.presidency.ro/?pag=68&sid=12012>>.

<sup>1915</sup> In June 2004, the EU named Croatia as a candidate and opened accession talks with that country on October 3, 2005.

<sup>1916</sup> Macedonia, called officially the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was granted candidate country status for EU membership in 2005.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

European Security Strategy steps up the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) to offers to its neighbors a privileged relationship. Romania and Bulgaria accession to the EU makes the Black Sea the Union's south-eastern border. In this new EU configuration, Romania, as well Bulgaria, after 2007 played an important role in the European Union ENP program in particular within the Black Sea area thru Romanian's initiatives to develop regional cooperation, and that even if in the Romanian neighborhood remains many frozen conflict as in Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Pridnestrovie.

Romanian is positioned at the crossroads between EU, the Balkans and CIS countries, crossed by three important pan-European transportation corridors; The Pan-European corridor No.4 considered as a key project to the cross-linking Western and Eastern Europe; the Pan-European corridor No.7 thru the Danube considered as inland water transportation and connection between the Port of Constanta (the biggest Port to the Black Sea) to Northern Europe, through the Rhine; the Pan-European corridor No.9 is connecting Northern and Southern Europe. Romania is considered to be a pillar ensuring connection between the European Union and Caucasus – Asian states<sup>1917</sup>.

Romania in the EU political landscape launched few initiatives, because as official says, “[t]he main stake for Romania is staying among the main promoters of the initiative to draw up [...] Strategy and the inclusion of as many priority projects as possible in [...] Plan of Action.”<sup>1918</sup> Romania, along with Austria, has promoted an EU strategy for the development of the Danube area as the Danube Co-operation Process (DCP) launched in 2002 on an initiative developed with the support of the European Commission and the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe (SPSEE), and extended later to all others countries of the hydrological basin of the Danube river (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Germany, Moldova, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Ukraine, Hungary and Yugoslavia), with a developpement advice with other regional organizations and

---

<sup>1917</sup> Orban, Ludovic Speech at the 70th Annual Session of the Inland Transport Committee [online]. Paper presented at the 70th Session of the UNECE Inland Transport Committee. Euro-Asian Transport Links Ministerial Meeting on 19-21 February 2008. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. p. 5. [cited 2 Jan. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/trans/MinisterialITC70/documents/Speech\\_Ministerial\\_Romania\\_E.pdf](http://www.unece.org/trans/MinisterialITC70/documents/Speech_Ministerial_Romania_E.pdf)>.

<sup>1918</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. EU Strategy for the Danube - Romania's Position [online]. s.d., s.d. Romania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=14636&idlnk=&cat=>>>.

initiatives, especially with the Organization for Black Sea Economic Cooperation. Romania, as Bulgaria will bring to the EU the focus on the Black Sea region as new members of the European Union. Romania as a member will intend to play a full role among the members with the priorities for stability and prosperity in the Romania's neighborhood and the wider Black Sea.

On Romania initiative, the European Commission launched in 2007, the Black Sea Synergy a first step in the direction of a Black Sea strategy development on just four pillars: energy, environment, security and democratization. Romania has advocacy, thru its President Basescu Traian, a former ship captain, a Black Sea strategy and proposing a 'Bucharest Process'<sup>1919</sup> mimicking the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership formerly known as the Barcelona Process<sup>1920</sup> for the Mediterranean countries. But, in this region the clashing identities and numerous factors, as crossroad-character, cultural and linguistic differences, post-Soviet tensions and supra-regional competition, could become a risk for the European stability especially with the new European Union foreign policy after the implementation of the Lisbon treaty. As for the Balkans, the EU will not have the necessary military forces to enforce peace in case of military problems or conflict, i.e. Georgia. We have to remember that the black Sea play an important role in Europe's Energy Security as we will explain hereafter.

The Romanian political leaders intend to consolidate the country status as an EU member, to be an active force of proposition for the European institution by strengthening the Romania's role as an active

---

<sup>1919</sup> The Bucharest Process was hold in 2003 to enhance cooperation in the region the employment challenges faced by the Stability Pact countries launched in 1999, with a role changed over time for its successor organisation, the Regional Co-operation Council. The Regional Co-operation Council inherited the mandate to oversee co-operation processes in South-Eastern Europe and to support European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the region.

<sup>1920</sup> The Barcelona Process was launched in November 1995 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the then with 15 EU's members and 14 Mediterranean partners, as the framework to manage both bilateral and regional relations. The Barcelona process was re-launched in 2008 as the Union for the Mediterranean (EUROMED) at the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean and includes all 27 EU's members along with 16 partners across the Southern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

and influential member<sup>1921</sup> in the EU institutional framework, in order to state and to actively promote relevant ideas and projects at regional and European levels. In a similar manner, Romania seeks to take an important part in the future European diplomatic service. Under a 'coalition' built by the Romanian Members of European Parliament (MEP) with other colleagues from the Danube basin's countries, Romania pushes a strategic plan for the Danube Sea strategy, a similar program to the EU's Baltic Sea strategy. The European commission adopted the idea and states to draft an EU Strategy for the Danube Region no later than the end of 2010<sup>1922</sup> with a Romanian MEP<sup>1923</sup> as the reporter for the Danube Strategy, on behalf of the EU assembly's regional development committee<sup>1924</sup>. Also, Romania is a strong supporter for European Union enlargement to the Balkans and the Eastern states, especially Montenegro<sup>1925</sup> and the

---

<sup>1921</sup> Predoiu, Catalin Declarație pe teme de actualitate ale politicii externe românești [online]. (Statement on the big issues of the Romanian foreign policy). Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009. [cited 25 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=41514&idlnk=2&lang=ro&cat=4>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

<sup>1922</sup> European Parliament. Joint Motion for a Resolution on a European Strategy for the Danube Region [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2010. [cited 8 Feb. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+MOTION+P7-RC-2010-0031+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>>.

<sup>1923</sup> The MEP is Bostinaru, Victor. He is member of the European Parliament since December 2007, Vice-Chairman of the European Parliament's delegation for relations with South-East Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo), member of the Committee on Regional Development and Substitute in the delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China.

<sup>1924</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Commission asked to launch Danube Strategy [online]. *EurActiv*, 21 Jan. 2010. Brussels: EurActiv, 2010b. [cited 8 Feb. 8 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/priorities/commission-asked-launch-danube-strategy/article-189130>>.

<sup>1925</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania Supporting Montenegro's EU accession [online]. *New Europe - The European Weekly*. Brussels: The Media Company, 2009f. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.neurope.eu/articles/Romania-supporting-Montenegros-EU-accession/96768.php>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. Basescu: Romania continues its support to Moldova's EU accession [online]. *Moldova.org*. Washington, D.C.: Moldova Foundation, 2010a. [cited 18 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/basescu-romania-continues-its-support-to-moldovas-eu-accession-200700-eng.html>>.



republic of Moldova<sup>1926</sup>, as Turkey for the EU accession. The President of Romania pointed out that Romania's foreign policy in relation to the states in its eastern and south-Eastern neighborhood is grounded on solidarity and the valuing of opportunities.

### **V.3.2.3 Within Black Sea**

After returning to the west anchor by accession to the Western institutions – NATO and the EU –, Romania feels the responsibility to initiate and promote policies of efficient integration of the Black Sea countries into the European and the Atlantic community. For Romania as draw in its National Security Strategy document, the Black Sea region has a high importance and represent a key of Romania strategy for the future and Romania international participation to the world development. For Romanian's political leaders, Romania is a crossroads of the Black Sea, i.e. wider Black Sea and gateway to the new eastern markets. It is undeniable that the country has to play a role in its area as a member of the EU and as the Euro-Atlantic community's eastern frontier with the Black Sea within the wider Middle East.<sup>1927</sup> We can raise the following remark that the country with Bulgaria "represent the frontier of the West to the Black Sea and it is in their direct interest to extend those frontiers further to the

---

<sup>1926</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. Romania strives to attach Moldova to Balkan EU train [online]. *EurActive*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2010e. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/Romania-strives-to-attach-Moldova-to-Balkan-EU-train>>. And \_\_\_\_\_. Basescu: Romania continues its support to Moldova's EU accession [online]. *Moldova.org*. Washington, D.C.: Moldova Foundation, 2010a. [cited 18 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/basescu-romania-continues-its-support-to-moldovas-eu-accession-200700-eng.html>>.

<sup>1927</sup> Năstase, Adrian. Romania: Member of the EU, Crossroads of the Black Sea and Gateway to the New Eastern Markets. [online]. Paper presented at the The International Role of the European Union. Its Strategies Toward the East, Africa and the Arab World on June 24-27, 2009. Brussels, Belgium: Crans Montana Forum. [cited September 10, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.adriannastase.ro/files/crans\\_montana\\_speech\\_modificat.pdf](http://www.adriannastase.ro/files/crans_montana_speech_modificat.pdf)>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

East".<sup>1928</sup> As states by the Romanian Foreign Minister, "[t]he Black Sea region lies at the heart of Romania's foreign policy objectives."<sup>1929</sup>

But today, the *status quo* of the major powers of the Black Sea – Russia and Turkey –, based on a traditional competition and battleground for centuries, opposing penetration of the Western influence on the region, developed after 1989 step by step an intense collaboration in political and strategic dimensions. As Kınıklıoğlu Suat<sup>1930</sup> says: today "the Turkish-Russian relationship is likely to become a structural factor in the region"<sup>1931</sup>. As an NATO member from more than half a century and American key strategic partner<sup>1932</sup> in the region, Turkey had undergone recently severe strain and increase discontent with the US.<sup>1933</sup>

---

<sup>1928</sup> Ognyan, Minchev. Major Interests and Strategies for the Black Sea Region. Framework Analytical Review [online]. Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.iris-bg.org/files/Black%20Sea%20Framework%20Analytical%20Review.pdf>>.

<sup>1929</sup> Cioroianu, Adrian-Mihai. The BSEC at Its Fifteenth Anniversary [online]. In Celac, Sergiu and Borou Olga (Eds.), *Black Sea Economic Cooperation: Fifteen Years of Regional Activity (1992-2007), Views by Foreign Ministers and Haeds of BSEC Institutions*. Athens: International Centre for Black Sea Studies, 2007. [cited 27 November 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://icbss.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&gid=400](http://icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=400)>.

<sup>1930</sup> Kınıklıoğlu Suat currently hold the positions of AK Party Deputy Chairman of External Affairs and Spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Turkish Parliament. He was director of the German Marshall Fund's new office in Ankara, from 2005 to 2007 and placed 3rd for the Sakip Sabanci International Research Award with his essay on Turkey's past, present, and future relations with Russia.

<sup>1931</sup> Kınıklıoğlu, Suat. The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations [online]. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2006. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.gmfus.org/doc/KINIKLIOGLU%20-%20The%20Anatomy%20of%20Turkish-Russian%20Relations.pdf>>.

<sup>1932</sup> To see: Kogan, Eugene. Turkish-American Strategic Partnership versus Turkish-Russian Partnership without Strategy. [online]. Vienna: Internationales Institut für Liberale Politik Wien, 2009. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iilp.at/publikationen/sozialwissenschaftliche\\_schriftenreihe/?s=search&q=Turkish-American+Strategic+Partnership+versus+Turkish-Russian+Partnership+without+Strategy&x=66&y=10](http://www.iilp.at/publikationen/sozialwissenschaftliche_schriftenreihe/?s=search&q=Turkish-American+Strategic+Partnership+versus+Turkish-Russian+Partnership+without+Strategy&x=66&y=10)>.

<sup>1933</sup> The Turkish-American have undergone severe strain as a result of difference over the Iraq war and the possible use of Turkish territory for a land invasion of Iraq in 2003. Also, Turkey succeeded to jeopardize the extension of NATO's Operation 'Active Endeavour' (OAE) from the Mediterranean sea to the Black Sea. The international recognition of Armenian genocide in the US congress is also a problem that stumble with the normalization process between Armenia and Turkey.

Since it anchors to the Western institutions, Romania has been more active than other countries in the Black Sea region, view as a link between an enlarged Europe and its new neighborhood, to develop regional cooperation. The country has developed gradually leadership with the support of western institutions and the US. Romania promotes the EU Black Sea Synergy and participates actively in regional cooperation organization<sup>1934</sup>, holds regional institutions<sup>1935</sup> and develops few initiatives<sup>1936</sup> with the ambition to lead the Black Sea cooperation process from the positions of the Euro-Atlantic community and bringing this area closer to the European Union. In fact as Ognyan Minchev<sup>1937</sup> states that "Romanians' perception of selves as 'Latin bridgehead' into a 'Sea of Slavs' brings them to more explicit pro-Atlantic and anti-Russian standing in assessing the Black Sea agenda".<sup>1938</sup> Or, the Wider Black Sea region brings various and extremely complex states actors' ambition and interests from full cooperation to total opposition, and generate a complex balance of power between the involved actors. The Black Sea sights as a boundary is for Romanian more a bridge for new challenges and opportunities for western institutions.<sup>1939</sup> In the situation, Romania intends to play a role and to act as a bridge between East and West and to unify the interests and ambitions of

---

<sup>1934</sup> As member of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), the South East European Co-operation Process (SEECP), the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB), the Black Sea Naval Co-operation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR), the Black Sea Border Coordination and Information Center (BSBCIC), the Black Sea and Central Asia Economic Outlook (BSECAO).

<sup>1935</sup> The Bucharest-based SECI Regional Center Headquarters - Center for Combating Trans-border Crime.

<sup>1936</sup> As the Border Defense Initiative (BDI) know also as the Black Sea Border Defense Initiative (BSBDI) on May 2004; the Black Sea EuroRegion (BSER) on March 2006; the Black Sea Forum to develop dialogue and partnership (BSF) in September 2006; the Black Sea Synergy in February 2008; the Black Sea Forum for Nongovernmental Organizations in 2008; the Operational Program for Black Sea Cross-Border Cooperation (2007-2013).

<sup>1937</sup> Ognyan Minchev is Director of the Institute for Regional and International Studies (IRIS), independent public policy and research institution, associated on contract basis with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia.

<sup>1938</sup> Ognyan, Minchev. Major Interests and Strategies for the Black Sea Region. Framework Analytical Review [online]. Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.iris-bg.org/files/Black%20Sea%20Framework%20Analytical%20Review.pdf>>. p. 20.

<sup>1939</sup> To see: Antonian, Iulia. Geo-strategic Evolutions in Black Sea Region [online]. Euro-Atlantic Studies, Oct. 2004, Vol. 7. Bucharest: Centre for Euro-Atlantic Studies, University of Bucharest, 2004. pp. 83-90. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/StiintePOL/euro-atlanticstudies7-2004/cap9.pdf>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

the others regional actors with realistic approaches in the fluctuation of regional changing realities. But, the weak point of the Romania's foreign policy is its relation and conflict in political dialogue with Ukraine and Russia. The Romanian diplomacy has undertaken a more positive path in its relationship with Russia, tied by nearly total natural gas dependence and by strong commercial rates. In the recent period, Romania significantly undertook a more moderate policy towards Russia, as recognizing the inescapable Russian influence in the Black Sea zone, because "[w]ithout a minimum involvement of Russia, the power equilibrium might become an artificial one and, consequently, challenged (or even undermined)"<sup>1940</sup> each initiatives in the Wider Black Sea region. It is clear that Romania remains the most proper state for moderating the power equilibrium in the Wider Black Sea Region. Its geostrategic position, as well "the constant economic and social progress, the consolidated membership in EU and NATO, the political stability and the keeping of commitments – all these are arguments for which Romania should take the lead"<sup>1941</sup> in the wider Black Sea Region.

### **V.3.2.4 The Energy Question**

In the beginning of the Twentieth first Century, the rise of the energy supplies issue gives to Romania, a new role to contribute to the security and supplies of energy for Europe<sup>1942</sup>. By its strategic location along the Black Sea, the country become a major crossing point for Caucasus and Caspian Sea oil seeking routes to markets other than thru Russian territories. It is interesting to state that the challenge plots began with the definition by the European Union of famous European and intercontinental corridors, emphasizes the new role given to Romania as a connecting point into Europe, but also by the United States' energy strategy in their will to establish alternate roads for oil and gas around Russia. The geopolitical importance to by-pass Russia generated various planned and projected pipeline projects for Caucasus and Caspian Sea oil and gas sources. The importance to by-pass Russia is viewed to be very important in a new

---

<sup>1940</sup> Pricopi, Marius. Romania - Moderating the Power Equilibrium in the Black Sea Region [online]. Strategic Impact, 2009, no. 1. [cited 4 Feb. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=6ca8043b-3aa5-4828-b303-cd18bcf0dc9a>>.

<sup>1941</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1942</sup> The same role will be dedicate also to Bulgaria. It will be a friendly competition between Bulgaria and Romania on this point.

cold peace context where thru targeted foreign investments and strategic infrastructural buyouts in Eastern Europe, Moscow's strategic objectives and policies seems to build a monopolistic positions and substantial influence over any country's economic, financial, trade, and investment policies in its near abroad. As Bugajski Janusz<sup>1943</sup> states:

Moscow aims to convert East Europe's overwhelming dependence on Russian energy supplies and economic investments into long-term, constant, and predictable intergovernmental influence. Close connections between the Kremlin and the largest Russian companies, whether through executive appointments, through the promotions of overseas operations, or through financial, legal, and police instruments, demonstrate that foreign policy is closely coordinated. Russian enterprises have been encouraged to gain political influence through involvement with officials, parties, and media outlets in targeted East European states.<sup>1944</sup>

Romania, likewise a lot of other European states, "remains dependent on Russian oil and gas, which constituted some 90 percent of Romania imports"<sup>1945</sup>, and a lot of Russian companies became involved in the Romanian economy generating Romanian Security Intelligence (RSI) director's<sup>1946</sup> alert that "foreign interest groups" pose a danger to the country's economy, including threats "under the guise of strategic investments".<sup>1947</sup>

Romania has only two corridors, comparing to it neighbor Bulgarian (four corridors), but has facilities with the river traffic, and a large access to the Black Sea with the mouths of the Danube river and canals access to the Black Sea. This way reduces the road from North Sea to Black Sea. At the beginning of 2008, the two big natural gas pipeline projects – Nabucco, thru Turkey (discussion started in 2002) and South Stream thru the Black Sea (discussion started in 2006) – entered in competition in a new geopolitical conflicting

---

<sup>1943</sup> Bugajski Janusz is the director of the East European Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and chair of the South-Central Europe area studies program at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute.

<sup>1944</sup> Bugajski, Janusz. *Cold Peace: Russia's New Imperialism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004. p. 31.

<sup>1945</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1946</sup> Alexandru-Radu Timofte was the director of the Romanian Secret Service from february, 7 2001 until July, 20 2006.

<sup>1947</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian Intelligence Service Chief Says 'Foreign Interests' Threaten Country's Economy [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, March 07, 2003, 7 March 2003. Bucharest: MediaFax, 2003a. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1142870.html>>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

situation between Russia and Ukraine about gas disputes<sup>1948</sup>. Strategic interest for economic purpose first, Romania deployed strong political and diplomatic action to keep on the country land pipeline project, because Nabucco counts among the important projects for Romania, has stated by the Romanian Prime Minister.<sup>1949</sup> The Nabucco project<sup>1950</sup> approved by several European Union states<sup>1951</sup> is supported by the EU and the United States<sup>1952</sup>, attempts to lessen

---

<sup>1948</sup> To see : Parini, Simon. Ukraine's Gas Sector [online]. Oxford, UK: Oxford Institutur for Energy Studies, 2007. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordenergy.org/pdfs/NG21.pdf>>. And Parini, Simon, Balmaceda Margarita and Westpha Kirsten. *The Russian-Ukrainian Gas Conflict* [online]. Vol. 53. Zurich, Switzerland: Research Centre for East European Studies and Center for Security Studies (CSS) 2009. (Russian Analytical Digest). [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://kms2.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/95596/ipublicationdocument\\_singledocument/E0C7DE26-0FBB-4BD9-934C-9C584E1E1CDC/en/Russian\\_Analytical\\_Digest\\_53.pdf](http://kms2.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/95596/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/E0C7DE26-0FBB-4BD9-934C-9C584E1E1CDC/en/Russian_Analytical_Digest_53.pdf)>. ISSN 1863-0421.

<sup>1949</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco counts among the important projects for Romania, Prime Minister reckons* [online]. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2009m. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.gov.ro/nabucco-counts-among-the-important-projects-for-romania-prime-minister-reckons\\_\\_l2a104658.html](http://www.gov.ro/nabucco-counts-among-the-important-projects-for-romania-prime-minister-reckons__l2a104658.html)>.

<sup>1950</sup> To see : \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project* [online]. Vienna: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, 2009p. [cited 17 Sept. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/press%20and%20public/presentations/Official%20Project%20Description\\_Q1\\_2009\\_v01.pdf](http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/press%20and%20public/presentations/Official%20Project%20Description_Q1_2009_v01.pdf)>. and \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco - Gas Bridge to Europe - Status Report, Q4 2009* [online]. Vienna: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, 2009o. [cited 17 Sept. 2009]. PowerPoint. Available from: <<http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/presentations/StatusNabucco4Q09.ppt>>.

<sup>1951</sup> Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Turkey.

<sup>1952</sup> To see: Taylor, Paul and Jukwey James U.S. throws Weight Behind EU's Nabucco Pipeline [online]. *Reuters UK*, 22 Feb. 2008 10:20am GMT. London, UK: Thomson Reuters, 2006. [cited 23 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://uk.reuters.com/article/UK\\_SMALLCAPSRPT/idUKL2212241120080222](http://uk.reuters.com/article/UK_SMALLCAPSRPT/idUKL2212241120080222)>. Nicola, Stefan. Analysis: Europe's Pipeline War [online]. UPI.com, 5 Feb. 2008 7:42pm Washington, DC: United Press International, 2008. [cited 23 Feb. 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.upi.com/Science\\_News/Resource-Wars/2008/02/05/Analysis-Europes-pipeline-war/UPI-24561202258576/](http://www.upi.com/Science_News/Resource-Wars/2008/02/05/Analysis-Europes-pipeline-war/UPI-24561202258576/)>. Grove, Thomas and Coskun Orhan. Turkish PM Says Wants Nabucco to Transport Iran Gas [online]. *Reuters UK*, 13 Jul. 2009 9:51am BST. London, UK: Thomson Reuters, 2009. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKLD60806920090713?sp=true&pageNumber=1>>. and Cendrowicz, Leo. Europe Tries to Break Its Russian Gas Habit [online]. Time.com, 13 Jul. 2009. New York, NY: Time Inc., 2009. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1910123,00.html>>.

European dependence on Russian energy, sees as rival to the planned Russian South Stream pipeline.<sup>1953</sup> Nabucco is a gas pipeline project of 2,050 miles (3,300 kilometers) long that will run from Erzurum in Turkey via Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary to Baumgarten an der March, a major natural gas hub in Austria.<sup>1954</sup> The European Union dependence on Russian energy is heavy with nearly half of its natural gas and 30 percent of its oil<sup>1955</sup>. To avoid Russian grip on oil and gas in Europe, it aims to diversify an energy sector with its Nabucco project from the Caspian region. Cohen Ariel explains that Russian is using different strategies and tactics as locking in demand, locking in supply, derailing competition, external consolidation, developing a 'gas OPEC' cartel in order to control all the process<sup>1956</sup>. The South Stream project is intended to transport Russian natural gas across Europe thru the Black Sea from the Russian to the Bulgarian with a 560 miles (900 kilometers) pipeline. Since 2003, The Russian political power has aggressively developed state control over its energy sector, and has demonstrated an increasing willingness to use energy as a political weapon to manipulate the behavior of the states that depend on it.

Unitl nowadays, Romania, at first concentrates all its efforts in the implementation of the Nabucco's project, as a very active stakeholder. The project is a direct rival of the South Stream project to supply gas to Europe from the Caspian region by eliminating Russia influences. After, stop and go on the Nabucco project, in 2009

---

<sup>1953</sup> to see: Geropoulos, Kostis. Russia Prefers South Stream over Blue Stream II [online]. *New Europe - The European Weekly*, 3 Nov. 2007, 754. Attikis, Greece: News Corporations S.A., 2007. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.neurope.eu/articles/79576.php>>. and \_\_\_\_\_. Gazprom Agrees To Boost Pipeline Capacity [online]. *DownstreamToday*, 15 May 2009: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 2009c. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a\\_id=16386&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1](http://downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a_id=16386&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1)>.

<sup>1954</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Nabucco Gas Pipeline is Approved [online]. *BBC News online*, 27 June 2006 16:22 GMT. London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2006b. [cited 10 Nov. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/business/5121394.stm>>.

<sup>1955</sup> Lobjakas, Ahto. Russia: EU Maintains Codependent Energy Relationship [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, May 11, 2006. Prague, Czech Republic: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. Available from: <[www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/05/ff605d50-df88-46a9-9f0f-86b88350d1c1.html](http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/05/ff605d50-df88-46a9-9f0f-86b88350d1c1.html)>.

<sup>1956</sup> To see : Cohen, Ariel. Europe's Strategic Dependence on Russian Energy [online]. *Backgrounder*, November 5, 2007, 2007, no. 2983. [cited April 10, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/bg2083.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/bg2083.cfm)>.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

the President of the European Commission Barroso Jose Manuel announced its full support for the Nabucco project and signed the Nabucco Intergovernmental Agreement.<sup>1957</sup>

Or, from 2008 Gazprom held several preliminary discussions with representatives of Romania exploring the opportunity to develop the existing transit infrastructure and to build new capacity on the Romanian territory, as a potential substitute of Bulgaria and as an alternative to Serbia, taking into account the planned South Stream pipeline network running across South and Central Europe.<sup>1958</sup> "Romania has a great strategic position on the Black Sea coast and it could have been the starting point for the European part of the pipeline route"<sup>1959</sup>, says Gazprom export CEO Medvedev Alexander.

The two project, South Stream vs. Nabucco gas pipelines, entered in competition and the race intensified in times with an escalates' competition under Energy security purpose, for EU's independence vs. Russia's influence on natural gas exports to Europe. The dispute over the subject is only at the beginning, "[t]his is the first born who will win", because "[a]ll countries are involved in both camps, just to be sure not to be losers," says Romania Liberal.<sup>1960</sup> In

---

<sup>1957</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *President of the European Commission Signature of the Nabucco Intergovernmental Agreement* [online]. Brussels: President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso, 2009n. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SPEECH/09/339&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>.

<sup>1958</sup> To see: Socor, Vladimir. *Gazprom Seducing Romanian Government With South Stream* [online]. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 23 Oct. 2008 10:00 PM, Vol. 5, 204. Washington, D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2008a. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=34048](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34048)>. And Socor, Vladimir. *Romania is the Latest Target for Gazprom's South Stream Temptations* [online]. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 21 Oct. 2008 10:00 PM, Vol. 5, 201. Washington, D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2008b. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=34037](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34037)>.

<sup>1959</sup> Biocina, Marko. *Medvedev: Gazprom a "reliable parttner"* [online]. *SETimes.com*, 11 Jan. 2010. Moscow: Southeast European Times, 2010. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/articles/2010/01/11/reportage-01](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/articles/2010/01/11/reportage-01)>.

<sup>1960</sup> Luca, Andrei. *Nabucco sau South Stream: câștigă primul născut* [online]. *România Liberă*, 2 Oct. 2009. București: România Liberă, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romanalibera.ro/a166418/nabucco-sau-south-stream-castiga-primul-nascut.html>>. Translated by Marc Bonnemains



this growing battle struggle for the world's energy reserves control, there is a an underlying struggle for regional domination in the wider Black Sea, the Russia domination against the Euro-Atlantic Alliance, the East against the West, because one of "the Moscow's biggest fears appear to be the sharpening global scramble for rapidly disappearing oil and gas", that can conduces to military possible intervention.<sup>1961</sup>

---

<sup>1961</sup> Jolkver, Nikita. Russia's security strategy considers new and old challenges [online]. DW-World.de, 6 July 2009, 6 July 2009. Bonn: Deutsche Welle, 2009. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. Available from: <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,4459148,00.html>>.

## **V.4 Partial Conclusion**

First, as we explained, the relationship with the others is an important pillar of the Romanian identity foundation, thru self-identification and construction of the country herself and an important element in the Romania's international relations. Over centuries, the others took an important real or imaginary role in the construction of Romanian's identity and fancy thru the process of self-identification. As we saw here before, the country's identity and country's construction was among centuries shape by the others, as defined before. The others are an omnipresent component of the Romanian history, an important stakeholder in the construction of a national identity as well in the Nation-Building. The identity was defined by the others sometime as similar to them, sometime as outside and different. Because as explains Armstrong John Alexander<sup>1962</sup>, the "group tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, that is, by comparison to 'strangers' ".<sup>1963</sup> For instance, concerning its identity, we can point out that "[h]istorically, Romania has perhaps been the nation in the Balkania most affected by foreign cultures."<sup>1964</sup> The relationships with foreigners, the others, was a part of the building process of the Romanian's identity but also as a national identity construction during the last two centuries, thru identification and/or rejection processes. The others not only had a positive influence on Romania, but also constituted over the time some threats for the country. As a positive influence, Romania's independence, like the constitution of the Greater Romania, was done with the foreign powers' blessing. But, threats were seen for the country as a Latin 'island' to be protected in a Slavic 'ocean', as well as for the importance to conserve the new country unity from the three original principalities' soul and history differences.

---

<sup>1962</sup> John Alexander Armstrong, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, was very influential on the study of nationalism in general and that of Ukrainian nationalism in particular, by traces the development of national identities from their origins in Antiquity and Middle Ages. In 1997, he was winner of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for all his academic work.

<sup>1963</sup> Armstrong, John Alexander. *Nations before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

<sup>1964</sup> Gianaris, Nicholas V. . *Geopolitical and economic changes in the Balkan countries*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996. p. 119.

Romania is based on one characteristic: a rural population closed and attached to its land ruled by an elite, sometime foreigner, opened to the world and the other, under the other's idea influence. An important point, because we saw during the recent democratic period in Romania's politic a rising of specific Romanian populism that jeopardizing the Romanian foreign policy in a conflictual neighborhood relationship, to oppose to political choice to open to the westerners institutions. Nationalism has always been an important factor in the Romanian identity construction, as for the Eastern Europe and the Balkans. The challenge was to balance the tension between the modernization project of Western inspiration and the traditionalist tendency nurtured by values of Byzantine and Eastern sources.

The others gained their high importance in the Nation-building process of Romania to favor the born of the unified Romania from the Danubien principalties to the Greater Romania. In the recent period under the power of communism, the role of the other was reinforced due to the necessity of a nationalist resurgence. The Nation-building was done in the new situation of the Romania's countries that from centuries was borderland of different Empires for the good but also for the worst, when the country became a crossroad of different great power interest in the recent Modern Period. The Eastern Question an element of political interest for the Great Powers brought the principalties at the center of others' geopolitical interest and conflict used as a political tool to contain the adversaries that intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples, and antagonistic faiths created. Within the difference sphere of influence, Romania gained the country independence as well a position of regional leaders until the Cold War period. After the 89' Revolution, the phenomenon did not disappear, but was amplified. We can underline that the country's identity has been an important issue concerning the European Union and NATO accession. Given the idea to reconstruct the Greater Romania, the Romanian government feared that the issue of the Hungarians in Transylvania could be used as a counterbalance in the case of Romanian demands for the retrocession of Bessarabia and as a means for possible pressure on Romania by the Soviet Union in the case of the latter losing control over the country's policy.

The country, Romania, was created and ruled<sup>1965</sup> always with the blessing of the others, the Great Power (in the nineteenth and the

---

<sup>1965</sup> For exemple: the creation of the Romanian kingdom; the creation of the Greater Romania; the *status quo* after the World War Two.

## ***Romania, a Crossroad***

twentieth centuries), as well the international community (after the World War II). But the dependence after the World War Two vis-à-vis the international community and the Soviet Union in particular had created a situation of victimization feeling among Romanian, because the country had not having choices and has been feel trapped, making Others responsible for the country choices in recent past. In addition, the victimization feeling has been reinforced by the non-recognition of the Romania specificities and uniqueness by the others, and by a lack of country's empowerment. In fact, Romania felt victimized because of the others' failure to understand and to recognize the Romanian uniqueness of identity and the sacrifice made by the country to protect the European civilization, i.e. Christian religion against Ottoman domination, democracy against communism. The idea of Romanian uniqueness was developed on three main factors, such as the geographical position, the country's specific history in the region and its culture thru the principalities' union and the strong influences of others over centuries. In the recent period, the country felt victimized by the abandon of the West to the Soviet Union influences after the Yalta European zoning. This process has been historically built in the modern Romania over the centuries and each time Romania was rejected this feeling appears as an excuse. At the same time, Romania needed to find a universal savoir to balance its victimization feeling. After the Iron Curtain, the role will be played by the US as was played by the Great Powers in the nineteenth century to contribute to Romania's recognition and acknowledgement in the process of nation building and the country position on the international scene.

At the same time, Romania developed a need for recognition. Recognition as an independent state constituted in time with the union of the principalities. In order to guaranty the country's political and country independence, Romania has been seeking for alliances or participations in regional or international organizations. The different alliances over centuries were a guaranty for its foreign policy independence and the country's integrity. In the recent period under Titulescu, the country developed an international exposure to guaranty it security. It was reinforced during the communism period to assure Romania's foreign policy independence from the Soviet Union, a way to affirm the Romanian difference. This independent foreign policy allows to the country to play an intermediate role on several occasions between the East and the West, free democratic world and communist powers, and to be recognize as a political parlor on international scene, a political parlor in political, geographical and economic spaces. After the 89' Revolution, the country wanted to be recognized as a European Country, a way to recognize Romania's historical and political European heritage. In order to maintain the

status quo, Romania will be a strong support for regional and International Organizations.

Due to its historical geographical situation at the peripheral border of the larger Empire, Romania has been over the time in an in-between situation, between the West with Latinity and the East with the Orthodox faith. The Latinity, an important asset in the Romanian consciousness, comforted by many Romanian personalities contributed to the European culture in general and the French one in particular, was used as a tool for survival and an element of differentiation from the neighbors. This Latinity will surface each time in Romania's landscape especially at the country's turning point, for Romania's fight for independence, after the Iron Curtain fall and the 89' Revolution to anchor the country in the West. However, if the country is a Latin one, the Romanians are orthodox, and orthodoxy, which cannot be dissociated from the political power, had played an important role in Romania's nation-building process in the nineteenth century. The dominant church as a norm and part of the Romanian symbols of independence is a tool for political and foreign policy, especially towards neighbors such as the Republic of Moldova. Orthodoxy is also linked with pan-Slavism and used by the Russian Empire as a tool of national and geopolitical expansion to reach the Black Sea and the Balkans in strategic needs to attend the Mediterranean Sea and to form a Russian-dominated Slavic federation. Until the nineteenth century, Romania was anchored in the Eastern space, but in the wave of its independence, the country wanted to anchor in the West, to find a new ideology and to oppose the potential Russian domination. The orthodox faith is related to the national feeling, attracts the country to the Balkan area thru a common history of liberation. However, Romanian political leaders dismissed this fact, being afraid to be rejected by the West, arguing that they have not to be associated within the Balkans area because of their strong historical and political links with European countries. In fact, the unclear or difficult Balkans definition brings some problems for Romania which is placed sometimes 'In' and sometimes 'Out' of it by Western authors and institutions, and jeopardized Romania's reconciliation with Europe by the association with 'balkanization' especially in the context of the Yugoslavian wars.

After the 89' Revolution, this association within instable regions, the Balkans, CIS and Black Sea, did not favor the country and did not satisfy Romanian political leaders, because it was viewed as a threat to the will to get the country closer to western institutions. However, with the new presidency of Emil Constantinescu, the country gives clear signal to comfort the will to be viewed as a European country.

## **Romania, a Crossroad**

Romania joins the European Union because it was the country's natural path of foreign policies, but also views it as a symbol of economical and democratic success after the Iron Curtain fall. Romania was attracted by the United States because they were the necessary stakeholder to open the door of NATO, but also stands security for the entity Eastern Europe protection and the Balkans' war resolution. In this continuity, Romania became a strong ally due to physical evidence of the US superiority with intangible elements on international leadership and its soft power strategy to win hearts and minds in Eastern Europe.

The permanent balance between Europe and the United States puts the country in a difficult situation due to their divergences on certain international topics and their different approaches of international issues. This situation tended time to time to lead to clashes.

With a key geographic situation in the southeast of Europe, the country is in an in-between geopolitical situation where "Russia on the one hand and the United States, NATO and the EU on the other hand have their own interests"<sup>1966</sup> toward the Balkans and the wider Black Sea. With this situation, we come back to a situation comparable to the Cold War strategy, reintroducing the notion of heartland of the 'World-Island' for a competitive access to resources and control of trade routes, on which Romania, as dominant player, can play an important role within the EU and NATO.

Romania a modern construction of the initial three principalities had, on the one hand, a degree of isolation but on the other hand, its geographical situation produces a melting pot of different influences. Different neighbor Empires according to their geopolitical interest used the country over centuries as a vassal, an ally or a buffer zone. This borderland land situation has shaped Romania's identity and consciousness vis-à-vis the others. In order to preserve Romania's independence as much as possible, the countries used bandwagoning with hard and soft manner as balancing in their international political activities. Along centuries, the country was by its geopolitical situation a borderland of different Empire and powerful neighbors, and in fact, Romania's independence came from the others' support by putting the country at a crossroad of interests.

---

<sup>1966</sup> Turturica, Cristain. Iliescu's second referendum [online]. *Nine o'Clock*, 9 Feb. 2010, 2969. Bucharest: Nine o'Clock, 2010. [cited 23 March. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nineoclock.ro/index.php?issue=2969&page=detalii&categorie=politics&id=20100209-511707>>.

In the recent waves of independence from the communism system, Romania seeks to escape from isolation and to avoid being in an in-between situation, trapped between the East and the West. However, due to its geographical and geopolitical situation, the country became a crossroad of different interests where on one hand “[m]ost of them are divergent, which makes Romania one of the battlefields where (...) spheres of influence collide”<sup>1967</sup>, and on the other hand a link between the East and the West, Latin and Orthodox churches. Within NATO, Romania seeks to gain influence over the Alliance strategy, and to reinforce its links with the United States in order to guaranty national security and regional leadership. Within the European Union, Romania seeks to create political influences to develop initiatives with other European states and neighbors on the Danube, the Balkans and the wider Black Sea area. The objectives of Romanian political leaders are to be part of the future European diplomatic service and to influence the European foreign policies. Within the Black Sea, an instable region constituted by a nexus of different influences with instable countries, with major roads for energy supply and trade, Romania from a minor power will tend to become an inescapable actor to moderate the complex balance of power of the wider Black Sea on behalf the Alliance and the European Union. The Energy issue is crucial in the beginning of this new century, within a new cold peace context between the will of Russian domination and control, the Alliance and European Union’s needs to access energy resources. In this context, two main pipeline projects underline this strong competition for energy control. Romania’s geopolitical situation and soft diplomacy give the capability to be a bridge between major powers. As a member of the Alliance and the EU, Romania has favored the Union’s project and opened the door to Russian proposition, because in this competition, states do not want to be a loser if any one of the projects will avoid. This is an important issue because the domination over energy can lead to military interventions.

---

<sup>1967</sup> Ibid.

## **VI Global Conclusion**

The events of the end of the eighties with the 'Iron Curtain' fall in the nineties and the changes at the dawn of the 21st century, as the tragic events of September 11 and his consequences, the fight against terrorism and energy issue have revealed new paradigms in the International Relations and make the period from 1989 to nowadays an important period interesting to study.

This thesis was thus carried out to understand and explain the Romania's international relations after the 89' revolution and to evaluate Romania's progress during these twenty last years, from 1989 to 2009. Our intention was not to explain Romania's international relations throughout different theories which each one can enlighten the Romania's course of action, but to treat deeply Romania as a case study explaining by itself the reasons of choices made. We focused on this approaches because the period treated is in the present time and Romania is a complex case that can not be resumed thru foreign policy theory or IR theory, but by a multiple approaches with interrelation of different science of research, linking past and present.

The work of this recherche is important because first of all this theme was never treated completely and after that it makes possible to apprehend the way Romania passed over this so particular period within its international relations. Our thesis conclusion makes it possible for us to explain each action of Romania's international relations and to understand and forecast its foreign policy. In addition, this work allows us to validate some theories in different fields as Foreign Policy Change, International Relations, and Geopolitics...

Along this research, we demonstrated three strong ideas, hereafter developed which were underlying the Romanian international relations and impelled the Romanian foreign policy decisions.

First, an emblematic question for Romania and Romanians is the powerful impact of the 'Others'. The 'Others' have a high importance and strong influences over the country's building that pushed it to feel alternately rejected or adulated. This feeling



generated an important need of recognition as a specific and unified country with its own behaviours. This idea has been observed during the Romania's integration to NATO and accession's process in European Union.

Secondly, due to its geopolitical position in the Southeast of the continent, Romania was often in an in-between situation over regional situation and had difficulties to find its way feeling time-to-time victim of the non-attention of the others. Romania has found itself in a changed geopolitical space with a new international system and regional environment, dominated by zones of instabilities at the doors of the country – the Balkans, the Wider Black Sea and the CIS -. Its doubts and isolation generated the need of a savior, i.e. France in the nineteenth century or United States after the Cold War, an actor in the game of powers to guaranty the country's independence and integrity in order to fully realize its ambitions. This in-between situation will push Romania to be always associated in Alliances in order to guaranty its security. In addition, the country built a strong alliance with United States, a world power as well strong stakeholder, in a natural attraction for the supporter of the fight against communism and Russia.

The system of alliance is an other way for the country to perform while preserving its independence and its freedom of manoeuvre. In parallel, Romania constantly paid attention to some countries, which were not always on the front world political or military scenes, as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) during the Cold War or China nowadays.

Thirdly, Romania has been for centuries a country on the edge of empires, as a no man's land and in spite of the complexity of its borderland; it knew various reasons to find itself at the convergence of divers' interests and became a geographical and political crossroad over its history. Romania built a strategy to be recognized as a regional leader in its near shore zone by participating in problems solving towards the Balkans and the Wider Black Sea region.

One point come to know, Romania considers itself as a European country even if some factions advocate a specific way for Romania: Romania is dual with peasant societies attached to land and tradition and an elite-oriented to international connection and exchange. Traumatized by the Soviet domination as other CEECs, Romania chose to return to its original traditional path marked during the nineteenth and the first half of twentieth centuries. To attend its goals, Romania used balancing to return to the West by anchoring within the European Union and NATO for economic, political and

## **Global Conclusion**

military reasons, making them an objective and high priorities for its foreign policy.

These choices have strongly impacted Romania's international relations as its domestic policy by creating a dependence vis-à-vis these organizations, i.e. all the necessary country's adaptation to complete with organization's obligations as the good neighborliness, political (democracy), economic (free trade and open market) and military orientations. In addition, the dependence was brought by the interaction with neighbors that has a large influence on the Romania's process accession. We expressed the idea that Romania never was the master of its policy during this last twenty years period, but external pressures made its policy by imposing political norms and foreign policy course of actions. In the same way, Romania relied a lot on international organizations to guaranty its peace and freedom, as well recognition on the international scene. We revealed that there is for Romania a close connection between its international relations and its domestic policy as a reference salient.

This research demonstrated that Romania restructured its foreign policy from isolation to dependence toward the West in a short period of time and after that from dependence to interdependence with the West over the NATO and European Union integration periods. It is important to emphasize here that "Romania's government would not have restructured its foreign policy without the major transformations in the organization of the international system and shift in the international balance of power."<sup>1968</sup>

Under these circumstances, the country focused on its trajectory and stability in spite of hesitation in the starting positioning of the country between Native and Western models. Nevertheless, ruling with different political factions and various political leaders elected over the time, the country had and has an invariant international relation over the country's history, even if in the recent past each president has its own path; Ion Iliescu, francophone with a political education shaped by Moscow; Emil Constantinescu, Atlantist linked with Europe; Traian Basescu, Atlantist and strongly connected

---

<sup>1968</sup> Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics - Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>. p. 12.

with United States. In some other words, Romania changed in continuity.

Using the discourse analysis method on Romanian politicians and presidents speeches, it would be interesting to confirm by an other approach the idea outlined above. To resume on one example, Ion Iliescu said in his public declaration in 1994<sup>1969</sup> that Romania should be open to all possible economic relations without being subordinated, and Traian Basescu himself underlines that Romania should "capitalize on other commercial ties: the Balkans, Eastern neighbours, the Middle East, north of Africa, the Far East or South-East Asia",<sup>1970</sup> to the carriages of the opportunities... During all presidential mandates, the same idea came over the surface with different names and representation pushed in front of: the necessity to put the country at the crossroad of regional interest linking the East and the West.

This research reveals that Romania's main options in the international relations remained unchanged during different periods of modern Romania keeping the same course of actions installed by Nicolae Iorga and Nicolae Titulescu to guarantee peace and security and ensure Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty. This 'motto' involved Romania in international and regional organization like wise conflict resolution considered by Romanian political leaders as a key for Romania's stability and Romania's ambition to contribute to the regional peace in the new international and regional context. In the recent period, a particular involvement with the country's near shore in order to reinstate Eastern's lost territories (Bessarabia, Bukovina) within Romania, in remembrance of some glorious country's past interferes with the country regional and international objectives.

---

<sup>1969</sup> To see Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- București, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică)* [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 1994. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>.

<sup>1970</sup> Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Discursul președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București* [online]. (Speech by Romanian President Traian Băsescu, at the Meeting of the Beginning of the Year with Heads of Diplomatic Missions in Bucharest). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 2010. [cited 10 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://cms.presidency.ro/?pag=68&sid=12012>>.. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Global Conclusion***

In fact, we point out that Romania has always believed in multilateralism, in good neighborliness and regional cooperation. Constant in its international relations and its precepts, the country depending of the international situation used soft or hard balancing as well when it was necessary bandwagoning, as for example during the Cold War. For these purposes, the country seeks to position itself on the international scene as a facilitator, a mediator supporting international and regional organizations, while promoting respect of international law as well difference of nations. Over the length of the history, Romania always knew to model its attitude upon the new international context and the evolution of international balance of power, as the paradigm changes in International Relations.

This research underlines that more than dependant, the NATO adhesion and the European Union accession created interdependence with Eastern Europe within Romania by obliging these two organizations to adapt to this challenge, i.e. the Eastern European countries integration. Romania's integration moved the country's dependence to interdependence by bringing to the agenda of NATO and European Union, Wider Black Sea's political, economical likewise military questions as neighbors, but also a foreign policy objective in the Balkan and a connection between West and East. The Romania's case study is representative of politico-ideological transformation of the military alliance and its new role designed in the post-Yalta international system. As well, the study case is representative of the European Union enlargement strategy adaptation, accession process and methodologies transformation as the new role attributes to the organization today in the regional and international system.

Indeed, we identified but not developed a parallel between Romania and Poland due to their great similarity concerning the creation of the country with the support of foreign powers and a strong relationship with France. Both of them had a glorious time in the past (Greater Romania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and played an important role over their respective regional situation. These countries are the biggest of Eastern Europe and on the crossroad of divers' foreign interests over their history. Their suffered a redistribution of their land after 1945 with forced integration in the Eastern bloc.

If Poland is anchored to the East by its Slavic origin, the country is westwards thru the Catholic religion. In opposite, Romania is anchored to the East thru the Orthodox religion and westwards by its origins and Latin's attachments.

In fact, the integration process in Western organizations and the Alliance, close connection with the United States, were not isolated events dedicated to Romania but a general Eastern Europe basic tendency in international relation of the Post Cold War. The country's process of transformation was slower but not different from other CEECs and as all other Eastern States included some hesitation phases, (back to communism, strong nationalism, doubts). Romania has the same path as Hungary or Poland regarding the accession and integration processes, likewise Bulgaria considering its relation with Russia. We cannot neglect in the case of Romania the lack of proximity and member state preferences in the enlargement process.

Considering the Romania's contribution to NATO and the European Union, in the convergent efforts between the two organizations to collaborate and shares values, in the near future Romania due to its "geostrategic position, the constant economic and social progress, the consolidated membership in EU and NATO, the political stability and the keeping of commitments [...] should take the lead"<sup>1971</sup> in the Wider Black Sea and the Balkans regions, and can regain the name of the "East European leader in many areas"<sup>1972</sup> accredited before the Second World War.

---

<sup>1971</sup> Pricopi, Marius. Romania - Moderating the Power Equilibrium in the Black Sea Region [online]. *Strategic Impact*, 2009, no. 1. [cited 4 Feb. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceeol.com/asp/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=6ca8043b-3aa5-4828-b303-cd18bcf0dc9a>>. p. 21.

<sup>1972</sup> Walters, Garrison E. *The Oher Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945*. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988. p. 220.

## **Bibliography**

### **Thesis**

Alamoreanu, Adriana. *La Roumanie et l'OTAN. Plaidoyer pour un avenir commun* (Romania and NATO. Plea for a common future). p. 83. Thesis (Master), Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Université de Nice - Sophia-Antipolis, 1996.

Corduban, Cristina. *La région de la Mer Noire dans le contexte de l'élargissement de l'Union Européenne* [online]. (The area of the Black Sea in the context of the widening of the European Union). p. 106. Thesis (Diplôme européen), Centre International de Formation Européenne, Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.iehei.org/bibliotheque/memoires/CORDUBAN.pdf>>.

Iordachi, Constantin. *The Anatomy of a Historical Conflict: Romanian-Hungarian Diplomatic Conflict in the 1980's* [online]. Thesis (Master), Department of History, Central European University, 1996. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Cristi/cuprins.htm>>.

Ivan, Ruxandra. *La politique étrangère roumaine, 1990-2006. Acteurs, processus et résultat* (The Romanian foreign Politics, 1990-2006. Actors, Process and Result). p. 561. Thesis (PhD), Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques - Sciences politiques, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007.

McNerney, C. A. (Major). *NATO: Anachronism or Answer - An Argument for Collective Self-Defense* [online]. Thesis (Master), Conference Group 5, USMC Command and Staff College, United States Army, 1995. [cited 21 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1995/MCA.htm>>.

## Bibliography

- Pasidea, Oana. *L'élargissement de l'Union Européenne : Incidences en matière de sécurité et de défense des PECO* (The widening of the European Union: Incidences safety defense of the PECO). p. 123. Thesis (Master), Centre International de Formation Européenne, Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 2001.
- Pelinescu, Marilena. *Politica externa a Romaniei dupa 11 septembrie 2001* [online]. (Romanian Foreign Policy after September 2001). p. 56. Disertation (Licence), Departamentul de Relatii Internationale si Integrare Europeana, Scoala Nationala de Stiinte Politici si Administrative, 2007. [cited 5 Sep. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://www.e-referate.ro/referate/Politica\\_externa\\_a\\_Romaniei\\_dupa\\_11\\_sep\\_2001\\_%5Bwww.e-referate.ro%5D\\_%5BIstorie%5D\\_%5B2007-07-06%5D.zip](http://www.e-referate.ro/referate/Politica_externa_a_Romaniei_dupa_11_sep_2001_%5Bwww.e-referate.ro%5D_%5BIstorie%5D_%5B2007-07-06%5D.zip)>.
- Popescu, Gabriel. *Transborder State Reterritorialization in Eastern Europe: The Lower Danube Euroregion* [online]. p. 335 Thesis (Ph.D), Department of Geography, The Florida State University, College of Social Sciences, 2006b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://etd.lib.fsu.edu/theses/available/etd-05032006-221559/unrestricted/DoctoralDissertationGabrielPopescu.pdf>>.
- Spinant, Daniela. *La politique étrangère roumaine après 1992 : la reconstruction de la crédibilité* (The Romanian foreign politics after 1992: the rebuilding of credibility). p. 110. Thesis (Master), Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Université de Nice - Sophia-Antipolis, 1996.
- Torcatoriu, Bogdan. *Contribution à une analyse critique de la politique étrangère de la Roumanie entre 1989 et 1993* (Contribution to an analysis criticizes of the foreign politics of Romania between 1989 and 1993). p. 67. Thesis (Diplôme), Centre Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales, 1993.

## Books

### Books

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Carte Albă : România - NATO* (White Book: Romania - NATO). București: Editura S.C. Romcartexim SA, 1996a. p. 240. ISBN 973-9003-57-5.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Willian J. Clinton, 1995, Bk. 1, January 1 to June 30, 1995* [online]. Vol. 31. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1996b. p. 1092. (Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://fdsys.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-1995-03-13/html/WCPD-1995-03-13-Pg373.htm>>. ISBN 0-16-063686-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Remarks on the USA Freedom Corps Public Service Campaign* [online]. Vol. 38. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 2002a. (Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://fdsys.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-2002-08-05/html/WCPD-2002-08-05-Pg1286-2.htm>>. ISBN 0-16-063686-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Anticorruption and Integrity: Policies and Strategies* [online]. Manilla, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2007b. p. 56. (Policies and Strategies). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Anticorruption-Integrity/Policies-Strategies.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Corruption: A Glossary of International Standards in Criminal Law* [online]. Vol. 2008. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008b. p. 98. (OECD Glossaries). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/38/41194428.pdf>>. ISBN 92-64-02740-4.
- Alexe, Vladimir. *Ion Iliescu - Biografia secretă: "Candidatul manciurian"* (The Secret Biography: "The Manchurian Candidate"). Bucharest: Editure Elit Comentator, 2000. p. 287. ISBN 973-581-036-0.
- Ancel, Jacques. *Géopolitique* (Geopolitics). Paris: Delagrave, 1936. p. 120.
- Anderson, Malcom. *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. p. vii+255. ISBN 0-7456-1652-6.



- Arbatov, Alekseï Georgievich, Chayes Abram, Chayes Handler Antonia, and al. *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1997. p. xv+556. (CSIA Studies in International Security). ISBN 0-262-51093-6
- Ardeleanu, Ion, Pascu Ștefan and Voiculescu Paraschiv. *Atlas pentru istoria României*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică, 1983. p. xxvi+86.
- Arend, Sylvie, Angrand Jean and Rabier Christiane. *Le processus politique: Environnements, Prise de Decision et Pouvoir* (The political process). Ottawa, CA: University of Ottawa Press, 2000. p. 441. ISBN 276-03-05031.
- Armbruster, Adolf. *Romanitatea românilor : istoria unei idei* (Romanity of the Roumanians - History of an Idea). Trans. *La romanité des Roumains - Histoire d'une idée* by Grecescu, Cireașa București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977. p. 279. (Bibliotheca Historica).
- Armstrong, John Alexander. *Nations before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982. p. xxxvi+411. ISBN 0-80-781501-2.
- Babbie, Earl R. *The Practice of Social Research*. 3rd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1983. p. 551. (Practice of Social Research). ISBN 0-534-01255-8.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002. p. ix+302. ISBN 0-674-00940-1.
- Bachman, Ronald D. *Romania: A Country Study* [online]. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (GPO) for the Library of Congress, 1989. p. 85. (Country Studies). [cited 23 June 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://countrystudies.us/romania/>>.
- Badie, Bertrand. *L'Etat importé. Essai sur l'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique* (The imported State. The Westernization of the Political Order). Paris: Fayard, 1995. p. 334. (L'espace du politique). ISBN 2-213-03013-8.
- Banfield, Edward C. *Political Influence*. New York, NY: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. p. vi+354.

## **Bibliography**

- Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. *The Futur of NATO Expansion: Four Case Studies* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. x+267. ISBN 0-521-82169-X.
- Barraclough, Geoffrey. *An Introduction to Contemporary History*. London: C.A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1964. p. 272.
- Barrat, Jacques and Moisei Claudia. *Géopolitique de la Francophonie - Un nouveau souffle ?* (Geopolitic of the Fracophonie – A new Life?). Paris: La documentation Française, 2004. p. 171. ISBN 1763-6191.
- Barret, Christain and Charvet Jean-Paul. *Dictionnaire de géographie humaine*. Paris: Liris, 2000. p. 191. ISBN 2-909-42044-2.
- Bălcescu, Nicolae. *Românii supt Mihai-Voievod Viteazul* (Romanians under the Rule of Michael the Brave). București: Litera International, 1998 [1849]. p. 416. (Biblioteca Școlarului). ISBN 9975-904-59-9.
- Bărbulescu, Mihai, Deletant Dennis, Hitchins Keith, and al. *Istoria României* (Romanian History). București: Editura Corint, 2007. p. 511. ISBN 973-135-031-8.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish N. *In Defense of Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. xii+308. ISBN 0-19-517025-3.
- Binns, John. *An Introduction to the Christian Orthodox Churches*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 270. ISBN 0-521-66140-4.
- Blacksell, Mark. *Political Geography*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005. p. 244. (Routledge Contemporary Human Geographey). ISBN 0-415-24667-9.
- Blondel, Jean and Müller-Rommel Ferdinand. *Cabinets in Eatsern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. p. xii+243. ISBN 0-333-74879-4.
- Boia, Lucian. *History and Myth in Romanian consciousness*. Trans. *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească [1997]* by Brown, James Christian. New York: Central European University Press, 2001a. p. 285. ISBN 963-9116-97-1.
- Boia, Lucian. *Romania - Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001b. p. 240. ISBN 1-86189-103-2.

- Boughton, James M. *Silent Revolution. The International Monetary Fund 1979-1989* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2001. [cited 25 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://imf.org/external/pubs/ft/history/2001/index.htm>>. ISBN 1-55775-971-5.
- Brătianu, Ion C. . *Acte și cuvântări* (Acts and speeches). 6 vols. Vol. 1. București: Cartea Românească 1932.
- Brown, James F. *Eastern Europe and Communist Rule*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. p. xii+562. ISBN 0-822-30841-X.
- Brown, Michael Edward. *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. p. ix+276. ISBN 0-691-03368-4.
- Brzeziński, Zbigniew Kazimierz. *The choice: global domination or global leadership*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2004. p. 242. (Art of Mentoring Series). ISBN 0-465-00800-3.
- Bugajski, Janusz. *Cold Peace: Russia's New Imperialism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004. p. ix+302. ISBN 0-275-98362-5.
- Bull, Martin J. and Newell James. *Corruption in Contemporary Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. p. 288. ISBN 0-333-80298-5.
- Burke, Peter James, Owens Timothy J., Serpe Richard, and al. *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic and Plenum Publishers, 2003. p. 235. ISBN 0-306-47741-6.
- Cadiou, François, Coulomb Clarisse, Lemonde Anne, and al. *Comment se fait l'histoire. Pratiques et enjeux* (How history is made? Practices and Stakes). Paris: La Decouverte, 2005. p. 384. (Guides Repères). ISBN 2-7071-4579-3.
- Cârțână, Iulian. *Relațiile internaționale ale României în epoca modernă*. București: Cartea Universitară, 2006. p. 271. ISBN 973-731-332-1.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of the network society*. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. p. xvii+556. (The Information age: economy, society and culture). ISBN 1-55786-616-3.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Power of identity*. 3 vols. Vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997. p. xv+461. (The Information age : economy, society and culture). ISBN 1-55786-873-5.

## **Bibliography**

- Castells, Manuel. *End of millennium*. 3 vols. Vol. 3. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998. p. xiv+418. (The information age: economy, society and culture). ISBN 1-55786-871-9.
- Castex, Michel. *Un mensonge gros comme le siècle : Roumanie histoire d'une manipulation* (A large lie like the century: Romania, history of a handling). Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1990. p. 192. ISBN 2-226-04807-3.
- Călinescu, George. *Istoria literaturii române dela origini până în prezent* (History of The Romanian Literature from The Origin until Nowadays). Reedition ed. București: Semne, 2003. p. 950. ISBN 973-624-111-4.
- Chalmers, Johnson. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. London: Verso, 2004a. p. 375. ISBN 1-85984-578-9.
- Chauprade, Aymeric. *Introduction à l'analyse géopolitique*. Paris: Ellipses Editions Marketing S.A., 1999. p. 320. ISBN 2-7298-5959-4.
- Chauprade, Aymeric and Thuail François. *Dictionnaire de géopolitique : états, concepts, auteurs*. Paris: Ellipses, 1998. p. 621. ISBN 272-98985-73.
- Cocan, Aurel Ioan Laurențiu and Ioan Laurențiu. *Trădare la nivel înalt. Revoluția din decembrie 1989, Cluj-Napoca la zece ani* (High Level Trahison. Revolution of December '89 at Romania. Cluj-Napoca Ten Years). Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Napoca Star, 1999. p. 226.
- Colard, Daniel. *Les relations internationales de 1945 à nos jours* (International relations from 1945 to our days). 8e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1999. p. 425. (Collection U. Série Droit). ISBN 2-247-03471-3.
- Croft, Stuart, Redmond John, Ress Wyn G., and al. *The enlargement of Europe*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. p. 224. ISBN 0-7190-4971-7.
- Croucher, Sheila L. *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. ISBN 0-7425-1679-2.
- De Kéza, Simon. *Gesta Hungarorum*. Trans. *The Deeds of the Hungarians* by Veszprémy, László and Schaer Frank Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999. p. 235. ISBN 963-9116-31-9.

- De Nevers, Renée. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: The End of an Era*. Vol. 249. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1990. p. 95. (Adelphi Paper). ISBN 0-08-040723-4.
- Donnan, Hastings and Wilson Thomas M. *Borders. Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 1999. p. xiv+182. ISBN 1-85973-246-1.
- Durandin, Catherine. *Histoire des Roumains* (Romanians' History). Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1995. p. 573. ISBN 2-213-59425-2.
- Durandin, Catherine. *Roumanie, un piège?* (Romania, a trap?). Paris: Jacques Hesse éditions, 2000. p. 165. ISBN 2-911-27234-X.
- Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârneli Magda (Col.). *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne* (Romanian Perspective: from Postcommunism to the European integration). Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. p. 301. ISBN 2-7475-7404-0.
- Eckstein, Harry. *Regarding Politics. Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change* [online]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. p. 404. [cited 19 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0k40037v/>>. ISBN 0-520-07722-9.
- Erickson, Edward J. *Defeat in detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-13*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003. p. xxiv+403. ISBN 0-275-97888-5.
- Fanon, Frantz *Les damnés de la terre*. Trans. *The Wretched of the Earth* by Philcox, Richard. Reprinted ed. New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 2004 [1961]. p. 251. ISBN 0-8021-4132-3.
- Feagin, Joe, Orum Anthony M. and Sjoberg Gideon (eds). *A case for the case study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. p. 290. ISBN 0-807-84321-0.
- Ferrandéry, Jean-luc. *Le point sur la mondialisation* (Point on Globalization). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996. p. 162. ISBN 2-130-47984-7.
- Fraser, Cameron. *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Global Hegemon or Reluctant Sheriff?* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2005. p. xix+233. ISBN 0-415-35864-7.

## **Bibliography**

- Fraser, Nancy and Honneth Axel. *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung?* Trans. *Redistribution or recognition?: a political-philosophical exchange* by Golb, Joel, Ingram James and Wilke Christiane. New York, NY: Verso, 2003. p. vii+276. (Political science - Philosophy 2. Social justice). ISBN 1-85984-492-8.
- Frunză, Victor. *Revoluția imposibilă* (Impossible Revolution). București: Ed. Victor Frunză, 1994.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992a. p. 418. ISBN 0-241-13013-1.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History. The Last Man*. New York: Free press, 1992b. ISBN 0-02-910975-2.
- Furfari, Samuele *Le Monde et l'énergie. Enjeux géopolitiques. Les cartes en mains*. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Editions Technip, 2007. p. 411. (Collection Géopolitique). ISBN 2-7108-0884-9.
- Gagnon, Alain-G. and Tully James. *Multinational Democracies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001. ISBN 0-521-80029-3.
- Gallagher, Tom. *The Balkans in the New Millennium: In the Shadow of War and Peace*. London: Routledge, 2005a. p. 232. ISBN 0-415-34940-0.
- Gallagher, Tom. *Theft of a Nation: Romania since Communism*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2005b. p. 428. ISBN 1-850-65716-5.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983. p. 150. ISBN 0-801-49263-7.
- Gheciu, Alexandra. *NATO in the "new Europe": the politics of international socialization after the Cold War*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005. p. 357. ISBN 0-804-75161-7.
- Gianaris, Nicholas V.. *Geopolitical and economic changes in the Balkan countries*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996. ISBN 0-275-95541-9.
- Giurescu, Dinu C. and Fischer-Galați Stephen. *Romania: a historic perspective*. Vol. 457. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1998. p. viii+544. (East European monographs). ISBN 0-88033-354-2
- Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*. New York, NY: Viking Penguin, 2000. p. 726. ISBN 0-670-85338-0.

- Goga, Mircea. *La Roumanie, culture et civilisation* (Romania, Culture and Civilization). Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2007. p. 250. ISBN 2-840-50532-0.
- Goldmann, Kjell. *Change and Stability in the Foreign Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Détente*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988. ISBN 0-691-07778-9.
- Gordon, Alexander Graig and Gilbert Felix. *The Diplomats, 1919-1939*. Reprinted ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. p. x+700. ISBN 0-691-03660-8.
- Griffiths, Stephen Iwan. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Threats to European Security* [online]. New York: Oxford University Press for Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1993. p. viii+136. (Research Report). [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://books.sipri.org/files/RR/SIPRIRR05.pdf>>. ISBN 0-19-829162-0.
- Guériot, Paul. *Napoléon III* (Napoleon III). 2nd ed. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Paris: Payot, 1933. p. 300. (Collection Bibliothèque historique).
- Guilhaudis, Jean-François. *Relations internationales contemporaines* (Contemporary International Relations). 2nd ed. Paris: LexisNexis SA, 2005. p. 742. ISBN 2-7110-0526-7.
- Güneş-Ayata, Ayşe , Ergün Ayça and Çelimli Işil. *Black Sea politics: political culture and civil society in an unstable region*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005. p. 237. (International Library of Political Studies). ISBN 1-845-11035-8.
- Guvernul României. *Carte Albă a Guvernului. Armata României 2010: reformă și integrare euro-atlantică* (Government White Book. Romanian Army in 2010: Reforms and Euro-Atlantic Integration ). București: Editura Militară, 2000a.
- Harper, Jonathan. *Bănescu: The Shame of Romania* [online]. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: American Committee Against Corruption (ACAC), 2009. p. 105. (Dictators of the 21st Century). [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://americansagainstcorruption.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Manuscript-Web11.pdf>>.
- Hatto, Ronald and Tomescu Odette. *Les Etats-Unis et la "nouvelle Europe" - La stratégie américaine en Europe centrale et orientale* (The United States and the 'new Europe' - The U.S. strategy in Central and Eastern Europe). Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007. p. 138. ISBN 2-7467-0939-3.

## **Bibliography**

- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Trans. *The Phenomenology of Mind* by Baillie, James Black (Sir). 2nd ed. Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publication, 2003 [1931]. p. xliii+481. (Philosophical Classics Series). ISBN 0-486-43251-3.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and Levine Victor T. *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989. p. xvi+976. ISBN 0-88738-163-4.
- Heinberg, Richard. *Peak Everything: Waking Up to the Century of Declines*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2007. p. 224. ISBN 0-865-71598-X.
- Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford University Press, 1999. p. 515. ISBN 0-8047-3627-8.
- Herd, Graeme P. and Moroney Jennifer D. P. *Security Dynamics in the Former Soviet Bloc*. London: Routledge, 2003. p. xiii+233. ISBN 0-415-29732-X. .
- Hitchins, Keith. *Rumania: 1866-1947*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 579. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). ISBN 0-19-822126-6.
- Hitchins, Keith (Eds). *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985*. Vol. V. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. p. 184. ISBN 90-04-07599-2.
- Holsti, Kalevi Jaakko. *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982. p. xi+225. ISBN 0-043-51062-0.
- Honneth, Axel. *Kampf um Anerkennung*. Trans. *The struggle for recognition: the moral grammar of social conflicts* by Anderson, Joel. Cambridge, MA The MIT Press, 1996 [1949]. p. xxiii+215. (Studies in contemporary German social thought). ISBN 0-262-58147-7.
- Huntington, Samuel P. *Political order in changing societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. p. xi+488. ISBN 0-300-01171-7.
- Iliescu, Ion. *Momente de istorie* (Moment of History). 3 vols. Vol. 2. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1996. p. 596. ISBN 973-45-0165-8.
- Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004. p. 598. ISBN 973-32-0673-2.



## Bibliography

- Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006. p. 630. ISBN 973-32-0708-X.
- Iorga, Nicolae. *A History of Roumania: Land, People, Civilisation*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925. p. xii+284.
- Iorga, Nicolae. *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* [online]. (History of Romanian and their Civilization). 21 Aug. 2007 at 11:34.: None, 1920. p. 12. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoire\\_des\\_Roumains\\_et\\_de\\_leur\\_civilisation](http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoire_des_Roumains_et_de_leur_civilisation)>.
- Jackson, Robert H. and Sørensen Georg. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. 3th ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. pp. xxvi, 343. ISBN 0-19-928543-8.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* II vols. Vol. 1. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. p. xiv+407. ISBN 0-521-27458-3.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 308. ISBN 0-521-52250-1.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia and the Formation of the Romanian National State, 1821-1878*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. p. 376. ISBN 0-521-52251-X.
- Jezernik, Božidar. *Wild Europe, The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travelers*. London: SAQI in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004. ISBN 0-863-56574-3.
- Johnston, Michael. *Political Corruption and Public Policy in America*. Brooks & Cole Pub. Co., 1982. p. 199.
- Kaplan, Robert D. *Balkan Ghosts: a Journey Through History*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1993. p. xxvii+307. ISBN 0-679-74981-0.
- Karpat, Kemal H. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. p. xii+856. ISBN 9-004-12101-3.
- Kay, Sean. *NATO and the Future of European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. p. x+199. ISBN 0-8476-9001-6.

## **Bibliography**

- Kellogg, Federick. *The Road to Romanian Independence*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 1995. p. xvi+265. ISBN 1-55753-065-3.
- Keohane, Robert Owen and Nye Joseph S. *Power and Interdependence*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001 [1989]. p. xiii+315. ISBN 0-673-39891-9.
- King, Charles. *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1999. p. xx+303. (Studies on Nationalities). ISBN 0-8179-9792-X.
- King, Charles. *The Black Sea: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. xvi+276. ISBN 0-199-2416-13.
- Kjellén, Rudolf. *Der Staat als Lebensform* (The State as a Living Form). Berlin-Grunewald: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1924. p. 227.
- Klitgraad, Robert E. *Controlling Corruption*. Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1988. p. xiii+220. ISBN 0-520-07408-4.
- Knox, Zoe Katrina. *Russian Society and The Orthodox Church*. New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005. p. 257. ISBN 0-415-32053-4.
- Kourvetaris, George A., Roudometof Victor, Koutsoukis Kleomenis, and al. *The new Balkans: disintegration and reconstruction*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002. p. 468. ISBN 0-880-33498-3.
- Kovrig, Bennett. *Of Walls and Bridges: The United States and Eastern Europe*. New York: New York University Press, 1991. p. xiii+425. ISBN 0-8147-4613-6.
- Krupnick, Charles. *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. p. xiii+341. ISBN 0-7425-2459-0.
- Kuzio, Taras. *Ukraine: State and Nation Building*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. xiii+298. (Studies of Societies in Transition). ISBN 0-415-17195-4.
- Labrecque, Georges. *Les frontières maritimes internationales: géopolitique de la délimitation en mer* (International Maritimes Borders). 2nd ed. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004 [1998]. p. 443. (Collections Raoul-Dandurand). ISBN 2-922844-32-3.

- Lache, Ștefan. *România în relațiile internaționale, 1939-2006*. (Romania in International Relations, 1939-2006). București: Editura Fundației România de Măine, 2007. p. 400. ISBN 973-725-751-2.
- Lacoste, Yves (dir.). *Dictionnaire de géopolitique*. (Dictionary of Geopolitic). Paris: Flammarion, 1993. p. 1,679. ISBN 0-78-5986-16-2.
- Lamnek, Siegfried. *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Lehrbuch* (Qualitative social research. Hand book). 4th ed. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz Verlag, 2005. p. 808. ISBN 3-621-27544-6.
- Laursen, Finn and Vanhoonacker, Sophie. *The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty: issues, debates, and future implications*. Vol. 2010. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994. p. 543. (European Institute of Public Administration). ISBN 0-7923-3125-7.
- Le Breton, Jean-Marie. *L'Europe centrale et orientale de 1917 à 1990* (Central and Oriental Europe from 1917 until 1990). Paris: Nathan Université, 2005 [1994]. p. 304. (Fac). ISBN 2-091-90080-X.
- Legault, Albert (dir.). *Les six mois qui ont ébranlé le monde* (Six months which shook the world). Centre québécois de relations Internationales, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1991. p. 314. ISBN 2-760-50637-1.
- Lesser, Ian O. *NATO Looks South: New Challenges and New Strategies in the Mediterranean* [online]. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Organisation, 2000. p. 77. [cited 28 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1126/](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1126/)>. ISBN 0-8330-2810-3.
- Lévesque, Jacques. *1989, la fin d'un empire : L'URSS et la libération de l'Europe de l'Est* (1989, The end of an Empire: USSR and the Freedom of Eastern Europe). Paris: Presse de la Fondation Nationales des Sciences Politiques, 1995. p. 331. ISBN 2-724-60674-4.
- Lévy, Jacques (dir) and Lussault Michel (dir). *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*. (Dictionary of Geopolitic and Societies' Space). Paris: Belin, 2003. p. 1034. ISBN 2-701-12645-2.
- Lorot, Pascal. *Histoire de la géopolitique*. (History of Geopolitic). Paris: Economica, 1995. p. 112. ISBN 2-7178-2814-1.

## **Bibliography**

- Lorot, Pascal and Thual François. *La géopolitique*. (Geopolitic). Paris: Montchrestein, 1997. p. 158. ISBN 2-7076-0756-8.
- Lynch, Dov. *Engaging Eurasia's separatist states: unresolved conflicts and de facto states*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2004. p. xvii+170. ISBN 1-929223-54-4.
- Mackinder, Halford John, Sir. *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction* [online]. Re-edition ed. Washibgton, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996 [1942, 1919]. p. xxiii+213. (Defense Classic Edition). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/Books%20-%201979%20and%20earlier/Democratic%20Ideals%20and%20Reality%20-%201942/DIR.pdf>>.
- Macleod, Alex (dir.) and O'meara Dan (dir.). *Théorie des relations internationales. Contestations et résistances*. (Theory of International Relations. Contestation and Resistance). Outremont, QC: Athéna éditions and CEPES, 2007. p. xii+515. ISBN 2-922865-53-0.
- Magris, Claudio. *Danube: A Sentimental Journey from the Source to the Black Sea*. Trans. *Danubio* by Creagh, Patrick. Random House, 2001. p. 416. ISBN 1-860-46823-3.
- Marino, Adrian. *Pentru Europa. Integrarea României. Aspecte ideologice și culturale*. (For Europe. Integration of Romania. Ideological and Cultural Aspects). 2nd ed. București: Editura Polirom, 2005 [1995]. p. 282. (Plural). ISBN 973-681-819-5.
- Marino, Adrian and Antohi Sorin. *Al treilea discurs: cultură, ideologie și politică în România* (The third discourse: culture, ideology and politics in Romania). București: Editura Polirom, 2001. p. 198. (Duplex). ISBN 973-683-674-6.
- Mazilu, Dumitru. *Revoluția furată : memorii pentru țară mea* (Stolen Revolution: Memory from my Country). București: Ed. Cozia, 1990. p. 320. ISBN 973-952-043-X.
- McGrew, Anthony. *The Transformation of Democracy?: Globalization and Territorial Democracy*. Cambridge: Politiy Press & The Open University 1997. p. vii+279. ISBN 0-7456-1817-0.

## Bibliography

- Mead, George Herbert. *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* [online]. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934. [cited 22 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mea d\\_1934\\_toc.html](http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Mead/pubs2/mindself/Mea d_1934_toc.html)>.
- Mertus, Julie A. *Bait and Switch: Humain Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, 2004. p. x+263. ISBN 0-415-94850-9.
- Mertus, Julie A. *Bait and Switch: Humain Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2008 [2004]. p. xii+295. ISBN 0-415-96448-2.
- Michta, Andrew A. *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999. p. vii+214. ISBN 0-295-97906-2.
- Mitrasca, Marcel, *Moldova: a Romanian province under Russian rule: diplomatic history from the archives of the great powers*. New York, NY: Algora Publishing, 2002. p. 439. ISBN 1-892941-86-4.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. p. xii+514. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy). ISBN 0-801-43509-9.
- Moreau Defarges, Philippe. *Introduction à la géopolitique*. (Introduction to Geopolitic). Paris: Seuil, 1994. p. 230. ISBN 2-020-21267-6.
- Moreau Defarges, Philippe. *Relations Internationales - 2. Questions mondiales* (International Relations - 2 World Questions). 6e ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2004. p. 286. (Essais). ISBN 2-02-067612-5.
- Moroney, Jennifer D. P. , Kuzio Taras and Molchanov Mikhail A. . *Ukrainian foreign and security policy: theoretical and comparative perspectives*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002. ISBN 0-275-97622-X.
- Moss, Walter G. *A History of Russia: Since 1855*. 2nd ed. II vols. Vol. II. London: Anthem Press, 2005. p. 643. (Anthem Series on Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies). ISBN 1-84331-034-1.

## **Bibliography**

- Murphy, David E. *What Stalin Knew: The Enigma of Barbarossa*. New Haven, CT Yale University Press, 2006. p. xxii+352. ISBN 0-300-11981-7-3.
- NATO. *NATO Handbook* [online]. 17 Jun. 2004. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/index.htm#CH1>>.
- NATO. *NATO Handbook* [online]. Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001a. p. 536. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/pdf/handbook.pdf>> . ISBN 92-845-0146-6.
- Năstase, Adrian. *Dimensiunile politicii externe în tratatele României. Evidență cronologică și clasificare pe domenii. 1990-2005* (Foreign Political Dimension in Romanian Treaties). București: Regia Autonomă Monitorul Oficial, 2005. p. 352. ISBN 976-567-510-2.
- Nistor, Ion I. *Bessarabia and Bukovina* [online]. Bucharest: Rumanian Academy & University of Washington, 1939. p. 56. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text\\_archive/nistor/meta\\_pag.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/nistor/meta_pag.shtml)>.
- Nistor, Ion Silviu. *Comuna și Județul: Evoluția Istorică* (Commune and County: Historical Evolution). Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 2000. (Patrimoniul). ISBN 973-35-0942-6.
- Noiriel, Gérard. *Qu'est-ce que l'histoire contemporaine ?* (What is it Contemporary History?). Paris: Hachette, 1998. p. 255. (Carré histoire). ISBN 2-011-45072-1.
- Norris, David A. *In the Wake of the Balkan Myth: Questions of Identity and Modernity*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999. p. xiv+182. ISBN 0-312-22175-4.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002. p. 240. ISBN 0-19-515088-0.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. p. xvi+191. ISBN 1-58648-225-4.

## Bibliography

- Ornea, Zigu. *Sămănătorismul* (Samanatorism). București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998. p. 400. (Critică și istorie literară). ISBN 973-577-159-4.
- Oudenaren, John Van. *Détente in Europe: the Soviet Union and the West since 1953*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991. ISBN 0-822-31141-0.
- Pacepa, Ion Mihai. *Red horizons: chronicles of a Communist spy chief*. Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1987. p. 446. ISBN 0-89526-570-2.
- Parini, Simon. *Ukraine's Gas Sector* [online]. Oxford, UK: Oxford Institutur for Energy Studies, 2007. p. viii+115. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordenergy.org/pdfs/NG21.pdf>>. ISBN 1-901795-63-2.
- Pélissier, Nicolas (dir.), Marrié Alice (dir.) and Despres François (dir.). *La Roumanie contemporaine : approches de la "transition"* (Contemporary Romania: Approach of the 'Transition'). Paris: Ed. l'Harmattan, 1996. p. 270. ISBN 2-7384-4172-6.
- Portocală, Radu. *Autopsie du coup d'Etat roumain : au pays du mensonge triomphant* (An Autopsy of the Romanian Coup). Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1990. p. 194. (Histoire contemporaine). ISBN 2-702-11935-2.
- Prescott, John Robert Victor. *Bounderies and Frontiers*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978. p. 210. ISBN 0-85664-417-X.
- Ragsdale, Hugh and Ponomarev Valeriï Nikolaevich. *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. p. xv+457. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series). ISBN 0-521-44229-X.
- Ratzel, Friedrich. *Politische geographie* (Geography of Politic). Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1897. p. 715.
- Răceanu, Mircea. *Cronologie comentată a relațiilor româno-americe: De la începutul conoasterii reciproce până la prăbușirea regimului comunist în România, 1989* (Chronology commented of Romanian-American relations: Since the beginning of mutual recognition to the collapse of the communist regime in Romania, 1989). București: Silex, 2005. ISBN 973-9356-27-3.

## **Bibliography**

- Reich, Robert B. *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*. New York: Knopf, 1991. p. xii+331. (A Borzoi book). ISBN 0-394-58352-3.
- Renouvin, Pierre and Duroselle Jean-Baptiste. *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales* (Introduction to the history of the international relations). 4e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1997. p. 531. (Collection Agora). ISBN 2-266-17310-0.
- Reynolds, David. *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1994. p. xiv+271. ISBN 0-300-10562-2.
- Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption: A Study in Political Economy*. New York, London: Academic Press, 1978. p. xii+234. ISBN 0-12-596350-5.
- Rose-Akerman, Susan. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p. xiv+266. ISBN 0-521-63293-5.
- Rosemberg, Dominique. *Les minorités nationales et le défi de la sécurité en Europe* (National minorities and the Security challenge in Europe). New York: United Nations Intitute for Disarmament Research, 1993. p. 45. (Research report). ISBN 92-9045-085-1.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *L'Être et le néant : Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique*. Trans. *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* by Barnes, Hazel E. 12th ed. London, UK: Routledge, 1969 [1943]. p. xliii+688. ISBN 0-415-04029-9.
- Sauvant, Karl P. *The Group of 77: Evolution, Structure, Organization*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1981. p. 232. ISBN 0-379-00964-1.
- Sava, Constantin and Monac Constantin. *Revoluția română din decembrie 1989 rețrăită prin documente și mărturii* (The Romanian Revolution of December 1989, revived through document and testimonies). București: Editura Axioma Edit, 2001. p. 534. ISBN 973-8510-52-X.



## Bibliography

- Schleifer, Andrei and Treisman Daniel. *The Economics and Politics of Transition to an Open Market Economy: Russia*. Trans. Environnement économique et politique de transition vers l'économie de marché : La Russie by OECD. Paris: OECD Publishing, 1998. p. 84. (Development Centre Studies). ISBN 9-2641-6032-9.
- Schöpflin, George. *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. London: Muller, Blond & White, 1986. p. 637. ISBN 0-584-70006-7.
- Sedikides, Constantine and Brewer Marilyn B. *Individual self, Relational self, Collective self*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2001. p. 341. ISBN 1-84169-043-0.
- Sedikides, Constantine and Spencer Steven J. *The Self*. New York: Psychology Press, 2007. p. 376. (Frontiers of Social Psychology). ISBN 1-84169-439-9.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Nations and states: an enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 1977. p. xv+563. ISBN 0-416-76810-5.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1967]. p. xx+813. (The Oxford History of Modern Europe). ISBN 0-19-822153-5.
- Severin, Adrian. *Lacrimile Dimineții : Slăbiciunile Guvernului Roman* (Tears of the morning: Weakness of the Romanian political system). București: România Azi, 1995. p. 416. ISBN 973-9161-30-8.
- Shafir, Michael. *Romania: politics, economics and society: political stagnation and simulated change*. London: Frances Pinter, 1985. p. xvi+232. (Marxist Regimes Series). ISBN 0-861-87439-0.
- Shaw, Malcom N. *International Law*. 5th ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 1288. ISBN 0-521-53183-7.
- Siani-Davies, Peter. *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995*. London: Routledge, 2003. ISBN 0-415-29834-2.
- Singleton, Royce and Straits Bruce C. *Approaches to social research*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 618. ISBN 0-195-10525-7.
- Sislin, John and Pearson Frederic S. *Arms and ethnic conflict*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001. ISBN 0-8476-8855-0.

## **Bibliography**

- Soulet, Jean-François. *L'histoire immédiate. Historiographie, sources et méthodes* (The Immediate History. Historiography, Sources and Methods). Paris: Armand Colin, 2009. p. 247. ISBN 2-200-35328-5.
- Spykman, Nicholas John and Nuicholl Helen R. *The Geography of the Peace* [online]. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace and Co, 1944. p. xii+66.
- Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1995. p. xvii+192. ISBN 0-803-95767-X.
- Stefan, Adina. *Romania's Engagement in Subregional Co-operation and the National Strategy for NATO Accession* [online]. December 1999 ed. Vol. 10. Groningen, Netherland: The Center of European Security Studies (CESS), 1999. p. 61. (Harmonie Paper). [cited 23 July 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <http://www.cess.org/publications/harmoniepapers/pdfs/harmoniepaper-10.pdf>. ISBN 90-76301-11-5.
- Stoica, Stan. *Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History*. Trans. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* by Barbu, Ileana and Dolgu Daniela. Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2005a. ISBN 973-8200-77-6.
- Stoica, Stan. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* (Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History). Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2005b. ISBN 973-8200-91-1.
- Stoica, Stan. *România după 1989. O istorie cronologică* (Romania From 1989: A Chronological History). Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2007. p. 335. ISBN 973-7839-26-8.
- Strange, Susan. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. p. 218. ISBN 0-521-56400-9.
- Strausz-Hupé, Robert. *Democracy and American Foreign Policy: Reflections on the Legacy of Alexis de Tocqueville*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995. p. xxiii+183. ISBN 1-56000-175-5.
- Sugar, Petre F., Hanák Péter and Frank Tibor. *A History of Hungary*. Reprinted ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994. p. xiv+432. ISBN 0-253-20867-x.

## Bibliography

- Sulzberger, Cyrus Leo. *A Long Row of Candles. Memoirs and Diaries, 1934-1954*. London: Macdonald, 1969. p. xvi+1061. ISBN 0-356-02857-7.
- Szemerényi, Réka A. *Central European Civil-Military Reforms at Risk*. New York: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1996. p. 96. (Adelphi Paper). ISBN 0-198-29303-8.
- Șerban, Mihai E. *La Roumanie (Romania)*. Paris: Karthala Editions, 1994. p. 230. (Coll. Méridiens). ISBN 2-86537-468-8.
- Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the self: the making of the modern identity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p. xii+613. ISBN 0-521-42949-8.
- Tétart, Philippe. *Petite histoire des historiens (Small history of the historians.)*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2005. p. 95. (Synthèse. Histoire. n°14). ISBN 2-200-01853-3.
- Theobald, Robina. *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990. p. xii+191. ISBN 0-8223-1044-0.
- Thompson, Simon. *The political theory of recognition: a critical introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2006. p. 211. ISBN 0-7456-2762-5.
- Thual, François. *Géopolitique de l'Orthodoxie (Geopolitic of Ortodoxy)*. 2nd ed. Paris: Dunod, 1994. (Collection "RIS"). ISBN 2-10-002509-0.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1997]. p. 304. ISBN 0-19-538786-5.
- Treptow, Kurt W. and Popa Marcel D. *Historical Dictionary of Romania*. 49 vols. Vol. 15. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996. p. lxxviii+311. (European Historical Dictionaries). ISBN 0-810-83179-1.
- Trubowitz, Peter. *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy*. London, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998. p. xvi+353. ISBN 0-226-81303-7.

## **Bibliography**

- Upton Clark, Charles. *Bessarabia: Russia and Roumania on the Black Sea* [online]. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company & University of Washington, 1927. p. 32. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text\\_archive/clark/meta\\_pag.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/cartah/text_archive/clark/meta_pag.shtml)>.
- Urry, John. *Global Complexity*. Oxford, UK: Polity, 2003. p. 184. ISBN 0-745-62817-6.
- Verdery, Katherine. *What was socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. p. 298. ISBN 0-691-01133-8.
- Veyne, Paul. *Comment on écrit l'histoire* (How the History is Written). Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1971. p. 349. ISBN 2-020-28778-1.
- Vidal de la Blanche, Paul. *La France de l'est*. (France of East). Paris: La Découverte, 2000. p. 286. ISBN 2-7071-2346-3.
- Viner, Jacob. *Studies in the Theory of International Trade* [online]. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1965. [cited 21 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1414>>.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *The Capitalist World-Economy: Essays*. Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1979. p. xiv+305. (Studies in modern capitalism). ISBN 0-521-29358-8.
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Walters, Garrison E. *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945*. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988. p. xi+430. ISBN 0-8156-2440-9.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. 1st ed. New York: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979. p. 250. ISBN 0-075-54852-6.
- Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 206. ISBN 0-03-071594.
- Wiarda, Howard J. *Cracks in the Consensus: Debating the Democracy Agenda in U.S. Foreign Policy*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997. p. xiii+109. ISBN 0-275-96100-1.

- Williams, James. *The Principles of Psychology* [online]. 2 vols. Vol. 1. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931 [1918, 1890]. p. 689. [cited 22 May 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<<http://www.archive.org/details/theprinciplesofp01jameuoft>>.
- World Bank. *Doing Business 2007: How to Reform*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2006. p. 192. ISBN 0-8213-6488-X.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2003. p. 181. (Applied Social Research Methods Series). ISBN 1-761-92553-8.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2008. p. 219. (Applied Social Research Methods Series). ISBN 1-412-96099-1.

### Books Sections

- Aklaev, Airat R. Dynamics of the Moldova Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict (late 1990s to early 1990s) [online]. In Rupesinghe, Kumar and Tishkov Valery A. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press, 1996. p. 10. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<<http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu12ee/uu12ee00.htm#Contents>>. ISBN 92-808-0908-3.
- Annan, Kofi A. New century, new challenges [online]. In Council, Security (Ed.), *We the Peoples. The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*. New York: United Nations, 2000. p. 7. [cited 30 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/ch0.pdf>>. ISBN 92-1-100844-1.
- Ash, Timothy Garton. Does Central Europe Exist? In schöpflin, George and Wood Nancy (Eds.), *In Search of Central Europe*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1989. pp. 191-215. ISBN 0-7456-0547-8.
- Bárány, Zoltán Dennis. The Unfolding Transition and Consolidation. In Braun, Aurel and Bárány Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. pp. 323-336. ISBN 0-847-69005-9.

## **Bibliography**

- Berindei, Mihnea Religion et politique en Roumanie. Autour des statistiques (Religion and politics in Romania. Around statistics). In Collectif (Ed.), *L'Autre Europe*. Paris: L'Age D'Homme, 1989 Vol. 20-21. pp. 222-239. ISBN 2-825111-147.
- Besançon, Alain. Preface (Preface - Corruption in Soviet Union). In Zemtsov, Ilya Grigorievitch (Ed.), *Korrupcija v Sovetskom Sojuze*. Trans. *La Corruption en Union soviétique* by Bertyl, Serge. Paris: Hachette, 1976. p. 189. ISBN 2-01-003707-3.
- Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Du 'retour de l'orthodoxie' dans la Roumanie post-communiste ('Comeback of Orthodoxy' in the post-communist Romania). In Collectif (Ed.), *L'Autre Europe*. Paris: L'Age D'Homme, 1998 Vol. 36-37. pp. 117-139. ISBN 2-825111-147.
- Cioroianu, Adrian-Mihai. The BSEC at Its Fifteenth Anniversary [online]. In Celac, Sergiu and Borou Olga (Eds.), *Black Sea Economic Cooperation: Fifteen Years of Regional Activity (1992-2007), Views by Foreign Ministers and Haeds of BSEC Institutions*. Athens: International Centre for Black Sea Studies, 2007. pp. 51-55. [cited 27 November 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://icbss.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&gid=400](http://icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=400)>. ISBN 960-89227-5-4.
- Cohen, Bernard C. and Harris Scott A. Foreign Policy. In Greenstein, Fred I. and Polsby Nelson W. (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Science*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975. 8 vols. Vol. 6. p. xviii+494. ISBN 0-201-02606-6.
- Cox, Robert W. Social Forces, States and World Orders : Beyond International Relations Theory. In Keohane, Robert Owen (ed.) (Ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. pp. 204-254. ISBN 0-231-06348-2.
- Dăianu, Daniel. Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne (Euro-Atlantic Dynamic, Reflexion and European's Options). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârnelci Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Trans. *Dynamiques euro-atlantiques, réflexions et option européenne* by Chollot, Armelle. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. pp. 69-98. ISBN 2-7475-7404-0.

- Demain, Angela. Logique identitaire, logiques étatiques. Les relations entre la Roumanie et la République de Moldavie (Logic of Identity, Logic of States. The Relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova). In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârneli Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. pp. 213-269. (Coll. Aujourd'hui l'Europe). ISBN 2-7475-7404-0.
- Després, François. La politique étrangère roumaine à l'épreuve de ses contradictions. (The Romanian foreign policy test of his contradictions). In Pélissier, Nicolas (dir.), Marrié Alice (dir.) and Després François (dir.) (Eds.), *La Roumanie contemporaine : approches de la "transition"*. Paris: Éd. L'Harmattan, 1996. pp. 125-135. (Aujourd'hui l'Europe). ISBN 2-7384-4172-6.
- Durandin, Catherine. Orthodoxie et Roumanité: Le débat de l'entre deux guerres (Orthodoxy and Roumanity: The debate in between the two wars). In Hitchins, Keith (Eds) (Ed.), *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986 Vol. V. pp. 105-124. ISBN 90-04-07599-2.
- Frank, Robert. Penser historiquement les relations internationales [online]. (Think Historically International Relations). In Thucydide, Centre (Ed.), *Annuaire français de relations internationales 2003*. 2003 ed. Paris: Centre Thucydide - analyse et recherche en relations internationales, 2003 Vol. IV. pp. 43-65. [cited 20 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.afri-ct.org/IMG/pdf/frank2003.pdf>>.
- Freidman, Thomas L. The Dell Theory of Conflict Prevention In Freidman, Thomas L. (Ed.), *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005. ISBN 0-374-29288-4.
- George, Alexander L. Case studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison. In Lauren, Paul Gordon (Ed.), *Diplomacy: new approaches in history, theory, and policy*. New York: The Free Press, Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1979. pp. 43-68. ISBN 0-02-918070-8.
- Hagan, Joe D. Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign policy. In Neack, Laura, Hey Jeanne A. K. and Hanney Patrick J. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall College Div., 1995. ISBN 0-130-6057-51.

## **Bibliography**

- Hall, Stuart. Ethnicity: Identity and Difference. In Eley, Geoff and Suny Ronald Grigor (Eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. pp. 339-351. ISBN 0-19-509661-3.
- Halliday, Fred. The End of the Cold War and International Relations: Some Analytic and Theoretical Conclusions. In Booth, Ken and Smith Steve (Eds.), *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. pp. 38-61. ISBN 0-7456-1165-6.
- Harrington, Joseph F. and Karns Scott. Romania's Ouestopolitik: Bucharest, Europe, and the Euro-Atlantic Alliance, 1990-1998. In Watts, Larry L., Treptow Kurt W. and Ionescu Mihail E. (Eds.), *Romania and Euro-Atlantic Integration*. Iasi: Center for Romanian Studies, 1999. ISBN 973-983927-X.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold J. Perspectives on the perception of corruption. In Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and Levine Victor T. (Eds.), *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989. pp. 149-163. ISBN 0-88738-163-4.
- Hentsch, Thierry. Histoire et théorie des relations internationales : pour une études critique de la société mondiale (History and theory of the international relations: for criticizes studies of world society ). In Friedländer, Saul, Kapur Harish and Reszler André (Eds.), *L'Historien et les relations internationales : recueil d'études en hommage à Jacques Freymond*. Geneva, Switzerland: Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales, 1981. ISBN 2-8288-0015-6.
- Hill, Christopher. The geopolitical implications of enlargement. In Zielonka, Jan (Ed.), *Europe unbound: enlarging and reshaping the boundaries of the European Union*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002. pp. 95-116. ISBN 0-415-28253-5.
- Ikenberry, G. John. Woodrow Wilson, the Bush Administration, and the Future of Liberal Internationalism. In Ikenberry, G. John, Knock Thomas J., Slaughter Anne-Marie, and al. (Eds.), *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-first Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. pp. 1-24. ISBN 0-691-13969-2.



## Bibliography

- Johnston, Michael. Public Officials, Private Interests, and Sustainable Democracy: When Politics and Corruption Meet. In Kimberly, Ann Elliot (Ed.), *Corruption and the Global Economy*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1997. pp. 61-82. ISBN 0-88132-233-4.
- Kay, Sean. NATO Enlargement: Policy, Process, and Implications. In Michta, Andrew A. (Ed.), *America's new allies: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in NATO*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999. pp. 148-184. ISBN 0-295-97906-2.
- Krasner, Stephen D. Globalization and sovereignty. In Smith, David Alden, Solinger Dorothy J., Topik Steven, and al. (Eds.), *States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy*. London: Routledge, 1999. pp. 34-52. ISBN 0-415-20120-9.
- Krasznai, Márton, Spitzer Hartwig and Wynne William. Reginal Applications of the Open Skies Approach. In Dunay, Pál, Krasznai Márton, Spitzer Hartwig, and al. (Eds.), *Open Skies - A Cooperative Approach to Military Transparency and Confidence Building*. New York, DC: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), 2004. pp. 149-181. ISBN 92-904-5164-5.
- Light, Margot. Post-Soviet Russian poreign policy: the first decade. In Brown, Archie (Ed.), *Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. pp. 419-428. ISBN 0-198-29999-8.
- Livezeanu, Irina. Les guerres culturelles en Roumanie post-communiste : débats intellectuels sur le passé récent (Cultural War in Romania post-Communist: Intellectual Débat on the Recent Past). In Durandin, Catherine (coord.) and Cârne Magda (Eds.), *Perspectives Roumaines - Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2004. pp. 11-44. ISBN 2-7475-7404-0.
- Malitza, Mircea. Romania at the United Nations, 1956-1993. In Knight, Andy W. and Krause Keith (Eds.), *State, Society, and UN Systems; Changing perspective on multilateralism*. New York: United Nations University Press, 1995. pp. 132-164. ISBN 9-280-80885-0.

## **Bibliography**

- Martres, Jean-Louis. De la nécessité d'une théorie des relations internationales. L'illusion paradigmatique [online]. (Need for a theory of the international relations. The paradigmatic illusion). In Thucydide, Centre (Ed.), *Annuaire français de relations internationales 2003*. 2003 ed. Paris: Centre Thucydide - analyse et recherche en relations internationales, 2003 Vol. IV. pp. 19-41. [cited 20 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.afri-ct.org/IMG/pdf/martres2003.pdf>>.
- Matvejević, Predag. Central Europe Seen from the East of Europe. In schöpflin, George and Wood Nancy (Eds.), *In Search of Central Europe*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1989. pp. 183-190. ISBN 0-7456-0547-8.
- Mearsheimer, John. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War. In Lynn-Jones, Sean M. and Miller Steven E. (Eds.), *The Cold War and After: Prospects for peace*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1993. pp. 141-243. ISBN 0-262-62088-X.
- Nelson, Daniel N. Regional Security and Ethnic Minorities. In Braun, Aurel and Bárány Zoltán Dennis (Eds.), *Dilemmas of Transition: The Hungarian Experience*. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. pp. 301-322. ISBN 0-847-69005-9.
- Nora, Pierre. Le retour de l'évènement (The return of the event). In Nora, Pierre and Le Goff Jacques (Eds.), *Faire de l'Histoire. Nouveaux problèmes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974. 3 vols. Vol. 1. pp. 220-228.
- Ozhiganov, Edward. The Republic of Moldova: Transdniester and the 14th Army. In Arbatov, Alekseï Georgievich, Chayes Abram , Chayes Handler Antonia , and al. (Eds.), *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1997. pp. 145-210. (CSIA Studies in International Security). ISBN 0-262-51093-6
- Parrott, Bruce. Perspectives on postcommunist democratization. In Dawisha, Karen and Parrott Bruce (Eds.), *Authoritarianism and Democratization in Postcommunist Societies: The consolidation of democracy in East-Central Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 1 vols. Vol. 4. pp. 1-39. ISBN 0-521-59938-5.

- Peterson Ulrich, Marybeth The New NATO and Central Eastern Europe: Managing European Security in the Twenty-first Century. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. pp. 17-45. ISBN 0-7425-2459-0.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. Globalization: Consensus and Controversies [online]. In D'Andrea, Luciano, Quaranta Giancarlo and Quinti Gabriele (Eds.), *II ritorno della città: la basa urbana della globalizzazione*. Roma: Officia Edizioni, 2000a. pp. 9-27. [cited 18 August 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP\\_Globalization.pdf](https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP_Globalization.pdf)>. ISBN 8-887-57008-6.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. Shaping Globalization [online]. In Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (Ed.), *Global Futures: Shaping Globalization*. London, UK: Zed Books, 2000b. pp. 1-19. [cited 18 August 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP\\_Shaping.pdf](https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/jnp/www/pdf/NP_Shaping.pdf)>. ISBN 1-85649-802-6.
- Renouvin, Pierre. Première Partie - Les forces profondes (First Part. The deep forces). In Renouvin, Pierre and Duroselle Jean-Baptiste (Eds.), *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales*. 4e ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 1997. pp. 5-282. (Collection Agora). ISBN 2-266-17310-0.
- Rey, Violette. L'Europe de l'Est (Eastern Europe). In Bailly, Antoine, Ferras Robert and Pumain Denise (Eds.), *Encyclopédie de géographie*. Paris: Economica, 1992a. pp. 827-838. ISBN 2717823301
- Rey, Violette, Billaut M., Daniel O., and al. Europes orientales (Oriental Europe). In Rey, Violette (coord.) and Brunet Roger (Eds.), *Europes orientales, Russie, Asie centrale*. Paris, Montpellier: Berlin-Reclus, 1996. pp. 7-206. (Géographie Universelle). ISBN 2-7011-1673-0.
- Rosati, Jerel A. Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. pp. 221-260. ISBN 0-872-49976-6.

## **Bibliography**

- Schweller, Randall L. The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism. In Elman, Colin and Elman Miriam Fenduis (Eds.), *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2003. pp. 311-348. ISBN 0-262-55041-5.
- Skidmore, David. Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. pp. 43-61. ISBN 0-872-49976-6.
- Stake, Robert E. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln Yvonna S. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3th ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2005. pp. 443-466. ISBN 0-761-192757-3.
- Tismăneanu, Vladimir. Romania. In Dawisha, Karen and Parrott Bruce (Eds.), *Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1997. pp. 403-452. ISBN 0-521-59733-1.
- Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. Identité et culture politique dans la Roumanie post-communiste Culture and Identity politics in Post-communist Romania. In Durandin, Catherine (dir.) and Cârnelci Magda (Col.) (Eds.), *Perspectives roumaines : Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004. pp. 45-67. ISBN 2-7475-7404-0.
- Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven Comparative Cultural Studies and the Study of Central European Culture. In Tötösy de Zepetnek, Steven (Ed.), *Comparative Central European Culture*. West Lafayette, IA: Purdue University Press, 2002 Vol. 1. pp. 1-32. ISBN 1-55753-240-0.
- Turdeanu, Emile. Les luttes des Roumains pour l'indépendance : La défense du Danube, du XIVe au XVIe siècles (The Romanians struggle for independence: The defense of the Danube, between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries). In Hitchins, Keith (Eds) (Ed.), *Rumanian Studies. An International Annual of The Humanities and Social Sciences. 1980-1985*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986 Vol. V. pp. 3-40. ISBN 90-04-07599-2.

- van Klaveren, Jacob. The Concept of Corruption. In Heidenheimer, Arnold J., Johnston Michael and LeVine Victor T. (Eds.), *Political Corruption: A Handbook*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989. pp. 25-38. ISBN 0-88738-163-4.
- Volgy, Thomas J. and Schwarz John E. Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriad Webs of Restraint. In Rosati, Jerel A., Hagan Joe D. and Sampson Martin W. (Eds.), *Foreign Policy Restructuring. How Governments Respond to Global Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. pp. 22-42. ISBN 0-872-49976-6.
- Watts, Larry L. Democratic Civil Control of the Military in Romania: An Assessment as of October 2001 [online]. In *Civil-Military Relations in Post Cold War Europe*. Lanham, MD: The Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2001a. pp. 14-42. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/cee/g102/G102.chap3/>>. ISBN 1-903584-55-8.
- Watts, Larry L. Romania and NATO: The National-Regional Security Nexus. In Krupnick, Charles (Ed.), *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. pp. 157-198. ISBN 0-7425-2459-0.
- Young, Iris Marion. Together in Difference: Transforming the Logic of Group Political Conflict. In Kymlicka, Will (Ed.), *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. pp. 155-178. ISBN 0-19-878100-8.

## Scientific Articles

- Alam, M. S. Some Economic Costs of Corruption in LDCs [online]. *Journal of Development Studies*, Oct. 1990, 1990, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 89-98. [cited 29 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<https://access-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=2&hid=103&sid=0fedbbf0-56f9-4a08-b0b8-e6c6dce94c8f%40sessionmgr103>>. ISSN 0022-0388.

## **Bibliography**

- Alexandrescu, Raluca. Arta politica romaneasca [online]. (Political Romanian Art). *Observator cultural*, 25 Fev. 2003 -3 March 2003, 2003, no. 157, p. 3. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infoframe.phtml?xid=7734&xrubrica=CRONICA%20POLITICA&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=157>>. ISSN 1454-9883.
- Augelli, John P. Nationalization of Dominican Borderlands. *The Geographical Review*, 1980, vol. 70, pp. 19-35. ISSN 0016-7428.
- Ayoub, Antoine. La libéralisation des marchés de l'énergie : utopie, théories et pragmatisme (The liberalization of energy markets: utopia, theories and pragmatism). *Revue de l'énergie*, Juillet-août-septembre 1998, 1998, vol. 499, pp. 477-483. ISSN 0303-240X.
- Bayley, David H. The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation [online]. *The Western Political Quarterly*, Dec. 1966, 1966, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 719-732. [cited 30 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/445147>>.
- Baylis, A. Thomas. Plus Ça Change? Transformation and Continuity among East European Elites. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, September 1994, 1994, vol. 27, no. 3, p. 315. ISSN 0967-067X.
- Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. The Trap of Memory: Auto-Orientalism as Victimization [online]. *Internet journal for cultural sciences, Innovations and Reproductions in Cultures and Societies* 2006, no. 16. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02\\_2/baicoianu16.htm](http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/02_2/baicoianu16.htm)>. ISSN 1560-182X.
- Băicoianu, Anca Gabriela. Markers and Shifters of Romanian Identity [online]. *The Annals of Ovidius University Constanta* 2008, vol. XIX, no. 8, p. 4. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.univ-ovidius.ro/litere/Anale/Fisiere/08%20volumul%20XIX%202008/01\\_Literary%20and%20Cultural%20Encounters/01\\_Anca%20Baicoianu%20tot.pdf](http://www.univ-ovidius.ro/litere/Anale/Fisiere/08%20volumul%20XIX%202008/01_Literary%20and%20Cultural%20Encounters/01_Anca%20Baicoianu%20tot.pdf)>.

- Beaumont, Frédéric. La frontière roumano-ukrainienne et le poids réel de la question des minorités [online]. (The Romanian-Ukrainian Frontier and the Real Importance of the Question of the Minorities). *Cybergeo : European Journal of Geography*, 2005, no. 303, p. 24. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cybergeo.eu/index3230.html>>.
- Blank, Stephen. Russia and the Black Sea's Frozen Conflicts in Strategic Perspective. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 2008, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 23-54. ISSN 1047-4552.
- Bulei, Ion. Le pays des Roumains : une synthèse des diversités [online]. (The Country of the Romanians: A Synthesis of Diversity). *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 2008, vol. 10, pp. 71-74. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/10/q10\\_071.pdf](http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/10/q10_071.pdf)>.
- Burduja, Sebastian I. Assessing Corruption in Romania. An integrationist story [online]. *Же: Stanford's Student Journal of Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies*, Spring 2006, 2006, vol. 2, no. Spring 2006, pp. 51-69. [cited 24 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://zhe.stanford.edu/spring06/corruption.pdf>>.
- Butcher, Martin. NATO, Riga and Beyond [online]. *Disarmament Diplomacy*, Spring 2007, 2007, no. 84. [cited 24 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.acronym.org.uk/dd/dd84/84nato.htm>>.
- Capelle-Pogăcean, Antonela. Les relations hungaro-roumaines et la question des minorités magyare [online]. (The Hungarian-Romanian Relations and the question of Magyar Minorities). *Les Etudes du CERI*, 1996, 1996, no. 12, pp. 1-41. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf](http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude12.pdf)>.
- Catterall, Peter. What (if anythings) Is Distinctive about Contemporary History? *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1997, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 441-452. [cited 19 May 2008 18:40]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/261109>>. ISSN 0022-0094.

## **Bibliography**

- Cohen, Ariel. Europe's Strategic Dependence on Russian Energy [online]. *Backgrounder*, November 5, 2007, 2007, no. 2983, p. 13. [cited April 10, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/bg2083.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/bg2083.cfm)>.
- Cohen, Saul B. The Eurasian Convergence Zone: Gateway or Shatterbelt? *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2005, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 1-22. ISSN 1538-7216.
- Daly, Herman E. Globalization versus internalization - some implications [online]. *Ecological Economics*, 1999, vol. 31, pp. 31-37. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.uvm.edu/~jdericks/EEtheory/Daly\\_on\\_Globalization.pdf](http://www.uvm.edu/~jdericks/EEtheory/Daly_on_Globalization.pdf)>. ISSN 0921-8009.
- Demangeon, Albert. Géographie Politique (Political Geography). *Annales de Géographie*, 1932, pp. 22-31. ISSN 0003-4010.
- Després, François. L'Île aux Serpents : source de contentieux entre la Roumanie et l'Ukraine [online]. (The Island of Snakes: Source of disputes between Romania and Ukraine). *Balkanologie*, 2002, 2002, vol. VI, no. 1-2, pp. 50-60. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://balkanologie.revues.org/index441.html?file=1>>.
- Durandin, Catherine. Autonomie ou non de la politique extérieure roumaine ? (Autonomy or not of the Romanian foreign policy?). *Cahiers du CEFRES*, 2001, vol. 25, p. 151. [cited January, 10 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cefres.cz/pdf/C25F/C257.pdf>>.
- Freidrich, Carl J. The Political Pathology [online]. *Political Quarterly*, January 1966, 1966, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 70-85. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/119726950/PDFSTART>>. ISSN 1467-923X.
- Goujon, Alexandra. Les nouveaux voisins de l'Union Européenne. Stratégies identitaires et politiques en Ukraine, Biélorussie et Moldavie [online]. (The New Neighbors of the European Union. Identity and Political Strategy in Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova). *Les Etudes du CERI*, 2004, 2004, no. 109, pp. 1-39. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude109.pdf>>.



- Gustavsson, Jakob. How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change? [online]. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 1999, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 73-95. [cited 15 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/1/73>>. ISSN 0010-8367.
- Harrington, Joseph F., Karns Edward and Karns Scott. American-Romanian Relations, 1989-1994. *East European Quarterly*, Summer 1995, 1995, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 207-236. ISSN 0012-8449
- Hermann, Charles F. Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy [online]. *International Studies Quarterly*, 1990, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 3-21. [cited 16 May 2008 06:52]. Portable Format Document. Available from: <<http://www.jstor/stable/2600403>>. ISSN 0020-8833.
- Ihrig, Stefan. Rediscovering History, Rediscovering Ultimate Truth - History, Textbooks, Identity and Politics in Moldova [online]. *European Studies*, 2008, vol. 5, pp. 43-57. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es\\_5\\_Ihrig.pdf](http://www.desk.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/download/es_5_Ihrig.pdf)>. ISSN 1346-9797.
- Iorga, Nicolae. Is Romania a Balkan State? [online]. (Reproduction). *Roumania - A Quarterly Review*, 1930, vol. VI, no. 1, p. 14. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roconsulboston.com/Pages/InfoPages/Commentary/Balkan.html>>.
- Johnston, Michael. The search for definitions: the vitality of politics and the issue of corruption [online]. *International Social Science Journal*, Sept. 96, 1996, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 321-335. [cited 1 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=1&hid=107&sid=4fe0fa4c-400f-48c0-ad18-67dfc10865b1%40sessionmgr103>>. ISSN 0020-8701.
- Kelly, Phillip L. Escalation of regional conflict: testing the shatterbelt concept. *Political Geography Quarterly*, 1986, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 161-186. ISSN 0260-9827.

## **Bibliography**

- Kersten, Charles M. . Rethinking Transboundary Environmental Impact Assessment [online]. *The Yale Journal of International Law*, 2009, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 173-206. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.yale.edu/yjil/files\\_PDFs/vol34/Kersten.pdf](http://www.yale.edu/yjil/files_PDFs/vol34/Kersten.pdf)>. ISSN 0889-7743.
- Khan, Mushtaq H. A Typology of Corrupt Transactions in Developing Countries. *IDS Bulletin*, April 1996, 1996, vol. 27, no. 2. ISSN 0265-5012.
- Kherdjemil, Boukhalifa. Territoires, mondialisation et redéveloppement (Territories, Globalization and Redevelopment). *Revue d'Economie Régionale et Urbaine* 1999, vol. 2, pp. 267-293. ISSN 0180-7307.
- Knežević Hočevar, Duška Studying International Borders in Geography and Anthropology: Paradigmatic and Conceptual Relations [online]. *Geografski zbornik*, 2000, vol. XXXX, pp. 82-98. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://giam.zrc-sazu.si/zbornik/knezevic40.pdf>>. ISSN UDK: 911.3(1-04).
- Kolankiewicz, George. Elites in Search of Political Formula. *Daedalus*, Summer 1994, 1994, vol. 123, no. 3, pp. 143-157. ISSN 0011-5266.
- Kristof, Ladis K. D. The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries [online]. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1959, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 269-282. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2561460>>. ISSN 0004-5608.
- Kuzio, Taras. Identity and Nation-Building in Ukraine: Defining the 'Other' [online]. *Ethnicities*, 2001, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 343-365. [cited 29 April 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://etn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/3/343>>. ISSN 1468-7968.
- Larrabee, Stephen F. Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe. *Foreign Affairs*, 2006, vol. 85, no. 6, pp. 117-131. ISSN 0015-7120.
- Leff, Nathaniel H. Economic Development through Bureaucratic Corruption [online]. *American Behavioral Scientist*, Nov. 1964, 1964, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 8-14. [cited 30 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://abs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/8/3/8>>. ISSN 1552-3381.

- Legvold, Robert. Russia's Unformed Foreign Policy [online]. *Foreign Affairs*, 2001, 2001, vol. 80, no. 5, pp. 62-75. [cited Jan. 23, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.jstor.org/stable/20050251](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20050251)>. ISSN 0015-7120.
- Lieber, Robert J. A New Era in U.S. Strategic Thinking [online]. *September 11: One Year Later. A Special Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State*, September 2002, 2002, pp. 5-8. [cited 15 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/0896/ijee/ijee0896.pdf>>.
- Mackinder, Halford John, Sir. The Geographical Pivot of History [online]. *The Geographical Journal*, Apr. 1904, 1904, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 421-437. [cited 30 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0016-7398%28190404%2923%3A4%3C421%3ATGPOH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>>. ISSN 00167398.
- Manent, Pierre. La démocratie et la nation (Democracy and the nation). *Studia Politica. Revista româna de stiinta politica*, 2001, no. 1, pp. 9-17. ISSN 1582-4551.
- McCalla, Robert B. NATO's persistence after the cold war. *International Organization*, Summer 1996, 1996, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 445-476. ISSN 0020-8183.
- McDonald, Dian. Forging a Foreign Policy that Reflects American Values. An interview with Peter Tarnoff, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs [online]. *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, 1996, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 5-8. [cited 27 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/ites/0896/ijee/ijee0896.pdf>>.
- Mearsheimer, John. Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War [online]. *International Security*, Summer 1990, 1990, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 5-56. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0162-2889%28199022%2915%3A1%3C5%3ABTTFII%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>>. ISSN 0162-2889.
- Micu, Mircea. Romanian foreign policy in the context of transatlantic divergence. *Romanian Journal of Political Science (PolSci)* Winter 2007, 2007, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 103-130. ISSN 1582-456X.

## **Bibliography**

- Moldovan, Dorinel, Pantev Plamen and Rhodes Matthew. Joint Task Force East and Shared Military Basing in Romania and Bulgaria [online]. *Occasional Paper Series*, 2009, vol. 21, p. 21. [cited Dec. 19, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F\\_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper\\_21-en.pdf](http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcpublicweb/MCDocs/files/College/F_Publications/occPapers/occ-paper_21-en.pdf)>. ISSN 1863-6020.
- Moroney, Jennifer D.P. and Hogler Joe (Col. U.S.A.F., Retired). Romania's Role in the Black Sea Region [online]. *The DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*, 2006, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 27-34. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Journal%20Index/Journals/Journal\\_Index/Vol%2028\\_3/Moroney.pdf](http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Journal%20Index/Journals/Journal_Index/Vol%2028_3/Moroney.pdf)>.
- Naím, Moisés Clinton's Foreign Policy [online]. *Foreign Policy*, Winter 2000, 2000, vol. 121, pp. 18-29. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0015-7228%28200011%2F12%290%3A121%3C18%3ACFP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>>. ISSN 0015-7228.
- Neumann, Iver B. Russia as Central Europe's Constituting "Other". *East European Politics & Societies*, 1993, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 349-369.
- Nikolaos, Tzifakis. The Yugoslavs Wars' Implications on Romanian Security [online]. *Southeast European Politics*, 2001, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 46-58. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=701901>>. ISSN 1586-9733.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. Corruption and Political Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Jun. 1967, 1967, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 417-427. [cited 29 Oct. 2008 05:10]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953254>>. ISSN 0003-0554.
- Odell, John S. Case Study Methods in International Political Economy [Online]. *International Studies Perspectives*, 2001, no. 2, pp. 161-176. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www-rcf.usc.edu/~odell/Case%20study%20methods.pdf>>.

- Olson, Mancur. Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development [online]. *The American Political Science Review*, Sept. 1993, 1993, vol. 87, no. 3, pp. 567-576. [cited 1 Nov. 2008 16:00]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2938736>>. ISSN 0003-0554.
- Pascu, Ioan Mircea. Romania and the Yugoslav Conflict [online]. *European Security*, 1994, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 151-161. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.informaworld.com/10.1080/09662839408407157>>. ISSN 0966-2839.
- Pavliuk, Oleksandr. Ukraine and Regional Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe [online]. *Security Dialogue*, 1997, 1997, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 347-361 Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://sdi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/28/3/347>>. ISSN 0967-0106.
- Plaksina, Sveltana. A River of Opportunity [online]. *Expert Ukraine*, 2007, no. 3, pp. 40-45. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675\\_40-45.pdf](http://expertukraine.com/img/pdf/1204539675_40-45.pdf)>.
- Preda, Cristian. Le proaméricanisme roumain : trahison et diffamation (Romanian Pro-Americanism: Betrayal and Slander). *Revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2004, 2004, no. 53, pp. 107-112. ISSN 2-130-54352-7.
- Pricopi, Marius. Romania - Moderating the Power Equilibrium in the Black Sea Region [online]. *Strategic Impact*, 2009, no. 1, pp. 17-24. [cited 4 Feb. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceeol.com.aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=6ca8043b-3aa5-4828-b303-cd18bcf0dc9a>>. ISSN 1842-810X.
- Rey, Violette and Groza Octavian Bulgarie et Roumanie, un « entre-deux » géopolitique dans l'Union européenne (Bulgaria and Romania: A Geopolitical In-between Inside European Union). *Espace géographique*, 2008, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 365-378. ISSN 0046-2497.
- Rey, Viollette. Tristes richesses de l'Europe balkanique (Sad wealth of Balkan Europe). *Historiens et Géographes*, 1994, 1992b, vol. 337, pp. 52-61.

## **Bibliography**

- Roman, Denise. Reviewed Works(s): History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness by Lucian Boia; James Christian Brown [online]. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 2003, vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 330-332. [cited 22 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0037-6752%28200322%291%3A47%3A2%3C330%3AHAMIRC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-J>>. ISSN 0037-6752.
- Rose, Richard. How people view democracy: A diverging Europe [online]. *Journal of Democracy*, January 2001, 2001, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 93-106. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v012/12.1rose.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal_of_democracy/v012/12.1rose.pdf)>. ISSN 1086-3214.
- Ruehl, Lothar European Security and NATO's Eastward Expansion. *Aussenpolitik*, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 117-119. ISSN 0004-8194.
- Sandholtz, Wayne and Taapegera Rein. Corruption, Culture, and Communism [online]. *International Review of Sociology - Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, March 2005, 2005, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 109-131. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=1&hid=17&sid=60b9c3e0-2a38-4749-a184-53b6851c1bb3%40sessionmgr3>>. ISSN 1469-9273.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union [online]. *International Organization*, 2001, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 47-80. [cited 24 July 2007 09:49]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3078597>>.
- Sémelin, Jacques. Communication et résistance : Les Radios occidentales comme vecteurs d'ouverture à l'Est [online]. (Communication and resistance: Radios Western as opening vectors to the East). *Réseaux*, 1992, vol. 10, no. 53, pp. 9-24. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.persee.fr/showPage.do;jsessionid=81B7FCDF8590B6D4472ADB9C7C444F53.vesta?urn=reso\\_0751-7971\\_1992\\_num\\_10\\_53\\_1970](http://www.persee.fr/showPage.do;jsessionid=81B7FCDF8590B6D4472ADB9C7C444F53.vesta?urn=reso_0751-7971_1992_num_10_53_1970)>. ISSN 0751-7971.
- Severin, Adrian. Romania: A Factor of Equilibrium and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1997, 1997b, vol. III, no. 2, pp. 7-11. ISSN 1224-0968.

- Shelley, Mark R. NATO Enlargement: The Case for Romania. *Central European Issues : Romanian foreign affairs review*, 1997, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 98-105. ISSN 1224-3809.
- Sobol, Tanya D. An NGO's Fight to Save Ukraine's Danube Delta : The Case for Granting Nongovernmental Organizations Formal Powers of Enforcement *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy* Winter 2005, 2006, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 123-164. ISSN 1050-0391.
- Stan, Lavinia. The Opposition Takes Charge: The Romanian General Elections of 2004. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 2005a, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 3-15. ISSN 1075-8216.
- Stan, Valentin. A Few Remarks Regarding the Transparency and Integrity of Public Administration in Romania [online]. *Romanian Magazin for Human Rights*, 2001, 2001, vol. 20, p. 10. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[http://www.valerianstan.ro/6\\_Analiza\\_privind\\_transparenta\\_si\\_integritatea\\_guvernarii\\_iunie\\_2001\\_en.pdf](http://www.valerianstan.ro/6_Analiza_privind_transparenta_si_integritatea_guvernarii_iunie_2001_en.pdf)>.
- Stan, Valerian. La corruption en Roumanie - Un mal systémique [online]. (Corruption in Romania - A Systemic Evil). *Géopolitique*, Sept. 2005, 2005b, vol. 90, pp. 73-78. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[http://www.valerianstan.ro/14\\_Un\\_articol\\_in\\_Geopolitique\\_no\\_90\\_Oct\\_2004\\_.pdf](http://www.valerianstan.ro/14_Un_articol_in_Geopolitique_no_90_Oct_2004_.pdf)>. ISSN 2-13-055227-7.
- Stansifer, Charles L. Application of the Tobar Doctrine to Central America [online]. *The Americas*, 1967, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 251-272. [cited 11 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/980469.pdf>>.
- Struye de Swielande, Tanguy. Caucase et Asie Centrale : La guerre pour le contrôle du Rimland [online]. (Caucasus and Central Asia: The War for The Control of The Rimland). *Les Cahiers du RMES*, 2007, vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 150-175. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<<http://www.rmes.be/CDR7/6TSCR7.pdf>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Szörenyi, Andras. La politique étrangère hongroise au début d'une nouvelle phase [online]. (The Hungarian Foreign Policy at the Beginning of a New Phase). *La revue internationale et stratégique*, Printemps 2006, 2006, no. 61, pp. 36-47. [cited 3 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.cairn.info/resume.php?ID\\_ARTICLE=RIS\\_061\\_0037](http://www.cairn.info/resume.php?ID_ARTICLE=RIS_061_0037)>. ISSN 1287-1672.
- Tesson, Sandrine. La doctrine Hallstein, entre rigueur et pragmatisme (1955-1969) (Hallstein's doctrine, a theory between rigour and pragmatism (1955-1969)). *Relations Internationales*, 2002, vol. 110, pp. 219-234. ISSN 0335-2013.
- Tomescu-Hatto, Odette. Comment conjuguer l'élargissement de l'Union européenne et la sécurité de ses frontières ? Le chapitre roumano-moldave [online]. (How to Conjugate Enlargement of the European Union and the Security of its Borders ?) *Les Etudes du CERI*, 2005, 2005, no. 116, pp. 1-40. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/etude/etude116.pdf>>.
- Turnock, David. Romania: Contemporary Geopolitical Perspectives [online]. *Geopolitics*, Summer 2001, 2001, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 119-141. [cited 29 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=6871357&site=ehost-live>>. ISSN 1465-0045.
- Tzifakis, Nikolaos. The Yugoslav Wars' Implications on Romanian Security [online]. *Southeast European Politics*, May 2001, 2001, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 46-58. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=701901>>. ISSN 1586-9733
- Ursăcescu, Minodora. The Economic Diplomacy in the Context of Globalization and Informational Economy [online]. *The Annals of University of Oradea - Economic Science*, 2007, vol. XVI, no. 1, pp. 694-697. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://steconomice.uoradea.ro/anale/volume/2007/v1-economics-and-business-administration/157.pdf>>. ISSN 1582-5450.



## **Bibliography**

- Vlad, Liviu Bogdan, Hurduzeu Gheorghe and Josan Andrei. Geopolitical Reconfigurations in the Black Sea Area at the Beginning of the 21 Century [online]. *Romanian Review on Political Geography*, 2009, vol. XI, no. 1, pp. 65-67. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://rrgp.uoradea.ro/art/2009-1/08\\_OK\\_Vlad.pdf](http://rrgp.uoradea.ro/art/2009-1/08_OK_Vlad.pdf)>. ISSN 1454-2749.
- Warren, Mark E. What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy? [online]. *American Journal of Political Science*, April 2004, 2004, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 328-343. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<https://access-distant.sciences-po.fr/http/web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=2&hid=3&sid=3119165e-d8ad-4dbb-955a-1a0cc430c593%40sessionmgr8>>. ISSN 0092-5853.
- Waterbury, John. Endemic and Planned Corruption in a Monarchical Regime [online]. *World Politics*, Jul. 1973, 1973, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 533-555. [cited 29 Oct. 2008 13:33]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009951>>. ISSN 0043-8871.
- Watts, Larry L. Reform and Crisis in Romanian Civil-Military Relations 1989-1999. *Armed Forces & Society*, 2001b, vol. 27, no. Summer 2001, pp. 597-622. ISSN 0095-327X
- Wolff, Robert Lee. Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople [online]. *Speculum, a Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, January, 1948, 1948, vol. XXIII, no. 1, pp. 1-34. [cited 5 Feb. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-7134%28194801%2923%3A1%3C1%3ARTLEOC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U>>. ISSN 0038-7134.

## **Government Publications**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Agreement between the Government of Romania and the Governement of the Republic of Hungary on the Establishment of an Open Skies Regime (with annexes)*. [online]. New York: United Nations, 1991a. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001\\_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/27/23/00053125.pdf)>. Number 29033.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. *Application by Romania for accession to the European Union* [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1995. [cited 28 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>. Number 8518/95 LIMITE PECOS 118.
- \_\_\_\_. *Aviz consultativ privind propunerea de suspendare din funcție a Președintelui României, domnul Traian Băsescu* [online]. (Advisory Opinion on the proposal of suspension from office of President of Romania, Mr. Traian Basescu ). București: Curtea Constituțională, 2007. p. 19. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva\\_avt/3796.pdf](http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva_avt/3796.pdf)>. Number 3552.
- \_\_\_\_. *Avizul Comisiei Europene privind aderarea României și Bulgariei la UE* [online]. (European Commission Opinion on Romania and Bulgaria admission to EU). București: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2005g. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=25429>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Charter of Paris for a new Europe* [online]. Paris: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1990b. [cited 14 April 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1990/11/4045\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/1990/11/4045_en.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Constitution of the Republic of Moldova* [online]. Chișinău: Parlamentul Republicii Moldova 1994a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/moldova3.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Constitution of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Chamber of Deputies - Romanian Parliament, 1991b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pdfs/constitutie\\_en.pdf](http://www.cdep.ro/pdfs/constitutie_en.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Constitutive Act of The Black Sea EuroRegion Association* [online]. Constanta: European Union, 2008i. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.bser.eu/dyn\\_doc/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20CONSTITUENT\\_ACT\\_BSER\\_EN.pdf](http://www.bser.eu/dyn_doc/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20CONSTITUENT_ACT_BSER_EN.pdf)>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Document de Poziție Capitolul 27: Politică Externă și de Securitate Comună* [online]. (Position Paper Chapter 27: Foreign Policy and Common Security). București: Ministerul Integrării Europene, 2002b. p. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mdlpl.ro/\\_documente/negocieri/capitole/CAP27.pdf](http://www.mdlpl.ro/_documente/negocieri/capitole/CAP27.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *For a Better Tomorrow: Asia-Europe Partnership in the 21st Century* [online]. Seoul, Korea: Asia-Europe Vision Group, 1999a. p. 55. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.igenet.com/files/AEVG-Report.doc>>. Number ISBN: 89-86948-01-X.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation Approved by the President of the Russian Federation V. Putin, June 28, 2000* [online]. Moscow: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2000b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mid.ru/Bl.nsf/arh/1EC8DC08180306614325699C003B5FF0?OpenDocument>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Pact of Balkan Entente, and Protocol-Annex. Signed at Athens, February 9th, 1934* [online]. Vol. 3514. Geneva: United Nations Treaty Collection, 1934. pp. 154-158. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001\\_120000/18/13/00034637.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/18/13/00034637.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Legea privind statutul juridic special al Găgăuziei (Gagauz-Yeri) Nr.344-XIII din 23.12.94* [online]. (Law on Special Legal Status of Gagauzia). Chișinău: Monitorul Oficial, 1994b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.e-democracy.md/files/elections/gagauzia2006/special-legal-status-gagauzia-ro.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *List of bilateral treaties between Cyprus and Romania* [online]. Nicosia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, s.d. p. 2. [cited Sept 23, 2009]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/9C7139024C6BFBD22571E1003AC10E/\\$file/Romania.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/9C7139024C6BFBD22571E1003AC10E/$file/Romania.pdf?OpenElement)>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. *Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea (Romania v. Ukraine). The Court establishes the single maritime boundary delimiting the continental shelf and exclusive economic zones of Romania and Ukraine* [online]. (Unofficial). The Hague, Netherlands: International Court of Justice, 2009l. p. 9. [cited 10 Apr. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/132/14985.pdf>>. Number 2009/9.
- \_\_\_\_. *Memorandum of Understanding on the development of the Pan-European Transport Corridor VII (The Danube)* [online]. Wien: Via donau - Austrian Federal Ministry of Transport, Innovation and Technology 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.donauschiffahrt.info/fileadmin/group\\_upload/7/Oeffentlichkeit/Schiffahrt\\_in\\_Europa/Memorandum\\_of\\_Understanding\\_Corridor\\_VII\\_\\_2001\\_.pdf](http://www.donauschiffahrt.info/fileadmin/group_upload/7/Oeffentlichkeit/Schiffahrt_in_Europa/Memorandum_of_Understanding_Corridor_VII__2001_.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Military Strategy of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of National Defence, 2005h. [cited 25 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://se1.isn.ch/serviceengine/FileContent?serviceID=47&fileid=E196CACB-8952-4DF2-6816-21B3A4424FE4&lng=en>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Nabucco counts among the important projects for Romania, Prime Minister reckons* [online]. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2009m. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.gov.ro/nabucco-counts-among-the-important-projects-for-romania-prime-minister-reckons\\_\\_l2a104658.html](http://www.gov.ro/nabucco-counts-among-the-important-projects-for-romania-prime-minister-reckons__l2a104658.html)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Ordonanță nr.15 din 29 ianuarie 1998 privind înființarea, organizarea și funcționarea Institutului European din România* [online]. (Decree nr. 15 from 29 January 1998). București: Guvernul României, 1998. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis\\_pck.htp\\_act\\_text?id=374](http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?id=374)>. Number M.of. nr. 40/30 ian. 1998.
- \_\_\_\_. *Pact of The Organization of The Little Entente* [online]. (The League of Nations). Vol. CXXXIX. Geneva: The League of Nations, 1933. p. 233. [cited 23 April 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.rs/History/poa\\_e.html](http://www.mfa.gov.rs/History/poa_e.html)>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *População Estrangeira em Portugal - 2006* [online]. (Foreign Population in Portugal - 2006). Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2007. p. 5. [cited May 23, 2010]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <[http://www.ine.pt/ngt\\_server/attachfileu.jsp?look\\_parentBoui=10363731&att\\_display=n&att\\_download=y](http://www.ine.pt/ngt_server/attachfileu.jsp?look_parentBoui=10363731&att_display=n&att_download=y)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Populația după etnie la recensământele din perioada 1930–2002, pe județe* [online]. (Population Census by Ethnies and by County from the period 1930 to 2002). București: Agenția Națională pentru Romi, 2002. p. 14. [cited June 23, 2010]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <<http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/statistici/statistici/t1.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *President of the European Commission Signature of the Nabucco Intergovernmental Agreement* [online]. Brussels: President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso, 2009n. p. 2. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SP\\_EECH/09/339&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SP_EECH/09/339&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en)>. Number SPEECH/09/339.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *President and President Bănescu Discuss U.S.-Romanian Partnership - The Oval Office* [online]. (Office of the Press Secretary). Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2005i. [cited 17 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/03/print/20050309-3.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *President Bush Welcomes President Basescu of Romania to the White House* [online]. Washington, DC: The White House - President George W. Bush, 2006e. [cited 17 September 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060727-5.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pridnestrovie's Constitution* [online]. (Government of Pridnestrovie). Tiraspol: Government of Pridnestrovie, s.d.-e. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pridnestrovie.net/constitution.html>>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. *Resolution 713 : Socialist Federal Rep. of Yugoslavia* [online]. Vol. 713. New York: United Nations, 1991c. p. 2. [cited 30 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/596/49/IMG/NR059649.pdf?OpenElement>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly at the Fitty-fifth Session* [online]. (United Nations). New York: United Nations, 2000c. [cited 6 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf>>. Number A/RES/55/2.
- \_\_\_\_. *România a semnat Tratatul de Aderare la Uniunea Europeană* [online]. (Romania signs the treaty of adhesion to the European Union). Vol. 2008. Bucureşti: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2005j. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=25988>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *STANOVNIŠTVO : popis stanovništva, domaћinstava i stanova u 2002.* [online]. (POPULATION: Census of population, households and dwellings in 2002.). Belgrade: Republic Statistical Office of Serbia, 2003. p. 24. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://webzrs.stat.gov.rs/axd/Zip/VJN3.pdf>>. Number 86-84433-02-5
- \_\_\_\_. *Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989* [online]. Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development, 1989a. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.usaid.gov/pl/seedact.htm>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *The IICCR's Brochure 2007* [online]. Bucharest: The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania, 2007e. p. 20. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iiccr.ro/pdf/en/brochure/iiccrs\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.iiccr.ro/pdf/en/brochure/iiccrs_brochure.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007f. p. 58. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>. Number Decision no. 62.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *The National Security Strategy of Romania. The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania: For a Better Life in a Democratic Safer and More Prosperous Country* [online]. Bucharest: Romania, The President, 2007g. p. 58. [cited 28 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://english.mapn.ro/documents/nssr.pdf>>. Number Decision no. 62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Treaty on the Relation of Good Neighbourliness and Cooperation Between Romania and Ukraine* [online]. Vol. 2159. New York: United Nations, 1997. p. 9. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078\\_158780/5/6/13042.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/5/6/13042.pdf)>. Number I-37743.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Treaty Between Romania and Ukraine on the Romanian-Ukrainian State Border Regime, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance on Border Matters* [online]. Vol. 2277. New York: United Nations, 2003c. p. 16. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078\\_158780/7/7/14484.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/7/7/14484.pdf)>. Number I-40547.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *What's in a name: "Pridnestrovie" vs "Transnistria"* [online]. (Government of Pridnestrovie). Tiraspol: Government of Pridnestrovie, s.d.-f. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pridnestrovie.net/name.html>>.
- Auswärtiges Amt. *Redebeitrag aus Anlaß der Eröffnung des EU-Beitrittsprozesses* [online]. (Speech contribution for the cause of the opening of the European Union entry process). Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt, 1998. [cited 25 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=17632&lang=3>>.
- Baronness Nicholson of Winterbourne. *Report on Romania's progress towards accession* [online]. (European Parliament). Strasbourg: European Parliament, 2004. p. 27. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/seance\\_pleniere/textes\\_deposes/rapports/2004\\_P5/0103/P5\\_A\(2004\)0103\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/seance_pleniere/textes_deposes/rapports/2004_P5/0103/P5_A(2004)0103_EN.pdf)>. Number COM(2003) 676 – C5-0534/2003– 2003/2203(INI).

## **Bibliography**

- Bășescu, Traian. *Discursul domnului Traian Bășescu, Președintele României, la ceremonia de depunere a jurământului în fața Camerelor Reunite ale Parlamentului României* [online]. (Discurs of Sir Traian Basescu, Presedent of Romania, at the sworn's ceremony front of the Romanian Parlement). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2004. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5866_ro.pdf)>. Number 5866.
- Bășescu, Traian. *Alocuțiunea președintelui României, Traian Bășescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București (18 ianuarie 2005)* [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bășescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5914_ro.pdf)>. Number 5914.
- Bășescu, Traian. *Participarea domnului Traian Bășescu, Președintele României la emisiunea "10 și un sfert" Postul de televiziune Realitatea TV Realizator Stelian Tănase (10 Ianuarie 2005)* [online]. (Participation of Sir Traian Bășescu, President of Romania to the TV Show '10 and half' on the Channel of the Realitatea TV). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5898_ro.pdf)>. Number 5898.
- Bășescu, Traian. *Comunicat de Presă. Președintele României, Traian Bășescu, a participat astăzi, 1 februarie a.c., la bilanțul Ministerului Administrației și Internelor (MAI)* [online]. ( Press Release. Romanian President, Traian Besescu, attended today, February 1 this year, to the bilan of the Ministry of Administration and Interior (MAI)). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7066\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7066_ro.pdf)>. Number 7066.



- Bănescu, Traian. *Comunicat de Presă (16 decembrie 2006) - Președintele României, Traian Bănescu, a revenit astăzi, 16 decembrie a.c., de la Summit-ul Consiliului European, desfășurat la Bruxelles.* [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8286_ro.pdf)>. Number 8286.
- Bănescu, Traian. *Intâlnirea anuală a preșintelui României, Traian Bănescu, cu Corpul diplomatic acreditat la București.* [online]. (The annual meeting of the Romanian President, Traian Bănescu, with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7039_ro.pdf)>. Number 7039.
- Bănescu, Traian. *The Speech given by the president of Romania, Traian Bănescu, on the occasion of the Presentation of the Report by the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania* [online]. (Press Release). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2006d. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288\\_en.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8288_en.pdf)>. Number 8288.
- Bănescu, Traian. *Discursul preșintelui României cu ocazia primirii membrilor corpului diplomatic, la Palatul Cotroceni* [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2007. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8418\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/8418_ro.pdf)>. Number 8418.
- Bănescu, Traian. *Discursul preșintelui României cu ocazia primirii membrilor corpului diplomatic, la Palatul Cotroceni* [online]. (Speech - President of Romania, Traian Bănescu at the annual meeting with the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Bucharest). București: Departamentul de Comunicare Publică, 2008b. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9583\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/9583_ro.pdf)>. Number 9583.

## **Bibliography**

- Bush, George H. W. *Toward a New World Order. A Speech by George H. W. Bush, President of the U.S.A., on the new world order. Given to a joint session of the United States Congress* [online]. Washington, DC, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://d.scribd.com/docs/6fvf8wopxymlg55u766.pdf>>.
- Bush, George W. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* [online]. (National Security Council). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. p. 35. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>.
- Chirac, Jacques. *Discours de M. Jacques Chirac, Président de la République, sur les relations franco-roumaines et la coopération culturelle et économique, sur la démocratisation de la Roumanie et sur l'élargissement de l'OTAN et de l'Union européenne à la Roumanie, Bucarest le 21 février 1997* [online]. (Speech of Mr. Jacques Chirac, Bucharest on 21 February 1997). Paris: Président de la République, 1997. [cited 27 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.vie-publique.fr/cdp/977007800.html#>>.
- Chirac, Jacques. *Conférence de presse de M. Jacques Chirac, président de la République, à l'issue de la réunion informelle extraordinaire du Conseil Européen* [online]. (Press conference of Mr. Jacques Chirac, President of the Republic, at the end of the informal extraordinary meeting of the European Council). Bruxelles: le Président de la République Française, 2003. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais\\_archives/interventions/conferences\\_et\\_points\\_de\\_presse/2003/fevrier/confere\\_nce\\_de\\_presse\\_du\\_president\\_de\\_la\\_republique\\_a\\_l\\_issue\\_de\\_l\\_a\\_reunion\\_informelle\\_extraordinaire\\_du\\_conseil\\_europeen.2547.html](http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee.fr/francais_archives/interventions/conferences_et_points_de_presse/2003/fevrier/confere_nce_de_presse_du_president_de_la_republique_a_l_issue_de_l_a_reunion_informelle_extraordinaire_du_conseil_europeen.2547.html)>.
- Clinton, Willian J. *Remarks on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization* [online]. March 20, 1998 ed. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 1998. (The American President Project). [cited 27 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=55652>>.

- Constantinescu, Emil. *Președintelui României, Emil Constantinescu, la Sesiunea plenară a Consiliului Parteneriatului Euro-Atlantic - Washington, 25 aprilie 1999* - [online]. (Romanian President, Emil Constantinescu, at the Planary Session at the Euro-Atlantic Parliamentary Council - Washington, 25 April 1999 -). București: Departamentul comunicării publice, 1999. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/6315\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/6315_ro.pdf)>.
- Council of Europe. *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Explanatory Report* [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995. p. 26. [cited 7 Octobree 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/e/human\\_rights/minorities/2.\\_framework\\_convention\\_%28monitoring%29/1.\\_texts/PDF\\_H\(1995\)010%20FCNM\\_ExplanatoryReport\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/minorities/2._framework_convention_%28monitoring%29/1._texts/PDF_H(1995)010%20FCNM_ExplanatoryReport_en.pdf)>. Number H(1995)010.
- Council of Europe. *Rights of national minorities* [online]. Brussels: Council of Europe, 2001. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc01/EDOC8920.htm>>. Number Doc. 8920.
- Council of Europe. *European Commission for Democracy Through Law (Venice Commission). Draft Concept on the State National Policy on The Republic of Moldova* [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2003. p. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2003/CDL\(2003\)049-e.pdf](http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2003/CDL(2003)049-e.pdf)>. Number CDL (2003) 49.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Biography - Traian Băsescu* [online]. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2010. [cited 20 April 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/?\\_RID=htm&id=165&exp2=ro](http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=htm&id=165&exp2=ro)>. Number 5893.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Conferința de presă - a domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României- Bucuresti, 11 octombrie 1994 - (transcriere de pe banda magnetică)* [online]. (Press Conference of the Romanian President ). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 1994a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/153\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/153_ro.pdf)>. Number 153.

## **Bibliography**

- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Discursul Președintelui României, domnul Ion Iliescu, în plenare Adunării Generale a Organizației Națiunilor la cea de-a 49-a sesiune a acesteia- New York, 26 septembrie 1994* [online]. (Speech, the President of Romania, Mr. Ion Iliescu, during the session of the General Assembly of the UN at the 49-session in New-York, 26 September 1994). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 1994b. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/339\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/339_ro.pdf)>.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presa Luni, 17 septembrie 2001, Președintele României, domnul Ion Iliescu, l-a primit la Palatul Cotroceni pe domnul Rasim Ljajic, Ministrul pentru Minorități al Republicii Federale Iugoslavia. La întâlnire a mai participat și domnul Vasile Dâncu, Ministrul Informațiilor Publice.* [online]. (Press Release of the Romanian President). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 2001a. [cited 13 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/2252\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/2252_ro.pdf)>.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Conferința Comună de Presă susținută de Președintele României, domnul Ion Iliescu, și domnul Eduard Sevardnadze, Președintele Georgiei- Palatul Cotroceni, 7 septembrie 2001 - Declarația domnului Ion Iliescu, Președintele României, rostită în deschiderea conferinței comune de presă. Declarația domnului Eduard Sevardnadze, Președintele Georgiei* [online]. (Press Conference of Mr. Ion Iliescu, and Mr. Eduard Sevardnadze). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Președintele României, 2001b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date\\_arhiva/3495\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date_arhiva/3495_ro.pdf)>.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Discursul - președintelui României, Traian Basescu, în cadrul Conferinței 'Networking Europe'* [online]. (Discours of the Romanian President, Traian Basescu in the frame of the conference 'Networking Europe'). București: Delegația Comisiei Europene în România, 2005. p. 5. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7595\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/7595_ro.pdf)>. Number 7595.

- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Discursul președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, la întâlnirea de început de an cu Șefii Misiunilor Diplomatice acreditați la București* [online]. (Speech by Romanian President Traian Băsescu, at the Meeting of the Beginning of the Year with Heads of Diplomatic Missions in Bucharest). București: Președintele României, 2010. [cited 10 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://cms.presidency.ro/?pag=68&sid=12012>>.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă. (28 iunie 2005). La împlinirea a 65 de ani de la ultimatumul sovietic adresat autorităților române, Președintele României, Traian Băsescu, condamnă ferm Pactul Ribentrop-Molotov care a condus la anexarea Basarabiei și a nordului Bucovinei de către URSS.* [online]. ( Press Release. (June 28, 2005)). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005a. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/6394\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/6394_ro.pdf)>. Number 7066.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 8 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 8th, 2005* by Departamentul de comunicare publică. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005b. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5893_ro.pdf)>. Number 5893.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă - 10 ianuarie 2005* [online]. Trans. *Press Communique - January 10th, 2005* by Departamentul de comunicare publică. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005c. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/5896_ro.pdf)>. Number 5896.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de presă* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2005d. [cited 23 Oct. 2007]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://csat.presidency.ro/index.php?page=cp&cp=20>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicate de presă* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Consiliul Suprem de Apărare a Țării, 2006. [cited 17 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://csat.presidency.ro/index.php?page=cp&cp=16>>.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Comunicat de Presă. Declarația de presă a Președintelui României, Traian Basescu, la Liceul Românesc "Nicolae Balcescu" din Gyula* [online]. (Press Release). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2009a. [cited 23 March 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10636\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10636_ro.pdf)>. Number 10636.
- Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Declarația de presă a președintelui României, Traian Băsescu, susținută la finalul convorbirilor oficiale cu președintele Republicii Ungare, László Sólyom (Budapesta, 2 februarie 2009)* [online]. (Press Statement by the President of Romania, Traian Băsescu). (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2009b. p. 1. [cited 2 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10635\\_ro.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/pdf/date/10635_ro.pdf)>. Number 10 635.
- Djankov, Simeon *Doing Business 2007: How to Reform - Romania #1 Reformer in Europe* [online]. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2006. p. 9. [cited 23 June 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://x.gov.ro/presa/integrare/5/country\\_Romania\\_%20review.pdf](http://x.gov.ro/presa/integrare/5/country_Romania_%20review.pdf)>.
- Dumitru, Gheorge. *Comunicat privind rezultatele parțiale ale referendumului național din data de 19 mai 2007 pentru demiterea Președintelui României ora 18.00* [online]. București: Biroul Electoral Central, 2007. p. 1. [cited Jan. 23, 2010 ]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.becreferendum2007.ro/document3/rez%20finale.pdf>>. Number 11.

- European Commission. *Commission Statement on Opening of Bystroye Canal in Ukraine* [online]. (European Commission). Brussels: European Commission, 2004a. p. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/04/1043&format=PDF&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Number IP/04/1043.
- European Commission. *Progress Report on the Cooperation and verification mechanism – procedural aspects* [online]. (European Commission). Brussels: European Commission, 2007. p. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/08/523&format=PDF&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>. Number MEMO/07/260.
- European Communities. *Treaty establishing The European Economic Community* [online]. Brussels: European Union, 1957. p. 233. [cited 28 May 2008]. Tagged Image File Format. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11957E/tif/TRAITES\\_1957\\_CEE\\_1\\_EN\\_0001.tif](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11957E/tif/TRAITES_1957_CEE_1_EN_0001.tif)>.
- European Communities. *General Report on the Activities of the European Union* [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Commission, 2005a. p. 161. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2005.pdf>>. Number SEC(2005) 1200 final. ISBN 92-79-00591-X.
- European Communities. *Accompanying measures in the context of Bulgaria's and Romania's accession* [online]. Brussels: European Communities, 2006a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/347&format=PDF&aged=1&language=en>>. Number MEMO/06/347.
- European Communities. *General Report on the Activities of the European Union* [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006b. p. 236. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2006en.pdf>>. Number SEC(2006) 1000 final - ISBN 92-79-02100-1.

## **Bibliography**

- European Communities. *General Report on the Activities of the European Union* [online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of The European Communities, 2007a. p. 261. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/rg2007en.pdf>>. Number SEC (2007) 1000 final - ISBN 92-79-07102-7.
- European Communities. *Report From the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Romania's progress on accompanying measures following Accession* [online]. Brussels: Commission of The European Communities, 2007b. p. 23. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat\\_general/cvm/docs/romania\\_report\\_20070627\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat_general/cvm/docs/romania_report_20070627_en.pdf)>. Number COM(2007) 378 final.
- European Communities. *Interim Report From the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Romania's progress under the Co-operation and Verification Mechanism* [online]. Brussels: Commission of The European Communities, 2009. p. 7. [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0070:FIN:EN:PDF>>. Number COM(2009) 70 final.
- European Council. *Council Regulation of 16 December 1980 on the conclusion of the Agreement on the Establishment of the Joint Committee and the Agreement on trade in industrial products between the European Economic Community and the Socialist Republic of Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Economic Community, 1980. [cited 27 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.legaltext.ee/text/en/U71030.htm>>. Number 3338/80.
- European Council. *Conclusions of the Strasbourg European Council: excerpt on countries of central and eastern Europe (8 and 9 December 1989)* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1989a. p. 3. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://zwww.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=11183&lang=2>>. Number SN 441/2/89.



- European Council. *Council Regulation (EEC) No 3906/89 of 18 December 1989 on economic aid to the Republic of Hungary and the Polish People's Republic* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: European Council, 1989b. [cited 27 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type\\_doc=Regulation&an\\_doc=1989&nu\\_doc=3906](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=Regulation&an_doc=1989&nu_doc=3906)>. Number No 3906/89
- European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Conclusions of the Presidency - 21-22 June 1993* [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1993. p. 46. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf)>. Number SN 180/1/93 Rev 1.
- European Parliament. *Corfu European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 24 and 25 June 1994* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1994a. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/cor1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/cor1_en.htm)>.
- European Parliament. *Essen European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 9 and 10 December 1994* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1994b. [cited 27 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ess1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ess1_en.htm)>.
- European Parliament. *Laeken European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 14 and 15 December 2001* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2001. p. 35. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/background/docs/laeken\\_concl\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/background/docs/laeken_concl_en.pdf)>. Number SN 200/1/01/REV 1.
- European Parliament. *Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997* [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>. Number SN400/97.

## **Bibliography**

- European Parliament. *Madrid European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 15 and 16 December 1995* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1995. [cited 27 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/mad1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/mad1_en.htm)>.
- European Parliament. *Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>. Number SN400/97.
- European Parliament. *Cardiff European Council - Presidency Conclusions (Cardiff, 15-16 June 1998)* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1998. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/54315.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/54315.pdf)>. Number SN 150/1/98 REV 1.
- European Parliament. *Helsinki European Council - Presidency Conclusion - 11 December 1999* [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1999. [cited 27 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACF A4C.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACF A4C.htm)>. Number 00300/1/99.
- European Parliament. *Brussels European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 24 and 25 October 2002* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002a. p. 9. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru021\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru021_en.pdf)>. Number PE 323.933.
- European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12 and 13 December 2002* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002b. pp. 11-19. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/cop1_en.pdf)>. Number PE 326.269.

## Bibliography

- European Parliament. *One Europe* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2002c. p. 1. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.abfonlari.gov.tr/pdfdocumentary/zirveler/2002Copenhagen11-12%20Aralik%202002OneEurope.pdf>>. Number SN 369-02.
- European Parliament. *Thessaloniki European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 19 and 20 June 2003* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2003. pp. 11-19. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/the\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/the_en.pdf)>. Number PE 333.583.
- European Parliament. *Brussels European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 16 and 17 December 2004* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2004a. p. 27. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru1204\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/pdf/bru1204_en.pdf)>. Number PE 352.185.
- European Parliament. *Regulation (EC) No 1638/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument* [online]. Vol. L 310. Strasbourg: European Parliament, 2006. pp. 1-14. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj\\_l310\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj_l310_en.pdf)>. Number 1725-2555.
- European Parliament. *Joint Motion for a Resolution on a European Strategy for the Danube Region* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2010. [cited 8 Feb. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+MOTION+P7-RC-2010-0031+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>>. Number RC-B7-0031/2010.
- European Union. *Bulgaria and Romania move closer to accession goal* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2005a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/05/1344&format=PDF&aged=1&language>>. Number PI/05/1344.

## **Bibliography**

- European Union. *Commission Decision 2006/928/EC of 13 December 2006 establishing a mechanism for cooperation and verification of progress in Romania to address specific benchmarks in the areas of judicial reform and the fight against corruption* [online]. Vol. L 354. Brussels: European Communities, 2006a. pp. 56-57. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:354:0056:0057:EN:PDF>>. Number 1725-2555.
- Foreign Ministers of the Vilnius Group Countries. *Statement of the Vilnius Group Countries on Iraq* [online]. Washington: Perspectives on World History and Current Events, 2003. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pwhce.org/docvil.html>>.
- Geoană, Mircea. *Speech to the Ceremonial North Atlantic Council, Romania's Accession to NATO* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004. [cited 27 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=8531&idlnk=2&cat=4&lang=en>>.
- Göncz, Kinga (Dr.) and Schwarzenberg Karel. *The Bucharest Summit: NATO's New Perspective* [online]. Prague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/issues\\_and\\_press/events\\_and\\_issues/press\\_releases/the\\_bucharest\\_summit\\_nato\\_s\\_new.html](http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/en/issues_and_press/events_and_issues/press_releases/the_bucharest_summit_nato_s_new.html)>.
- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 354 din 02/04/1990 (Hotărâre 354/1990) privind înființarea Fundației Culturale Române* [online]. (Decision No. 354 of 02/04/1990 (Decision 354/1990) establishing the Romanian Cultural Foundation). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 1990. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id\\_act=83826](http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id_act=83826)>. Number 21/2001.
- Guvernul României. *Cooperare Româno – Bulgară în procesul de aderare la Uniunea Europeană* [online]. (Cooperation Bulgaro-Romanian in the accession process to the European Union). București: Ministerul Integrării Europene, 2001a. [cited 10 Oct. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.gov.ro/comunicat-de-presa\\_\\_l1a7302.html](http://www.gov.ro/comunicat-de-presa__l1a7302.html)>.

- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 1073 din 25/10/2001 (Hotărâre 1073/2001) privind organizarea și funcționarea Institutului Român de Studii Internaționale "Nicolae Titulescu"* [online]. (Decision No. 1073 of 25/10/2001 (Decision 1073/2001) on the organization and functioning of the Romanian Institute of International Studies "Nicolae Titulescu"). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2001b. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1073-din-2001-\(MjA1MDY-\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1073-din-2001-(MjA1MDY-).htm)>. Number 1073/2001.
- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 99 din 07/02/2002 (Hotărâre 99/2002) privind organizarea și funcționarea Academiei Diplomatice* [online]. (Decision No. 99 of 07/02/2002 (Decision 99/2002) on the organization and operation Diplomatic Academy). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2002. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id\\_act=20505](http://www.legestart.ro/AfisareAct.aspx?id_act=20505)>. Number 99/2002.
- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 1765 din 21/10/2004 (Hotărâre 1765/2004) pentru modificarea anexei nr. 1 la Hotărârea Guvernului nr. 100/2004 privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* [online]. (Decision No. 1765 of 21/10/2004 (Decision 1765/2004) to amend Annex no. 1 to Government Decision no. 100/2004 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2004. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1765-din-2004-\(MTMwODM5\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-1765-din-2004-(MTMwODM5).htm)>. Number 1765/2004.
- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 425 din 12/05/2005 (Hotărâre 425/2005) pentru modificarea și completarea Hotărârii Guvernului nr. 100/2004 privind organizarea și funcționarea Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* [online]. (Decision No. 425 of 12/05/2005 (Decision 425/2005) amending and completing Government Decision No. 100/2004 on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2005a. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-425-din-2005-\(MTQ1NDE0\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-425-din-2005-(MTQ1NDE0).htm)>. Number 425/2005.

## **Bibliography**

- Guvernul României. *Hotărâre nr. 880 din 28/07/2005 (Hotărâre 880/2005) privind organizarea și funcționarea Institutului Diplomatic Român* [online]. (Decision No. 99 of 07/02/2002 (Decision 99/2002) on the organization and operation of the Romanian Diplomatic Institut). (Guvernul României). București: Monitorul Oficial al României, 2005b. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-880-din-2005-\(MTU0NTYx\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Hot%C4%83r%C3%A2re-nr-880-din-2005-(MTU0NTYx).htm)>. Number 99/2002.
- Kissinger, Henri A. *A New National Partnership. (Speech delivered by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in Los Angeles, CA. on 24 January 1975)*. Washington, DC: Department of State, 1975.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Launching Summit of the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership* [online]. Bucharest: Romania Government, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=10778&idlnk=2&cat=4>>.
- NATO. *The North Atlantic Treaty* [online]. Washington, DC: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1949. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/treaty.htm>>.
- NATO. *Study on NATO Enlargement* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/enl-9501.htm>>.
- NATO. *Declaration on Peace and Cooperation issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council (including decisions leading to the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC)) - ("The Rome Declaration")* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1991. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b911108b.htm>>.
- NATO. *Madrid Declaration on Euro-Atlantic Security and Cooperation Issued by the Heads of State and Government* [online]. Madrid: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1997. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1997/p97-081e.htm>>. Number M-1(97)81.

- NATO. *The Alliance's New Strategic Concept* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1999a. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm>>. Number NAC-S(99)65.
- NATO. *The Washington Declaration - Signed and issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. on 23rd and 24th April 1999* [Online]. Washington, D.C.: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1999b. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-063e.htm>>. Number NAC-S(99)63.
- NATO. *Statement by the North Atlantic Council* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2001c. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-124e.htm>>. Number Press Release (2001)124.
- NATO. *Prague Summit Declaration* [online]. Madrid: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2002. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p02-127e.htm>>. Number (2002)127.
- NATO. *Chairman's statement of the meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council at Summit level* [online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004a. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-099e.htm>>. Number (2004)099.
- NATO. *The Istanbul Declaration - Our security in a new era* [online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004b. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-097e.htm>>. Number (2004)097.
- NATO. *Press Conference by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and Leonid Kuchmia, President of Ukraine following the NATO-Ukraine Commission* [online]. Istanbul: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004c. [cited 26 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s040629b.htm>>.

## **Bibliography**

- NATO. *Supporting an Active Romania in an Active Alliance. Speech by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer at the NATO House* [online]. Bucharest: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2004d. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2004/s040513b.htm>>.
- NATO. *Statement by the Chairman of the First Review Conference on the Implementation of the Treaty on Open Skies at the Closing Plenary* [online]. s.l.: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005. [cited 26 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/doclib/2005/06/15470_en.pdf)>. Number OSCE.RC/45/05.
- NATO. *Riga Summit Declaration* [online]. Riga: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2006. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2006/p06-150e.htm>>. Number (2006)150.
- NATO. *Bucharest to host 2008 NATO Summit* [online]. Brussels: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 2007a. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2007/04-april/e0427a.html>>.
- Năstase, Adrian. *Discursul domnului Adrian Năstase la ședința comună a Camerei Deputaților și Senatului pentru acordarea încrederii asupra Programului și listei Guvernului - București, 28 decembrie 2000* [online]. (Speech of Mr. Adrian Năstase during the joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate for trust granting with respect to the government's program and list). București: Cabinet Prim-Ministru, 2000. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.guv.ro/presa/afis-arhdoc.php?idpresa=21&idrubicapresa=2&idrubicaprimm=&idtema=&tip=2&pag=1&dr=>>>.
- Oval Office. *President Bush Welcomes President Basescu of Romania to the White House* [online]. Washington, DC: The White House President George W. Bush, 2006. [cited 17 September 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060727-5.html>>.



- Parliamentary Assembly. *European waterways: focus on the Danube-Oder-Elbe Canal project* [online]. Brussels: Parliamentary Assembly - Council of Europe, 2005. p. 4. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc05/EDOC10730.htm>>. Number Doc. 10730.
- Popescu, Dumitru. *Dezbateri Parlamentare. Ședința Camerei Deputaților din 17 februarie 1998* [online]. (Parliamentary Debate. 17 February 1998). București: Camera Deputaților, 1998. [cited 26 May 2006]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cdep.ro/pls/steno/steno.stenograma?ids=11&idm=1,02&idl=1>>.
- Predoiu, Cătălin. *Declarație pe teme de actualitate ale politicii externe românești* [online]. (Statement on the big issues of the Romanian foreign policy). Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009. [cited 25 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=41514&idlnk=2&lang=ro&cat=4>>.
- Președintele României. *Decretul 1101 din 28 decembrie 2001* [online]. Bucharest: Monitor Oficial, 2001. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Decretul-1101-2001-acordarea-unor-gratieri-individuale-\(NDU2MjA-\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Decretul-1101-2001-acordarea-unor-gratieri-individuale-(NDU2MjA-).htm)>. Number D. 1101/2001
- Prodi, Romano. *Elargement - the final lap* [online]. Brussels: European Parliament, 2002. p. 6. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SP\\_EECH/02/463&format=PDF&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en](http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=SP_EECH/02/463&format=PDF&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en)>. Number Speech/02/463.
- Romanian National News Agency ROMPRES. *We need friendship and cooperation climate in Black Sea - President Basescu* [online]. Bucharest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://canberra.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=8239>>.
- Schrage, Weik. *Work on the controversial Bystroe Canal Project to be reconsidered* [online]. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2008. p. 1. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/press/pr2008/08env\\_p08e.htm](http://www.unece.org/press/pr2008/08env_p08e.htm)>. Number ECE/ENV/08/P08.

## **Bibliography**

- Secretary Condoleezza Rice. *U.S. Recognize Kosovo as Independent State* [online]. (U.S. Department of State). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2008. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/02/100973.htm>>.
- Sólyom, László. *Speech Address by President László Sólyom on the anniversary of the revolution and freedom fight of 1956 at a commemoration by the Gloria Victis memorial in Miercurea Ciuc, Romania* [online]. Budapest: Office of the president of the Republic of Hungary, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.keh.hu/speeches20081023miercurea\\_ciuc.html](http://www.keh.hu/speeches20081023miercurea_ciuc.html)>.
- U.S. Department of State. *2000 Country Reports on Economic Policy and Trade Practices - Romania* [online]. Washington, DC: Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2001. p. 7. [cited 23 June 2008]. Document Portable Format. Available from: <[www.state.gov/documents/organization/1630.pdf](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/1630.pdf)>.
- U.S. Presidential Documents. *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001* [online]. (United States Congress). Vol. 147. Washington, DC: Legislative History, 2001. p. 115. [cited 23 June 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107\\_cong\\_public\\_laws&docid=f:publ056.107](http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ056.107)>. Number Public Law 107-56.
- United Nations. *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* [online]. Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1992. [cited 7 Octobre 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d\\_minori.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/d_minori.htm)>. Number 47/135.
- United Nations. *Resolution 1244 (1999) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting, on 10 June 1999* [online]. (Security Council). New York City: Security Council, 1999. [cited 10 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/172/89/PDF/N9917289.pdf?OpenElement>>. Number S/RES/1244 (1999).

- United Nations. *The Global Programme Against Corruption - UN Anti-Corruption Toolkit* [online]. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2004. p. 592. [cited 28 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications\\_toolkit\\_sep04.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/publications_toolkit_sep04.pdf)>.
- Warren, Christopher. *Leadership for the Next American Century* [online]. Washington, DC: The Bureau of Public Affairs, 1996. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Document Format. Available from: <<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dossec/1996/9601/960118dossec2.html>>.
- Western European Union. *Kirchberg Declaration (9 May 1994)* [online]. Brussels: Press and Information Service, 1994. pp. 1-10. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=6366&lang=2>>.
- White House. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* [online]. (The White House). Washington DC: The White House, 2002. p. 35. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>>.
- Wilson, Woodrow. *President Wilson's "Fourteen Points"* [online]. Charlottesville, VA: Brigham Young University Library, 1918. [cited 11 Oct. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President\\_Wilson%27s\\_Fourteen\\_Points](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points)>. Number University of Virginia.
- Wöner, Manfred. *Reshaping East-West Relations - Address by Secretary General, Manfred Wörner to a Eurogroup Seminar on "NATO: Partnership and Prospects"* [on-line]. Washington, DC: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, 1989. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1989/s891012a\\_e.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1989/s891012a_e.htm)>.

## **Bibliography**

### **Conferences Papers**

- \_\_\_\_. *The Address of Romania's President, Mr. Ion Iliescu, at the opening of the Business Forum of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation* [online]. Paper presented at the Business Forum of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation - Opportunities for the Future on April 25 to 28, 1996 Bucharest: Public Information Department of the Government of Romania. [cited 17 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.kappa.ro/guv96/alocii.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Bystroe Canal Project and Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context (Espoo, 1991)* [online]. Paper presented at the Espoo (EIA) Convention on 24-26 June 2008. Odessa: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/trans/osce/osceunece/misc\\_Odessa\\_Jun08\\_Bystroe.pdf](http://www.unece.org/trans/osce/osceunece/misc_Odessa_Jun08_Bystroe.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Transboundary Context (Espoo, 1991)* [online]. Paper presented at on 14 October 2008. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/trans/doc/2008/sc3wp3/SC3-52-pres03e.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Dialogue synthesis: Globalization, Identity and Diversity* [online]. Barcelona: Forum Barcelona 2004, 2004b. (Globalization, Identity and Diversity). [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco\\_del\\_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1700](http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco_del_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1700)>.
- Angelescu, Irina. *Romania and the European Union. A Missed Opportunity for Modernization?* [online] Paper presented at the 7th Annual Conference of UACES Student Forum on 20-21 April 2006. Oxford, UK: University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). [cited 11 April 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu\\_I.pdf](http://www.uacesstudentforum.org/Docs/Oxford%2006/Angelescu_I.pdf)>.

## Bibliography

- Beck, Ulrich. *Understanding the Real Europe: A Cosmopolitan Perspective* [online]. Paper presented at the Annual Neale Wheeler Watson Lecture at the Nobel-Museum on 1st June 2006. Stockholm: Watson Publishing International LLC. p. 8. [cited 14 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.shpusa.com/beck/BeckLecture.pdf>>.
- Craiutu, Aurelian. *Romania: The Difficult Apprenticeship of Liberty (1989-2004)* [online]. Paper presented at the EES noon discussion on June 9, 2004 on June 9, 2004. Indiana University-Bloomington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. p. 4. [cited 23 Jan 2008]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/MR298Craiutu.doc>>.
- Delare, Thomas. *Remarks on "The Black Sea Region and Beyond What Role America and NATO?"* [online]. Paper presented at the Black Sea Area and Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategic Opportunities on April 20, 2005. Bucharest. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://www.casanato.org/docs/20apr05\\_std.doc](http://www.casanato.org/docs/20apr05_std.doc)>.
- Georgescu, Alina-Alexandra. *Romanian Foreign Policy Change: From Isolation to Dependence (1989-1994)* [online]. Paper presented at the EFPU - Research student conference on European foreign policy on 2 July 2004. London: London School of Economics – Departement of Foreign International Relations. p. 15. [cited 17 Dec. 2007]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/intrel/EFPC/Papers/Georgescu.doc>>.
- Held, David. *Globalization: An Empirical Assessment and an Analytical Interpretation* [online]. Paper presented at the Globalization, Identity and Diversity on July 26-29, 2004. Barcelona: Forum Barcelona 2004. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco\\_del\\_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1628](http://www.barcelona2004.org/eng/banco_del_conocimiento/documentos/ficha.cfm?IdDoc=1628)>.
- Iordan, Constantin. *Un bilan de l'histoire des relations diplomatiques roumano-bulgares* [online]. (A review of the history of diplomatic relations Romanian-Bulgarian). Paper presented at the Commission mixte roumano-bulgare d'histoire de l'Académie Roumaine on 31 mai - 3 juin 1999. Bucarest. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/StiintePOL/EuroAtlanticStudies/13.htm#-ftn325>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Ivan-Cucu, Constantin Virgil. *Progress Report on the Implementation at National and Sector Level of the Anticorruption Measures* [online]. Paper presented at the Stability Pact Anti-Corruption Initiative - 7th Steering Group Meeting on 5-6 May 2004. Republic of Montenegro: Romania's Ministry of Justice. p. 17. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[http://km.undp.sk/uploads/public/File/AC\\_Practitioners\\_Network/Romania\\_SPAI\\_Report.doc](http://km.undp.sk/uploads/public/File/AC_Practitioners_Network/Romania_SPAI_Report.doc)>.
- Ivan, Ruxandra. *Patterns of co-operation and conflict: the relations between Romania and Ukraine, 1992-2006* [online]. Paper presented at the Beyond the borders. Ukraine and European Neighborhood Policy on 7-9 June 2006. Rzeszow and Krakow, Poland: University of Information Technology and Management and Tischner European University. p. 15. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. PowerPoint Document. Available from:  
<[http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra\\_ivan.ppt](http://enp.wsiz.rzeszow.pl/referaty/ruxandra_ivan.ppt)>.
- Michael, Bryane. *Drafting Implementing Regulations for International Anti-Corruption Conventions* [online]. Paper presented at the Queen Elizabeth House. Oxford, UK: Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford. p. 54. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<<http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/RePEc/qeh/qehwps/qehwps150.pdf>>.
- Miller, Benjamin. *Explaining Changes in US Grand Strategy: The Rise of Offensive Liberalism and the War in Iraq* [online]. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association on August 30-Sep. 2, 2007. Chicago, IL: University of Colorado. p. 74. [cited 15 Oct. 2008]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from:  
<[www.duke.edu/~gelpi/miller.doc](http://www.duke.edu/~gelpi/miller.doc)>.
- Năstase, Adrian. *Romania: Member of the EU, Crossroads of the Black Sea and Gateway to the New Eastern Markets*. [online]. Paper presented at the The International Role of the European Union. Its Strategies Toward the East, Africa and the Arab World on June 24-27, 2009. Brussels, Belgium: Crans Montana Forum. [cited September 10, 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[www.adriannastase.ro/files/crans\\_montana\\_speech\\_modificat.pdf](http://www.adriannastase.ro/files/crans_montana_speech_modificat.pdf)>.

- Orban, Ludovic *Speech at the 70th Annual Session of the Inland Transport Committee* [online]. Paper presented at the 70th Session of the UNECE Inland Transport Committee. Euro-Asian Transport Links Ministerial Meeting on 19-21 February 2008. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. p. 5. [cited 2 Jan. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.unece.org/trans/MinisterialITC70/documents/Speech\\_Ministerial\\_Romania\\_E.pdf](http://www.unece.org/trans/MinisterialITC70/documents/Speech_Ministerial_Romania_E.pdf)>.
- Pascariu, Gabriela Carmen. *A Study on Romania's situation in the process of accession to the European Union* [online]. Paper presented at the IP "European Intergration" on 3-14 September 2001. Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Economia: Centrul de Studii Europene. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.cse.uaic.ro/\\_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf](http://www.cse.uaic.ro/_Fisiere/Documentare/Studii%20si%20cercetari/A%20study%20on%20Romania's%20situation.pdf)>.
- Phinnemore, David. *Romania and the European Union: From Marginalisation to Inclusion?* [online]. Paper presented at the Romania and the European Union: The Challenge of Domestic Reform, on 31 Oct. 2003. Hellenic Observatory, European Institute, London School of Economics: London School of Economics. p. 7. [cited 13 July 2007 18:38]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/hellenicObservatory/pdf/Phinnemore.pdf>>.
- Protsyk, Oleh. *Reforming Cabinets in Post-Communist Countries: Political Determinants of Cabinet Organization and Size* [online]. Paper presented at the Enhancing the Capacities to Govern: Challenges Facing the Countries on 8-10 April 2003. Bucharest: Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPAcee). p. 17. [cited 27 June 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/nispacee/unpan009006.pdf>>.
- Reed, Steven R. *Corruption as Political Parasitism* [online]. Paper presented at the The Workshop on Corruption and Democracy on 8-9 June 2007. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, University of British Columbia. p. 27. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://democracy.ubc.ca/fileadmin/template/main/images/departments/CSDI/conferences/CorruptionConfReed.pdf>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Severin, Adrian. *L'integration de la Roumanie dans l'UE et l'OTAN* (Romanian Integration into EU and NATO). Paper presented at the Un acquis pour la sécurité en Europe on 24 mars 1997. Bruxelles: Institut Royal des Relations Internationales. pp. 17-30.
- Urse, Cristian. *Moldovan Politics between Russia and Romania*. Paper presented at the 8th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities on 3-5 April 2003. New York: Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

## **Reports**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Diagnostic Surveys of Corruption in Romania* [online]. Bucharest: The World Bank, 2001e. p. v+61. (Working Paper). [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/romenglish.pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/romenglish.pdf)>. Working Paper 28997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and Romania, of the other part* [online]. s.l.: European Economic Communities, 1991f. [cited 24 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231\(20\)#top](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=294A1231(20)#top)>. L 357 , 31/12/1994 P. 0002 - 0189.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2001* [online]. Germany: Transparency International, 2001a. p. xvii+314. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2001](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2001)>. ISBN 3-935711-00-X.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2004. Political Corruption* [online]. London: Transparency International and Pluto Press, 2004a. p. xii+356. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2004#download](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2004#download)>. ISBN 0-7453-2231-X.



- \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2005. Corruption in Construction and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* [online]. London: Transparency International and Pluto Press, 2005a. p. xii+316. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr/download\\_gcr\\_2005#download](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr/download_gcr_2005#download)>. ISBN 0-7453-2508-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Global Corruption Report 2008. Corruption in the Water Sector* [online]. Cambridge, New York: Transparency International and Cambridge University Press, 2008c. p. xxix+367. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download\\_gcr](http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/download_gcr)>. ISBN 0-521-72795-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Human Rights in Brief* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of International Information Programs. March 2008, 2008k. p. 21. [cited 7 Octobere 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308\\_humanrights.pdf](http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/books/0308_humanrights.pdf)>. (Bureau of International Information Programs).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *In Celebration of 125 Years of U.S.-Romanian Diplomatic relations* [online]. February 2006 ed. Bucharest: American Cultural Center, 2006j. p. 20. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years\\_RO-AM\\_Relations.pdf](http://bucharest.usembassy.gov/resources/documents/125Years_RO-AM_Relations.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La diffusion de l'Etat-nation: Bertrand Badie - L'Etat importé* [online]. (The dissemination of the nation-state: Bertrand Badie - The State imported). Paris: Université Paris 1 - Panthéon - Sorbonne, 2006k. [cited 13 November 2006]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf](http://scpo.univ-paris1.fr/fichiers/L%20Etat%20importe.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco - Gas Bridge to Europe - Status Report, Q4 2009* [online]. Vienna: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, p. 15. [cited 17 Sept. 2009]. PowerPoint Document. Available from: <<http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/presentations/StatusNabucco4Q09.ppt>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project* [online]. Vienna: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, p. 6. [cited 17 Sept. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/press%20and%20public/presentations/Official%20Project%20Description\\_Q1\\_2009\\_v01.pdf](http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/press%20and%20public/presentations/Official%20Project%20Description_Q1_2009_v01.pdf)>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Renaissance 2000 Strategy - Political Economy of Lupeni/Jiu Valley* [online]. Jiu Valley: Jiu Valley Portal, 2005. p. 20. (White Paper Analysis). [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.jiuvalley.com/engl/tourism/history\\_pol\\_econ.pdf](http://www.jiuvalley.com/engl/tourism/history_pol_econ.pdf)>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Report on the Likely Significant Adverse Transboundary Impacts of the Danube-Black Sea Navigation Route at the Border of Romania and the Ukraine* [online]. Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2006f. p. 67. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/env/eia/documents/inquiry/Final%20Report%2010%20July%202006.pdf>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania at a Historic Crossroads* [online]. Camberley: The Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2007h. p. 83. (Central & Eastern European Series). [cited 23 May 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/cee/G65-vgb.pdf>>. G65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Studiului Opiniei Publice. Martie 2006. Rezumat* [online]. Chisinau: Centrul de Analize si Investigatii Sociologice (CIVIS), 2006l. p. 3. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. Microsoft Word Document. Available from: <[http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro/arhiva\\_avt/2360.doc](http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro/arhiva_avt/2360.doc)>.
- Amundsen, Inge. *Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues* [online]. Vol. 7. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1999. p. 39. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cmi.no/publications/1999/wp/wp1999-7.pdf>>. ISBN 82-90584-40-7.
- Andreescu, Gabriel, Bau Violeta and Chiorean Gabriela. *The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations. Actual implications of the secured border at the political, social, economic and operational levels* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. p. 131. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>.

## Bibliography

- Bell, Gerwin, Cosse Stephane, Wang Tao, and al. *Romania: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, January 16, 2001, 2001. p. 223. (Country Report). [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2001/cr0116.pdf>>. Country Report No. 01/16.
- Bikson, Tora K., Anderson Robert and Hunter Robert. *Tools for 21st Century. An Approach to Improved Information and Communication Technology for Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry* [online]. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2002a. p. xxii+53. [cited 23 Spet. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2006/MR1567.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/2006/MR1567.pdf)>. ISBN 0-8330-3201-1.
- Botan, Igor. *Moldova: Post-Transition, Parliament Faces Separatist, Political and Electoral Conflicts* [online]. April 2006 ed.: United Nations Development Programme, UNDP Initiative on Parliaments, Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2006. p. 53. (Initiative on Strengthening the Role of Parliaments in Crisis Prevention and Recovery). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.parlcpr.undp.org/docs/Moldova.pdf>>. (UNDP Initiative on Parliaments, Crisis Prevention and Recovery).
- Charap, Joshua and Harm Christain. *Institutionalized Corruption and the Kleptocratic State* [online]. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 1999. p. 24. (IMF Working Paper). [cited 23 May 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/1999/wp9991.pdf>>.
- Chinhamo, Obert and Shumba Gabriel. *Institutional Working definition of Corruption* [online]. Pretoria, South Africa: Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa, 2007. (Working Paper). [cited 31 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa\\_definition\\_of\\_corruption\\_080731.pdf](http://www.kubatana.net/docs/demgg/act-sa_definition_of_corruption_080731.pdf)>. ACT/1/2007/WPS.

## **Bibliography**

- Chirtoaca, Nicolae. *Romania - the Republic of Moldova: from the "flower bridge" to the iron curtain* [online]. October 2002 ed. Bucharest: Institute for Public Policy, 2002. pp. 45-89. (The New Schengen Border and Its Impact on the Romanian - Moldovan Relations). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ipp.md/public/biblioteca/40/en/New%20Schengen%20Border.pdf>>.
- Commission report. *Black Sea Synergy - A New Regional Cooperation Initiative* [online]. (Commission of the European Communities). Brussels: European Communities, 2007. p. 13. [cited 27 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07\\_160\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07_160_en.pdf)>. Number COM(2007) 160 final.
- Council of Europe. *First Evaluation Round - Evaluation Report on Romania* [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe - Group of States against Corruption. 8 March 2002, 2002. p. 37. (Department of Crime Problems). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoEval1\(2001\)13\\_Romania\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoEval1(2001)13_Romania_EN.pdf)>. Greco Eval I Rep (2001) 13E Final.
- Council of Europe. *First Evaluation Round - Compliance Report on Romania* [online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe - Group of States against Corruption. 2 July 2004, 2004. p. 16. (Department of Crime Problems). [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoRC1\(2004\)8\\_Romania\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg1/greco/evaluations/round1/GrecoRC1(2004)8_Romania_EN.pdf)>. Greco RC-I (2004) 8E.
- Cummings, Milton C. *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey* [online]. Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture, 2003. p. 15. (Commission five research pieces). [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/MCCpaper.pdf>>.
- Dehousse, Franklin and Coussens Wouter. *The enlargement of the European Union. Opportunities and Threats* [online]. 2002. p. 12. [cited 1 March 2008 12:45:20]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.irri-kiib.be/papers/PresEnlargementEU.pdf>>.

## Bibliography

- Delaunay, Michèle. *Avis au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles, familiales et sociales sur le projet de loi de finances pour 2009 - Tome I - Action extérieure de l'Etat, rayonnement culturel et scientifique* [online]. (Opinion on behalf of the Commission's cultural affairs, social and family on the finance law project for 2009). 1 vols. Paris Assemblée Nationale. 16 Oct. 2008, 2008. p. 77. [cited 23 Apr. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/pdf/budget/plf2009/a1199-ti.pdf>>. 1199.
- Deletant, Dennis and Ionescu Mihail. *Romania and the Warsaw Pact: 1955-1989* [online]. Vol. 43. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. April 2004, 2004. p. 108. (Cold War International History Project). [cited 25 May 2008]. Portable Document Format Available from: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACF368.pdf>>. Working Paper # 43.
- European Commission. *Agenda 2000 - Commission Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union* [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997a. p. 114. [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/dwn/opinions/romania/ro-op_en.pdf)>. DOC/97/18.
- European Commission. *Commission Opinion on Romania's application for membership of the European Union: Introduction and Conclusion (15 July 1997)* [online]. Brussels: European Communities. 15th July 1997, 1997b. [cited 26 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/commission-opinion-romania-application-membership-european-union-introduction-conclusion-july-1997-030008028.html>>. Text n°8028.
- European Commission. *Composite Paper - Reports on progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1998a. p. 31. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/composite_en.pdf)>.

## **Bibliography**

- European Commission. *Composite Paper - Reports on progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999a. p. 48. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/composite\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/composite_en.pdf)>.
- European Commission. *Regular Report from the Commission on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1998b. p. 59. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/romania\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/romania_en.pdf)>.
- European Commission. *Regular Report from the Commission on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 1999b. p. 94. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1999/romania\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1999/romania_en.pdf)>. COM (99) 510 - 12069/99.
- European Commission. *Communication from the Commission. Comprehensive monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005a. p. 18. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0534:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2005) 534 final.
- European Commission. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament. Strategy Paper of the European Commission on progress in the enlargement process* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004b. p. 17. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2004:0657:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2004) 657 final.

- European Commission. *Communications Strategy for Enlargement* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000a. p. 7. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement\\_process/past\\_enlargements/communication\\_strategy/sec\\_737\\_2000\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/enlargement_process/past_enlargements/communication_strategy/sec_737_2000_en.pdf)>.
- European Commission. *Continuing Enlargement - Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the progress towards accession by Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003a. p. 43. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0676:FIN:EN:PDF>>. COM(2003) 676 final.
- European Commission. *Enlargement Strategy Paper - Report on progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000b. p. 67. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2000/strat-en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2000/strat-en.pdf)>.
- European Commission. *Making a success of enlargement - Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2001a. p. 77. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2001/strategy\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2001/strategy_en.pdf)>.
- European Commission. *Regular Report from the Commission on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2000c. p. 103. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000\\_Regular\\_Report.pdf](http://www.infoeuropa.ro/iweb/imgupload/2000_Regular_Report.pdf)>. COM(2000) 710 - C5-0610/2000 - 1997/2172(COS).

## ***Bibliography***

- European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2001b. p. 121. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2001/ro\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2001/ro_en.pdf)>. SEC(2001) 1753.
- European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002a. p. 155. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/grpoups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN008693.pdf>>. COM(2002) 700 - SEC(2002) 1409.
- European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003b. p. 133. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. COM(2003) 676 - C5-0534/2003.
- European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania's Progress Towards Accession* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2004c. p. 163. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/2004/rr\\_ro\\_2004\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/2004/rr_ro_2004_en.pdf)>. COM(2004) 657 final - SEC(2004) 1200.
- European Commission. *Romania - 2005 Comprehensive Monitoring Report* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005. p. 102. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy\\_documents/2005/sec1354\\_cmr\\_master\\_ro\\_college\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy_documents/2005/sec1354_cmr_master_ro_college_en.pdf)>. SEC(2005) 1354.
- European Commission. *Romania - 2005 Comprehensive Monitoring Report* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005b. p. 102. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy\\_documents/2005/sec1354\\_cmr\\_master\\_ro\\_college\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy_documents/2005/sec1354_cmr_master_ro_college_en.pdf)>. SEC(2005) 1354.
- European Communities. *The European Union in 1995* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1995. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1995/summary1.htm>>.



- European Communities. *The European Union in 1996* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1996. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1996/summary1.htm>>.
- European Commission. *Towards the Enlargement Union - Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2002b. p. 105. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0700:FIN:EN:PDF>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 1997* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1997a. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1997/enm00097.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 1997 - Chapter VI: Role of the European Union in the world* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1997b. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1997/enx60897.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 1998* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1998. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1998/x0000.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 1999* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 1999. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/1999/index.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 2000* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2000. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2000/index.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 2001* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2001. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2001/index.htm>>.

## **Bibliography**

- European Communities. *General Report 2002 - Chapter V: Enlargement* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2002. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2002/pt0704.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 2003 - The European Union in 2003 - Overview* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2003. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2003/index.htm>>.
- European Communities. *General Report 2004* [online]. Brussels: European Commission, 2004. (General Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://europa.eu/generalreport/en/2004/index.htm>>.
- European Communities. *Communication from the Commission - Monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission. 2006, 2006c. p. 52. (Monitoring Report). [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2006/sept/report\\_bg\\_ro\\_2006\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2006/sept/report_bg_ro_2006_en.pdf)>. COM(2006) 549 final.
- European Conference of Minister of Transport. *Transport Links Between Europe and Asia* [online]. Paris: OECD Publications Service, 2006. p. 81. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.internationaltransportforum.org/europe/ecmt/pubpdf/06Europe-Asia.pdf>>. ISBN 92-821-1379-5.
- European Court of Human Rights. *Judgment in the Case of Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and Others v. Moldova* [online]. Strabourg, FR: Council of Europe. 13 Dec. 2001, 2001. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.echr.coe.int/eng/Press/2001/Dec/MetropolitanChurchofBessarabiajudypress.htm>>.
- European Parliament. *Information Note on the Work of The EU-Turkey Parliamentary Committee* [online]. 13 Jul. 1973 ed. Vol. (Brussels: European Parliament,, 2004b. p. 10. (Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/euro/jpc/turk/history2004\\_turkey\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/euro/jpc/turk/history2004_turkey_en.pdf)>. FdR 536724 - PE. 342.075.

## Bibliography

- Gabriel, Lara M., Stapenhurst Rick and Thomas Mary. *The Role of Bilateral Donors in Fighting Corruption* [online]. Maastricht, The Netherlands: World Bank Institute. 1 Jan. 2001, 2001. p. xii+306. (Working Paper). [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/hague/role\\_bilateral.pdf](http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/hague/role_bilateral.pdf)>. Working Paper 34776.
- Gallis, Paul. *Enlargement Issues at NATO's Bucharest Summit* [online]. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service - The Library of Congress, 2008a. p. 34. (CRS Report for Congress). [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34415.pdf>>. RL34415.
- Gallis, Paul. *The NATO Summit at Bucharest, 2008* [online]. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service - The Library of Congress, 2008b. p. 6. (CRS Report for Congress). [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22847.pdf>>. RS22847.
- Government of Romania. *Action Plan For the Governing Programme 2001-2004 - Recovery of the national economy* [online]. Bucharest: Government of Romania, 2001. p. 299. [cited 10 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.gov.ro/engleza/obiective/planactiuni/planact-engleza.pdf>>.
- Hall, Richard Andrew. *The 1989 Romanian Revolution as Geopolitical Parlor Game: Brandstatter's "Checkmate" Documentary and the Latest Wave in a Sea of Revisionism* [online]. s.n.: Richard Andrew Hall, 2005. p. 70. [cited 13 Mar. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://homepage.mac.com/khallbobo/RichardHall/pubs/checkmate040405.pdf>>.
- Hanquet, Huberte and Ruperez Javier. *The process of democratization in Romania*. Brussels: NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Civilian Affairs Committee, 1992. p. 24. (Reports). (Civilian Affairs Committee) NAA, AJ237.
- Iliescu, Ion. *Romania in Europe and in the World*. Bucharest: Foreign Language Press, 1994. p. 225. B0006F7F2A

## **Bibliography**

- Kerr, Graham (Project manager). *Celebrating the Romanian-American Partnership: Development Assistance 1990-2007* [online]. Bucharest: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2007. p. 84. [cited 23 Aug. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/countries/ro/romania\\_legacy\\_book\\_complete\\_10-17-2007.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/countries/ro/romania_legacy_book_complete_10-17-2007.pdf)>.
- Kınıklıoğlu, Suat. *The Anatomy of Turkish-Russian Relations* [online]. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2006. p. 20. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.gmfus.org//doc/KINIKLIOGLU%20-%20The%20Anatomy%20of%20Turkish-Russian%20Relations.pdf>>.
- Kogan, Eugene. *Turkish-American Strategic Partnership versus Turkish-Russian Partnership without Strategy*. [online]. Vienna: Internationales Institut für Liberale Politik Wien, 2009. p. 28. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.iilp.at/publikationen/sozialwissenschaftliche\\_schriftenreihe/?s=search&q=Turkish-American+Strategic+Partnership+versus+Turkish-Russian+Partnership+without+Strategy&x=66&y=10](http://www.iilp.at/publikationen/sozialwissenschaftliche_schriftenreihe/?s=search&q=Turkish-American+Strategic+Partnership+versus+Turkish-Russian+Partnership+without+Strategy&x=66&y=10)>.
- Lambers, Williams. *'Open Skies' for Peace* [online]. s.l.: Lambers Publications, 2006. p. 30. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb\\_06-07-06.pdf](http://www.lamberspublications.com/downloads/OpenSkiesForWeb_06-07-06.pdf)>.
- Maier, Anneli. *Romanian "Protochronism" and the New Cultural Order* [online]. Budapest: Open Society Archives at Central European University, 1977. (Radio Free Europe Research). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://files.osa.ceu.hu/holdings/300/8/3/pdf/52-5-9.pdf>>. RAD Background Report #226.
- Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. *Raport privind politica externă a României 2005-2008* [online]. (Report concerning Romanian foreign policy 2005-2008). București: Ministerul Afacerilor Externe, 2008. p. 64. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.mae.ro/poze\\_editare/2008.11.25\\_RpMAE\\_2005-2008.pd](http://www.mae.ro/poze_editare/2008.11.25_RpMAE_2005-2008.pd)>.

## Bibliography

- Mungiu Pippidi, Alina *Policy report on the Hungarian Minority in Szekely Land* [online]. Athens: Hellenic Foundation For European & Foreign Policy, s.d. p. 7. (EUROREG - Policy Briefs). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.eliamep.gr/old-site/eliamep-old/eliamep/www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/EUROREG\\_policy\\_report\\_Romania\\_revised.pdf](http://www.eliamep.gr/old-site/eliamep-old/eliamep/www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/EUROREG_policy_report_Romania_revised.pdf)>.
- NATO. *South-Eastern Europe Common Assessment Paper on Regional Security Challenges and Opportunities (SEECAP)* [online]. Budapest: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. May 2001, 2001d. (NATO Documents). [cited 8 Oct. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2001/0105-bdp/d010530b.htm>>.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power and Higher Education* [online]. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2001. pp. 11-14. [cited 8 Oct. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/ffp0502s.pdf>>.
- Ognyan, Minchev. *Major Interests and Strategies for the Black Sea Region. Framework Analytical Review* [online]. Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. p. 25. [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.iris-bg.org/files/Black%20Sea%20Framework%20Analytical%20Review.pdf>>.
- Parini, Simon, Balmaceda Margarita and Westpha Kirsten. *The Russian-Ukrainian Gas Conflict* [online]. Vol. 53. Zurich, Switzerland: Research Centre for East European Studies and Center for Security Studies (CSS) 2009. p. 25. (Russian Analytical Digest). [cited 29 Nov. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://kms2.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/95596/ipublicationdocument\\_singledocument/E0C7DE26-0FBB-4BD9-934C-9C584E1E1CDC/en/Russian\\_Analytical\\_Digest\\_53.pdf](http://kms2.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/RESSpecNet/95596/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/E0C7DE26-0FBB-4BD9-934C-9C584E1E1CDC/en/Russian_Analytical_Digest_53.pdf)>. ISSN 1863-0421.

## **Bibliography**

- Parliamentary Assembly. *Written declaration no. 265 on the decision of the Court of Appeal of the Republic of Moldova on the legitimacy and freedom of the Metropolis of Bessarabia* [online]. Strasbourg, FR: Council of Europe. 3 Oct. 1997, 1997. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/working\\_docs/doc98/edoc7946.htm](http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/working_docs/doc98/edoc7946.htm)>.
- Parliamentary Assembly. *Right of the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia to its own succession in title* [online]. Strasbourg, FR: Council of Europe. 26 Jan. 2004, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/working\\_docs/doc04/edoc10042.htm](http://assembly.coe.int/mainf.asp?Link=/documents/working_docs/doc04/edoc10042.htm)>.
- Pop, Adrian (Coord.), Pascariu Gabriela Carmen, Anglițoiu George, and al. *Romania and the Republic of Moldova - Between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Prospect of EU Enlargement* [online]. Bucharest: European Intitut of Romania, s.d. p. 125. (Pre-accession impact studies III). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.ier.ro/PAIS/PAIS3/EN/S.5\\_EN\\_final.pdf](http://www.ier.ro/PAIS/PAIS3/EN/S.5_EN_final.pdf)>. Study no. 5.
- Pradhan, Sanjay (Team leader). *Anticorruption in Transition: A Contribution to the Policy Debate* [online]. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2000. p. 133. [cited 23 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/contribution.pdf>>. ISBN 0-8213-4802-7.
- Preda, Eugen. *NATO. Scurtă istorie* (NATO. Short History). București: Silex, 1999. (Fundăția Culturală "Magazin Istoric").
- Președintele României. *Biografie - Ion Iliescu* [online]. (Bibliography of Ion Iliescu). Bucharest: Președintele României, 2008. [cited 30 July 2008 23:35]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.preidency.ro/?\\_RID=htm&id=4](http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.preidency.ro/?_RID=htm&id=4)>.
- Senior, Ian. *Corruption - the World's Big C: Cases, Causes, Consequences, Cures*. London, UK: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006. p. 207. (Working Paper Series). ISBN 0-255-36571-3.

- Stankovic, Slobodan. *Yugoslav-Romanian Frontier of Friendship* [online]. Budapest: Open Society Archives. 23 July 1984, 1984. (Radio Free Europe Research). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/53-6-32.shtml>>. RAD Background Report/129.
- Staras, Mircea. Documentation on the Likely Significant Transboundary Impact of the Ukrainian Deep-Water Navigation Canal Danube-Black Sea in the Context of Espoo Convention, 1991 [online]. Tulcea, Romania: Danube Delta National Institute for Research & Development 2005. p. 36. [cited 23 June 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unece.org/env/eia/documents/inquiry/Rom.1.pdf>>.
- Stolojan, Theodor. *Policy-Making in Romania* [online]. Bucharest: Romanian Centre for Economic Policies, 2000. p. 16. (Policy Analyses). [cited 16 Jan. 2001]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00001088/01.7.pdf>>. RCEP/WP no.18/October, 2002.
- Tismăneanu, Vladimir (Pres.). *Raport final - Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România* [online]. (Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania). București: Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România, 2006. p. 666. [cited 11 June 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT\\_FINAL\\_CPAD\\_CR.pdf](http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/RAPORT_FINAL_CPAD_CR.pdf)>.
- Voinescu, Sever and Dobre Gabriela. *Public Perceptions on Foreign Affairs in Romania* [online]. Bucharest: INstitute for Public Policy, 2005. (Political Analyses and Commentaries). [cited 16 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003382/01/foreign\\_policy\\_in\\_romania.pdf](http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00003382/01/foreign_policy_in_romania.pdf)>.
- Zabava, Oana and Vrabie Codru. *The National Integrity System* [online]. 2005 ed. Bucharest: Transparency International Romania, 2005. p. 141. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www>transparency.org.ro/files/File/NIS%20%20REPORT\\_final.pdf](http://www.transparency.org.ro/files/File/NIS%20%20REPORT_final.pdf)>.

## **Bibliography**

### **Encyclopedia and Dictionary**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Borderland* [Online]. Random House, Inc., s.d.-c. (Dictionary.com Unabridged (v 1.1)). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Borderland>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Borderland*. Collins (Ed.), *Collins English Dictionary*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd 2009a. p. 1054. ISBN 0-00-729846-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Borderlands Borders and Global Frontiers - Defining Borders, Borderlands, And Frontiers* [online]. s.l.: Net Industries LLC., 2009j. (Science Encyclopedia - The History of Ideas Vol 1). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://science.jrank.org/pages/8485/Borders-Borderlands-Frontiers-Global-Defining-Borders-Borderlands-Frontiers.html>>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Europe agreement* [online]. European Commission Enlargement (Ed.), *Glossary*. s.l.: European Commission Enlargement, s.d.-a. [cited 26 Feb. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/glossary/terms/europe-agreement\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/glossary/terms/europe-agreement_en.htm)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Geopolitic* [online]. *The Unabridged Hutchinson Encyclopedia*. Research Machines plc, 2004c. [cited 18 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://encyclopedia.farlex.com/Geopolitic>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Other* [online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009k. (The Oxford Pocket Dictionary Of Current English). [cited 22 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/10999-other.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pan-Slavism* [online]. Sixth ed. s.l.: HighBeam™ Research, Inc., 2008h. (Encyclopedia.com). [cited 22 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Pan-Slavism.aspx>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Recognition* [online]. *The American Heritage® New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*. 3th ed. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/recognition>>.>.



- \_\_\_\_\_. *Recognition* [online]. *The American Heritage® New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*. 4th ed. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2009b. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/recognition>>.
- Clément, Olivier. *L'église Orthodoxe* [online]. (Orthodox Church). 2008 ed. Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis Online, 2008. (Encyclopaedia Universalis). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.universalis-edu.com/article2.php?nref=N131851>>.
- Hill, Christopher. *Foreign Policy* [online]. Krieger, Joel (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bibliotheque Sciences Po, 2001a. [cited 16 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0257>>>.
- Mayhew, Susan. *Border* [online]. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. (A Dictionary of Geography). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<https://acces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t15.e371>>.
- McKean, Erin *Other adj.* [online]. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005 [2001]. (The New Oxford American Dictionary). [cited 22 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t183.e54991>>. ISBN 0-195-17077-6
- Pringle, Robert W. *Balkanization* [online]. 2009 ed. Chicago, IL: Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2009. (Encyclopædia Britannica). [cited 24 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/50323/Balkanization>>.
- Scott, John and Marshall Gordon *Significant Others* [online]. 3th revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1994, 1998, 2005]. (A Dictionary of Sociology). [cited 22 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e2091>>. ISBN 0-199-53300-8

## **Bibliography**

Rosenau, James N. *International Relations* [online]. Krieger, Joel (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bibliotheque Sciences Po, 2001. [cited 16 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<<https://aces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0257>>>.

Soanes, Catherine and Stevenson Angus. *Border n.* [online]. 12th ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008. (The Concise Oxford English Dictionary). [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<https://aces-distant.sciences-po.fr:443/http/www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t23.e6416>>.

Vucinich, Wayne S. *Bessarabia In: Collier's Encyclopedia* 24 vols. Vol. 4. New York: Crowell Collier and MacMillan Inc., 1967. p. 103. (Collier's Encyclopedia). ISBN 1-571-61093-6.

## **Journals, Magazines, Newspapers and Periodicals**

### **Articles**

\_\_\_\_\_. Attacks draw mixed response in Mideast [online]. *CNN.com Edition*, September 12, 2001. [cited 23 June 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/12/mideast.reaction/index.html>>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Bear-baiting in Bucarest. *The Economist*, 2 Aug. 1980. ISSN 0013-0613.

\_\_\_\_\_. CCR a respins contestatia lui CV Tudor in dosarul "Steaua Romaniei" [online]. (RAC Tudor's appeal dismissed in the file "Star of Romania"). *Ziare.com*. [cited 30 July 2009 23:35]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziare.com/corneliu-vadim-tudor/traian-basescu/ccr-a-respins-contestatia-lui-cv-tudor-in-dosarul-steaua-romaniei-627025>>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Cinq roumains ont réussi à quitter leur pays (Five Romanian have managed to leave their country). *Le Monde*, 23 Jun. 1981, p. 30f. ISSN 0395-2037.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Countries around the world are sharing the grief of the U.S. as it becomes clear that hundreds of their citizens were caught in the terrorist attacks on New York [online]. *CNN.com WORLD*, September 14, 2001. [cited 23 June 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/13/world.response/index.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Espoo Convention ruling on Bystroe Canal [online]. *International Rivers and Lakes*, 2006g, no. 45, p. 5. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers\\_lakes\\_news45.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/water/rivers_lakes_news45.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ion Iliescu [online]. *Academia Cațavencu*, 22 December 2004, no. Suplement. [cited 23 Dec. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.catavencu.ro/pdf/supliment\\_Iliescu.pdf](http://www.catavencu.ro/pdf/supliment_Iliescu.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. La marge d'indépendance de la Roumanie vis-à-vis de l'URSS s'est réduite (visite du président de Roumanie à Paris) (The margin of the independence of Romania face to the Soviet Union has diminished (visit of the President of Romania in Paris)). *Le Monde*, 23 June 1980, p. 3a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Le gouvernement prend des mesures draconiennes pour faire face aux graves difficultés alimentaires (The government is taking draconian measures to cope with severe food problems). *Le Monde*, 15 Oct. 1981, p. 4d. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Le poète roumain Ion Caraion demande asile politique en Suisse (The Romanian poet Ion Caraion requests political asylum in Switzerland). *Le Monde*, 27 Nov. 1981, p. 5c. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Les difficultés financières de la Roumanie on fait l'objet d'« échanges de vues approfondis » (visite de S. Andrei en France) (The financial difficulties of Romania made the subject of "deep discussions" (visit of S. Andrei in France)). *Le Monde*, 27 Nov. 1981, p. 4e. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sept nouveaux touristes roumains demandent asile à la France (Seven new Romanian tourists seeking asylum in France). *Le Monde*, 5 Jan. 1981, p. 14f. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. La fièvre de l'exil (le pourquoi de l'exode roumain) (The fever of exile (the reason for the Romanian exodus)). *Le Monde*, 4 Jan. 1982, p. 8d. ISSN 0395-2037.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. Les difficultés économiques ont été au centre de la conférence nationale du parti (Roumanie) (The economic difficulties have been in the centre of the national conference of the party (Romania)). *Le Monde*, 21 Dec. 1982, p. 6d. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. Un écrivain roumain demande l'asile politique à Berne (A Romanian writer asks for political asylum in Bern). *Le Monde*, 27 Jan. 1982, p. 4f. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. Upheaval in the East: A Rising Star; A Man Who Could Become Rumania's Leader [online]. *The New York Times*, p. 15. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/24/world/upheaval-in-the-east-a-rising-star-a-man-who-could-become-rumania-s-leader.html?pagewanted=1&pagewanted=print>>. ISSN 0362-4331.
- \_\_\_\_. Washington confirme la désertion d'un diplomate roumain (Washington confirmed the desertion of a Romanian diplomat). *Le Monde*, 6 Dec. 1982, p. 2a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. L' "organisation" spécialisée dans l'attentat contre les dissidents roumains (The "organization" specializing in the assault against Romanian dissidents). *Le Monde*, 12 Apr. 1983, p. 17a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. La Roumanie ne remboursera pas le principal de ses dettes échues en 1983 (Romania will not reimburse the principal of its debts failed in 1983). *Le Monde*, 5 Jan. 1983, p. 31a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. Sinistre thriller - agissements de Securitate à l'extérieur (Loss thriller - Securitate actions abroad). *Le Monde*, 6 Apr. 1983, p. 3e. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. Trois membres de la minorité hongroise protestent contre la violation des droits de l'homme (Three members of the Hungarian minority protesting against the violation of human rights). *Le Monde*, 26 March 1983, p. 3c. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_. Romania pulls down the shutters on a critical world. *Financial Times*, 8 Dec. 1987. ISSN 0307-1766.
- \_\_\_\_. Europe's tyrant. *The Guardian*, 22 Sep. 1988. ISSN 0261-3077.
- \_\_\_\_. A Romanian threat to the Warsaw Past. *Financial Times*, 9 Aug. 1988. ISSN 0307-1766.
- \_\_\_\_. Un avertissement à M. Ceausescu (A warning to Mr. Ceausescu). *Le Monde*, 11 March 1989. ISSN 0395-2037.

- \_\_\_\_\_. La CEE suspend sa coopération économique (ECE suspends its economic cooperation). *Le Monde*, 16 Jun. 1990. ISSN 0395-2037.
- \_\_\_\_\_. În viitor o unificare după modelul german (In Futur an unification on the German's Model). *România Liberă*, August 9, 1991, p. 8. ISSN 0304-3517
- \_\_\_\_\_. La France bienvenue [online]. (France are welcome). *L'Humanité*, 19 April 1991. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.humanite.fr/1991-04-19\\_Articles\\_-LA-FRANCE-BIENVENUE](http://www.humanite.fr/1991-04-19_Articles_-LA-FRANCE-BIENVENUE)>. ISSN 0242-6870.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Chiefs of Moldova and Romania meet [online]. *The New York Times*, January 26, 1992, p. Sec 1 - 9. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/1992/01/26/world/chiefs-of-moldova-and-romania-meet.html>>. ISSN 0362-4331.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Egon Klepsh la București (Egon Klepsh in Bucharest). *Adevărul*, 17 mai 1994, no. 1259, p. 1. ISSN 1016-7587.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Le FMI se mobilise pour conjurer le marasme qui guette les Balkans [online]. (The IMF is mobilized to ward off the slump that threatens the Balkans). *La Tribune*, 22 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/trds000020010911dv4m00rlo>>. ISSN 0989-1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Un impact économique sur l'Europe du Sud-Est [online]. (An economic impact on South-Eastern Europe). *Les Echos*, 21 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/echos00020011213dv4l02h6f>>. ISSN 0153-4831.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Chirac îi urechează pe est-europeni: Prost crescuți și inconștienți [online]. (Chirac calls down on the est-europeans: rude and unconscious). *Evenimentul zilei*, 19 Fev. 2003, p. 9. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507376/Chirac-ii-urecheaza-pe-est-europeni-Prost-crescuti-si-inconstienti/>>. ISSN 1222-3298.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. Geoană: Fostele state comuniste au o "datorie" fata de SUA [online]. (Geoana: The Former Communist States Have a "Debt" to the U.S.). *Ziua - Politică*, 8 Apr. 2003. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/prt.php?id=114792&data=2003-04-08>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Parlamentul a aprobat trimiterea de trupe in Irak [online]. (The Parliament approved the sending of military groups in Irak). *Evenimentul zilei*, 13 March 2003, no. 5101, p. 8. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507964/Parlamentul-a-aprobat-trimiterea-de-trupe-in-Irak/#>>. ISSN 1222-3298.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania Against Granting Independence to Serbian Kosovo Province [online]. *Beta Novinska Agencija*. [cited 23 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://byzantinesacredart.com/blog/2006/11/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Vot pentru declarația de autonomie (Vote for the autonomy declaration). *Bună Ziua Ardeal*, 02 oct. 2006. ISSN 1223-0464.
- A.E.F. L'UE souligne la necessite de poursuivre les reformes, même douloureuses (The EU underlines the need to pursue reforms, even painful). *s.n.*, 23 Jan. 1999.
- A.F.P. La CEE va signer un accord de coopération économique avec Bucarest (The EEC will sign an economic cooperation agreement with Bucharest). *Le Monde*, 19 Sep. 1990. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Andon, Alexandra. România - element esențial al stabilității în Balcani (Romania - esential element of the Balkan stability). *Adevărul*, 27 octombrie 1993, no. 1092, p. 1. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Andreescu, Gabriel. Razboiul din Irak : o pledoarie pentru responsabilitea internationala [online]. (The War in Irak: a pleading for the international responsibility). *Observator cultural*, 25 March 2003 - 31 March 2003, 2003, no. 161, pp. 256-260. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infocframe.phtml?xid=7948&xrubrica=IN%20ACTUALITATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=161>>. ISSN 1454-9883.
- Apostol, Monica. Basescu: Romania, supporter of Nabucco, PEOP projects [online]. *Nine o'Clock*, 15 May 2008, no. 4181, p. 7. [cited 23 Sept 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nineoclock.ro/index.php>>.

- Arsenie, Dan. Aproape un million de moldoveni bat la portile României [online]. (Approximately one million of Moldovan knock at the Romania's Door). *Evenimentul zilei*, no. 5505. [cited 24 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/847510/Aproape-un-milion-de-moldoveni-bat-la-portile-Romaniei/>>.
- Avril, Pierre. Union Européenne. Un des derniers obstacles à l'accession de Bucarest est levé. La Roumanie décroche le label d'économie de marché (European Union. One of the last obstacles to the accession of Bucharest is lifted. Romania won the label on the market economy). *Le Figaro*, 5 Oct. 2004. ISSN 1082-5852.
- Badin, Andrei. Venitul național pierde circa 5 miliarde de dolari anual [online]. (The National Budget loses around...). *Adevărul*, 6 iunie 2006. [cited 26 June 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/venitul-na-x163-ional-pierde-circa-5-miliarde-de-dolari-anual/187112>>. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. *Observatul militar*, 2008c, vol. 13, no. 945, p. 11. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/11.pdf>>. ISSN 1223-3641.
- Bellamy, Christopher. No-Headline [online]. *The Independent*, Jul 10, 1997. [cited 11 Dec. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://216.239.116.135/p/articles/mi\\_qn4158/is\\_/ai\\_n14123746](http://216.239.116.135/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_/ai_n14123746)>.
- Binder, Davis. Romanian Diplomat Pushed Into Exile in U.S. [online]. *The New York Times*, October 9, 1990. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE1DB1239F93AA35753C1A966958260&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>. ISSN 0362-4331.
- Bran, Mirel. A la frontière serbo-roumaine, la contrebande refléurit (At the Serbian-Romanian border, smuggling blossoms). *Le Monde*, 16 Apr. 1999. ISSN 0395-2037.

## **Bibliography**

- Bran, Mirel. Solidarité orthodoxe en Roumanie [online]. (Orthodox Solidarity in Romania). *Le Monde*, 14 avril 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com> Document Lemond0020010907dv4e00sbp>. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Campiche, Christian. Trianon ou le destin brisé de la Hongrie [online]. (Trianon or The break Hungary's Destiny). *La Liberté*, vol. 138e année, 20 février 2009, p. 10. [cited 23 Feb. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://histoirevivante.rsr.ch/xobix\\_media/files/tsr/docs/2009/histoirevivante\\_ve200209.pdf](http://histoirevivante.rsr.ch/xobix_media/files/tsr/docs/2009/histoirevivante_ve200209.pdf)>.
- Cassen, Bernard. La Communauté européenne sous le choc [online]. (The European Community in shock). *Le Monde diplomatique*, no. 426, Septembre 1989, p. 19. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=11179&lang=1>>. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Cercelescu, Gheorghe. România în noua arhitectură a Europei (Romania in the new European framework). *Adevărul*, 2 februarie 1993, no. 865, p. 1-8. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Cesereanu, Ruxandra. Fenomenul Piața Universității 1990 [online]. (The Phenomenon of the University Square in 1990). *Revista 22*, May 12, 2003, no. 445, p. 1. [cited 23 Feb. 2009] HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/fenomenul-piata-universitatii-1990-445.html>>. ISSN 1583-6029.
- Châtelot, Christophe. Profession: trafiquant d'essence: Les autorités roumaines doivent faire face à l'expansion du commerce illégal des carburant depuis l'instauration de l'embargo (Profession: trafficker gasoline: The Romanian authorities are faced with the expansion of the illegal trade in fuel since the imposition of the embargo). *Le Monde*, 28 Aug. - 29 Aug. 1994. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Châtelot, Christophe. En normalisant ses relations avec l'Ukraine la Roumanie cherche les faveurs de l'OTAN (By normalizing its relations with Ukraine Romania searches the favours of NATO). *Le Monde*, 6 Jun.1997. ISSN 0395-2037.



- Chikoff, Irina de. Aux frontières du monde slave : La Roumanie veut intégrer l'Europe, Mais son cœur bat pour la Serbie... (At the boundaries of slave World: Romania wants to integrate into Europe, but his heart beats for Serbia...). *Le Figaro*, 14 Apr. 1999. ISSN 1082-5852.
- Chirieac, Bogdan. "Dacă securitatea României va fi amenințată, NATO va interveni" ("If the security of Romania will be threaten, NATO will intervin"). *Adevărul*, 8 octombrie 1993, no. 1076, p. 1-8. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Ciocărlie, Alin Theodor. România văzută de peste Atlantic (Romania vue from the other part of the Atlantic). *Adevărul*, 3-4 Aprilie 1993, no. 917, p. 8. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Cody, Edward. Snubbed, a Determined Romania Makes NATO Entry 'Our Main Target'. *The Washington Post*, 27 Aug. 1997, p. A11. ISSN 0190-8286.
- Condon, Christopher. Basescu seeks return to office [online]. *Financial Time*, May 21, 2007. [cited 14 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nclick\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ffbf1c38-055e-11dc-b151-000b5df10621.html?nclick_check=1)>.
- Constantinescu, Emil. Speech by H.E. Mr. Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania, to the North Atlantic Council. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1997, 1997, vol. III, no. 2, pp. 3-6. ISSN 1224-0968.
- Corley, Felix. MOLDOVA: Religion Law again with President, but concerns remain [online]. *Forum 18*, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/46b306d22.pdf>>. ISSN 1504-2855.
- Cristoiu, Ion. Raportul rafuielii politice [online]. (The report of the political dispute). *Jurnalul National*, 17 Dec. 2006. [cited 5 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.jurnalul.ro/articole/5704/raportul-rafuielii-politice>>.
- Daley, Suzanne. After the Attacks: The Alliance; Russia Condemns Attack on U.S. And Vows to Aid NATO Actions [online]. *The New York Times*, September 14, 2001. [cited 23 March 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9903E5D91138F937A2575AC0A9679C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>. ISSN 0362-4331.

## **Bibliography**

- De Gasquet, Pierre. Les pays voisins de la Yougoslavie réclament une aide d'urgence de la BERD [online]. (Neighbouring countries of Yugoslavia calling for urgent assistance from the EBRD). *Les Echos*, 19 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/Document/echos00020011213dv4j02h2k>>. ISSN 0153-4831.
- Diehl, Jackson. Romania Faces Eroding East, West Ties. *Herald Tribune*, 30 Oct. 1986, p. 1-2. ISSN 0294-8052.
- Dobbins, James. NATO's Role in Nation-building [online]. *NATO review*, 2005, no. Summer 2005. [cited 27 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue2/english/art1.html#top>>.
- Dobrescu, Caius. Mizeria „pacifismului“. O pledoarie pentru America (II) [online]. (The abjectness of the pacifism: a pleading for America (II)). *Observator cultural*, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003a, no. 159. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infoframe.phtml?xid=7858&xrubrica=SOCIETATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=159>>. ISSN 1454-9883.
- Dobrescu, Caius. Mizeria pacifismului (I) [online]. (The abjectness of the pacifism (I)). *Observator cultural*, 4 March 2003 -10 March 2003, 2003b, no. 158. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infoframe.phtml?xid=7803&xrubrica=SOCIETATE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>. ISSN 1454-9883.
- Dogar, Andreea. Ceaușescu voia rachete americane de frica rușilor [online]. (Ceausescu wanted U.S. missile from fear of Russians). *Evenimentul zilei*, Veneri, 06 February 2009. [cited 6 feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/838773/Ceausescu-voia-rachete-american-de-frica-rusilor/>>. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Dragomir, Marius. Curing the Past [online]. *Central Europe Review*, vol. 3, no. 10, 12 March 2001. [cited 6 feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ce-review.org/01/10/dragomir10.html>>. ISSN 1212-8732.

- Dumitru, Raluca. Marko Bela vrea înapoi „țara pierdută la 1918” [online]. (Marko Bela wants back 'the country lost in 1918'). *Gândul*, 22 octombrie 2007. [cited 28 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gandul.info/actualitatea/marko-bela-vrea-inapoi-tara-pierduta-1918.html?3927;963984>>. ISSN 1841-2726.
- Dupoy, Georges. Roumanie : une diplomatie en liberté surveillée (Romania: diplomacy on probation). *Le Monde*, 2 Feb. 1984, p. 4a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Duverger, Maurice. De la Communauté à la Confédération [online]. *Le Monde*, 7 June 1991, no. 14419. [cited 26 May 2008]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=16624&lang=1>>. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Eleuterio, Fortino F., Mons. The Romanian Orthodox and Roman Churches [online]. *L'Osservatore Romano English Edition*, Januray, 10 2009, p. 8. [cited 23 Oct. 2009] HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ewtn.com/library/CURIA/PCCUORTH.HTM>>. ISSN B00007B0B4.
- Enescu, Tania. Sur le Danube, l'embargo prend toujours l'eau (On the Danube, the embargo still takes water). *Libération*, 10 Nov. 1992. ISSN 0335-1793.
- Evan, Thomas. In Bosnia, A Policy Built on Personality [online]. *Newsweek*, 1995. [cited 27 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.newsweek.com/id/104406>>. ISSN 0028-9604.
- EurActive Romania. Interview with Romania's minister fro European integration Anca Boagiu [online]. *EurActive*, 24 October 2005. [cited 28 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/interview-romania-minister-european-integration-anca-boagiu/article-146369>>. ISSN 1803-2486.
- European Communities. Agreement establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development - EBRD [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC)*, pp. 4-26. [cited 24 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/prepareCreateTreatiesWorkspace/treatiesGeneralData.do?step=0&redirect=true&treatyId=532>>. ISSN 1725-2555.

## **Bibliography**

- European Communities. Treaty on European Union [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities*, vol. 35, p. 115. [cited 28 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC\\_1992\\_191\\_\\_1\\_EN\\_0001.pdf](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/tif/JOC_1992_191__1_EN_0001.pdf)>. ISSN 0378-6986.
- European Union. Protocol Concerning the conditions and arrangements for admission of the republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC)*, vol. 48, pp. 29-45. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:157:0029:0045:EN:PDF>>. ISSN 1725-2555.
- European Union. Treaty Between [...] (member States of the European Union) and The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania Concerning the Accession of The Republic of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC)*, vol. 48, 2005, pp. 11-27. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:157:0011:0027:EN:PDF>>. ISSN 1725-2555.
- European Union. Regulation (EC) No 1638/2006 Of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument [online]. *Official Journal of the European Communities (OJEC)*, vol. L 310, 2006, pp. 1-14. [cited 23 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj\\_l310\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/oj_l310_en.pdf)>. ISSN 1725-2555.
- Faure, Justine. Croisade américaine en 1950: La délivrance des "Nations captives" d'Europe de l'Est [online]. (American Crusade in 1950: The issue of "Captive Nations" in Eastern Europe). *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, no. 73, Jan. 2002 - March 2002, pp. 5-13. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0294-1759%28200201%2F03%290%3A73%3C5%3ACAE1LD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23>>. ISSN 0294-1759.

- Filipescu, Radu. Dezbateri GDS – Kosovo și Irak – reacția societății și a clasei politice românești (Debate GDS - Kosovo and Irak - the reaction of the society and of the Romanian political class). *Revista 22*, 29 Apr. 2003 – 5 Mai 2003, 2003, no. 686, pp. 10-12. ISSN 1583-6029.
- Filotti, Eugen. Europeism sau românism (European or Romanian). *Cuvântul liber*, vol. II-a, no. 2, 1924, pp. 18-19. Filotti, Eugen Address.
- Filotti, Eugen. Europeism sau românism (European or Romanian). *Cuvântul liber*, vol. II-a, no. 1, 1924, pp. 2-4. Filotti, Eugen Address.
- Filotti, Eugen. Gândul nostru (Our Thought). *Cuvântul liber*, vol. II-a, no. 1, 1924, pp. 2-4. Filotti, Eugen Address.
- Fitchett, Joseph. Q&A: For NATO, U.S. Role in Bosnia Is Crucial [online]. *International Herald Tribune*, September 27, 1993. [cited 21 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://www.iht.com/articles/1993/09/27/qanda\\_2.php?page=1](http://www.iht.com/articles/1993/09/27/qanda_2.php?page=1)>.
- Gogolewska, Agnieszka, Năstase Dorina and Osolnik Marko. The 'other Europe' seeks a welcome *The World Today*, 1997, vol. 53, no. 5, pp. 122-124. ISSN 0043-9134.
- Guetta, Bernard. La Roumanie demande que cesse la «politique de force et de diktat» (Romania calls for end to the "policy of force and diktat"). *Le Monde*, 6 Jan. -7 Jan. 1980, p. 3a. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Guvernul României. Programme de (sic) Gouvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. ISSN 1224-0958.
- Hatto, Ronaldo and Tomescu Odette. Frontières et identités. La Moldavie et la Roumanie dans l'Europe élargie [online]. (Borders and Identities. The Moldova and Romania in the Enlarged Europe). *Etudes internationales*, vol. 36, no. 3, Sept. 2005, pp. 317-338. [cited 18 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from:  
<[www.erudit.org/revue/ei/2005/v36/n3/012025ar.pdf](http://www.erudit.org/revue/ei/2005/v36/n3/012025ar.pdf)>. ISSN 0014-2123.

## **Bibliography**

- Hertzberg, Handrik. Lost Love [online]. *The New Yorker*, September 11, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2006/09/11/060911ta\\_talk\\_hertzberg?printable=true](http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2006/09/11/060911ta_talk_hertzberg?printable=true)>. ISSN 0028-792X.
- Hill, Cissie Dore. Voice of Hope: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty [online]. *Hoover Digest*, no. 4. [cited 26 Feb. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3475896.html>>. ISSN 1088-5161.
- Holley, David. As Romania Struggles, President's Reelection Chances Shrink [online]. *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2000, p. A-8. [cited 2 Aug. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://articles.latimes.com/2000/may/28/news/mn-35021>>. ISSN 0458-3035.
- Hurezeanu, Emil. Mergem cu americanii si cu englezii [online]. (We go with the Americans and the English). *Evenimentul zilei*, 18 Fev. 2003, p. 1. [cited 29 Fev. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/507551/Mergem-cu-americanii-si-cu-englezii/#>>. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Iancu, Alecs. National Initiative leader: Real axis for Romania is Washington-Moscow [online]. *Bucharest Daily News*. [cited 18 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-151828681.html>>.
- Iliescu, Ion. Letter of Application on NATO Membership from the President of Romania to the Secretary General of NATO. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1997, 1993, vol. III, no. 2, pp. 203-205. ISSN 1224-0968.
- Ionescu, Costin. Prioritățile diplomației române în anul 2004 [online]. (The priorities of the Romanian Diplomacy in 2004). Trans. Les priorités de la diplomatie roumaine en 2004 par Rusu, Oana. *Cotidianul*, 7 ianuarie 2004. [Cited 23 Jan. 2006]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.paixbalkans.org/presse\\_roumanie.htm](http://www.paixbalkans.org/presse_roumanie.htm)>.
- Kalinowski, Wojtek and Pech Thierry. La Roumanie entre Europe et Amérique - Entretien avec Cristian Preda. (Romania between Europe and America – Interview with Cristian Preda). *La Vie de Idées*, Décembre 2005/Janvier 2006, 2006, no. 8, pp. 65-74. ISSN 1768-4390.

- Laguiller, Arlette. Ceux qui en occident profitaient de la dictature de Ceausescu (Those in the West who took advantage of the Ceausescu dictatorship). *Lutte ouvrière*, 5 Jan. 1990. ISSN 0024-7650.
- Laux, Jeanne. L'aggravation des difficultés économiques incite au resserrement des liens avec le Comecon (The worsening economic hardships encourages closer links with the Comecon). *Le Monde diplomatique*, Feb. 1982, p. 7. ISSN 0026-9395.
- Lazescu, Alexandru. Efectele colaterale ale crizei irakiene [online]. (Collateral effects of the Iraq crisis). *Revista 22*, 25 Feb. 2003 - 3 March 2003, 2003, no. 677. [cited 03 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=376&nr=2003-03-03>>. ISSN 1583-6029.
- Lemaitre, Philippe. Bucarest établit des liens directs avec la C.E.E. (Bucharest establishes direct links with the EEC). *Le Monde*, 10 Feb. -11 Feb. 1980, p. 2e. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Lefter, Ion Bogdan. Context Irak : optiunea Romaniei [online]. (Iraq context: Romania's option). *Observator cultural*, 4 March 2003 -10 March 2003, 2003, no. 158. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.observatorcultural.ro/infocframe.phtml?xid=7804&xrubrica=ARTICOLE&return=arhiva&xnrrevista=158>>. ISSN 1454-9883.
- Lemaitre, Philippe. La C.E.E et la Roumanie concluent un accord commercial (ECE and Romania concluded a trade agreement). *Le Monde*, 30 March - 31 March 1980, p. 16b. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Lolu, Liviu. Ceaușescu a cerut rachete de la americani [online]. *Evenimentul zilei*, Veneri, 06 February 2009. [cited 6 feb. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/838713/Ceausescu-a-cerut-rachete-de-la-americani/>>. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Luca, Ioan (Col.). Președintele Emil Constantinescu a pledat cauza integrării României în NATO (The President Emil Constantinescu pledged the cause of Romania's integration in NATO). *Observatorul Militar*, 1-8 decembrie 1998, no. 48 (467), p. 2. ISSN 1206-3641.

## **Bibliography**

- Macovei, Vlad, Palade Gabriela, Moise Lidia, *and al.* Palma cu mănua de mătase [online]. (A slap with a velvet glove). *Evenimentul zilei*, 7 november 2003, no. 3515. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/632730/Palma-cu-manusa-de-matase/#>>. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Meleşcanu, Teodor. The Accession to the European Union: The Fundamental Option of Romania's Foreign Policy. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 26-30. ISSN 1224-0958.
- Meleşcanu, Teodor. România este un contributor important la toate operațiile aliate [online]. (Romania is an important contributor to all allied operations). *Observatul militar*, 2008, vol. 13, no. 945, p. 3. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/03.pdf>>. ISSN 1223-3641.
- Mihas, D. E. M. Romania Between Balkan Nationalism and Democratic Transition [online]. *Politics*, September 1997, 1997, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 175-181. [cited 19 Jan. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9256.00050>>.
- Mocenigo, Anthony J. NATO in the nineties: implication for U.S. business - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [online]. *Business America*, 1990. [cited 27 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m1052/is\\_n19\\_v111/ai\\_8960956](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1052/is_n19_v111/ai_8960956)>.
- Mossu, Laurent. Epreuve de force entre l'ONU at Bucharest. Un expert des Nations unies serait retenu contre son gré depuis l'an dernier par le gouvernement roumain (Test of strength between the United Nations at Bucharest. An expert of the UN would be held against him last year by the Romanian government). *Le Figaro*, 9 Sep. 1988. ISSN 1082-5852.
- Munteanu, Petre. 50 de Români care au făcut istoria secolului XX (50 Romanian that have made the History in the 20th Century). *Eurolider*, 2005, no. 38, pp. 43-77.
- Naudet, Jean-Baptiste. Un entretien avec M. Teodor Melescanu (An interview with Mr. Teodor Melescanu). *Le Monde*, 16 Jan. 1993, p. 8. ISSN 0395-2037.



- Năstase, Adrian. Le rôle de l'Europe dans la future architecture européenne (The role of Europe in the future European Architecture). *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1995, 1995a, vol. 1, no. 1-2. ISSN 1224-0958.
- Năstase, Adrian. Point de vue - Europe - la plus-value roumaine [online]. (Viewpoint - Europe - the Romanian capital gain). *Le Monde*, 24 Jul. 2001. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com/Document/lemond0020010725dx7o00019>>. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Năstase, Adrian. Politics in Transition. *Central European Issues*, 1995, 1995b, vol. I, no. 1. ISSN 1224-3809.
- Neacșu, Andrei. La rigueur budgétaire en Roumanie menace un important contrat militaire américain (Fiscal tightening in Romania threatens a major American military contract). *Le Monde*, 26 Aug. 1995. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Necșutu, Mădălin and Borcea Tudor. Biserica Ortodoxă Română, atacată de bisericile 'surori' [online]. (The Romanian Orthodox Church, Attacked by Its 'Sister' Churches). *Ziua Online*, no. 4146, 31 Jan. 2008 [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/news.php?data=2008-01-31&id=3053>>.
- Nelson, Daniel N. Insecurity after Communism and the Romanian Case. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 1992, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 65-80. ISSN 1047-4552.
- Nenciu, Robert. Nicușor Constantinescu, președinte al Euroregiunii Marea Neagră [online]. (Nicușor Constantinescu, President of the Black Sea Region). *Telegraf*, vol. XIV, no. 225 (4500), 27-28 Sept. 2008, p. 9. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.telegrafonline.ro/pdf/4574b5b9aa8c07adf9445369bca1715f.pdf>>.
- Nistorescu, C. Mergem cu americanii si cu englezii (We go with the Americans and the English). *Evenimentul zilei*, 18 Fev. 2003, p. 1. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Palade, Rodica and Teodorescu Alin. Urmeaza 12 luni cruciale pentru Romania [online]. (12 crucial months will follow up for Romania). *Revista 22*, 14 Oct. 2003-20 Oct. 2003, 2003, no. 710, p. 112. [cited 03 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=643&nr=2003-10-21>>. ISSN 1583-6029.

## **Bibliography**

- Palmer, Tom G. Globalization is Grrreat! [online]. *Cato's Letter*, Fall 2002, 2002, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 8. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/letters/palmer-catoletters.pdf>>.
- Perlez, Jane. Romania Looks Beyond the Rebuff: Rather Than Sulk on NATO, It Prepares for the Next Time. *International Herald Tribune*, 13 Jul. 1997. ISSN 0294-8052.
- Petrescu, Ion (Col.). Președintele Traian Băsescu: Summitul va da răspunsuri potrivite problemelor de importanță vitală pentru viitorul alianței [online]. (President Traian Băsescu: Summit will give appropriate answers to vital questions for future alliance). *Observatul militar*, 2008, vol. 13, no. 945, p. 2. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2008/13/02.pdf>>. ISSN 1223-3641.
- Popescu, Adrian. Țelul UDMR e autonomia teritorială, care ni se cuvine [online]. *Gândul*, 25 septembrie 2006. [cited 28 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gandul.info/actual/quot-telul-udmr-e-autonomia-teritoriala-ni-cuvine-quot.html?3927;265725>>. ISSN 1841-2726.
- Popeski, Ron. Des milliers de mineurs du Jiu marchent sur Bucarest (Thousands minors of Jiu walk toward Bucharest). *s.n.*, 20 Jan. 1999.
- Preda, Cristian. Chirac are Dreptate [online]. (Chirac is right). *Revista 22*, 11 March 2003 -17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679, p. 6. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=390&nr=2003-03-17>>. ISSN 1583-6029.
- Prisăcaru, Ghiorgi. The National Strategy Preparing Romania's Accesion to the European Union. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 31-55. ISSN 1224-0958.
- Putnam, Robert D. Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games [online]. *International Organization*, Summer 1988, 1988, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 427-460. [cited 16 May 2008 08:50]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.jstor.org/pss/2706785>>. ISSN 0020-8183.

- Radulescu, Bogdan. La Roumanie à la croisée des chemins [online]. (Romania at The Crossroad). *Éléments*, 1997, vol. 90. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/\\_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#](http://www.grece-fr.net/textes/_txtWeb.php?idArt=56#)>.
- Reuters. La CEE divisée sur l'aide à Bucarest (EEC divided on aid to Bucharest). *Le Monde*, 18 Jun. 1990. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Reuters. Belgrade met en garde ses voisins, l'Otan promet de les protéger (Belgrade warns its neighbours, NATO promises to protect them). *s.n.*, 24 March 1999.
- Reuters. Manifestation anti-Otan à Bucarest [online]. (Anti-NATO manifestations in Bucharest). *s.n.*, 17 Apr. 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com> Document reutfr0020010908dv4h014it>.
- Reuters. Roumanie-Le parlement réclame la fin de la répression yougoslave (Romania-Parliament calls for the end of the Yugoslav repression). *s.n.*, 30 March 1999.
- Reuters. Roumanie - Affrontements entre policiers et mineurs (Romania - Clashes between police and minors). *s.n.*, 21Jan. 1999.
- Reuters. Presa europeana - convinsa ca Romania nu are economie de piata [online]. *Adevărul*, 7 nov. 2003, no. 4156. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/2003/presa-europeana-convinsa-ca-romania-nu-are-economie-de-piata.html>>. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Rivais, Rafaële. Bruxelles menace de retarder l'adhésion de la Roumanie et de la Bulgarie [online]. (Brussels threatens to delay the accession of Romania and Bulgaria). *Le Monde*, 12 Jan. 2005. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com> Document LEMOND0020050111e11c0000n>. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Rodina, Mihaela. La Roumanie réforme pour gagner la faveur du FMI et de la BM (Romania reforms to win the support of IMF and WB). *Le Quotidien Suisse des Affaires et de la Finance (AGEFI)*, 14 Jan. 1999.
- Roman, Petre. Letter from the Prime Minister of Romania to the Secretary General of NATO. *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, 1990, vol. III, no. 2, p. 202. ISSN 1224-0958.

## **Bibliography**

- Romanian Government. Programme de (sic) Gourvernement 2001-2004 (Government Program 2001-2004). *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2001, 2000b, vol. VII, no. 1-2. ISSN 1224-0958.
- Rovan, Joseph. Un "Khmer rouge" à Bucharest (A "Khmer Rouge" in Bucharest). *Le Monde*, 4 Oct. 1988, p. 2. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Schrader, Esther. Seven New NATO Members Are Hailed in White House Ceremony [online]. *Los Angeles Times*. [cited 23 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://articles.latimes.com/2004/mar/30/world/fg-nato30>>.
- Semo, Marc. L'Otan, idée fixe des Roumains (The NATO, the fixed idea of Romanians). *Libération*, 4 Nov. 1996, p. 10. ISSN 0335-1793.
- Semo, Marc. Guerre au Kosovo. Les pays voisins face au conflit. Le déchirement roumain [online]. (War in Kosovo. Neighbouring countries in the conflict. The Romanian tearing). *Libération*, 27 Mai 1999. [cited 11 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factivat.com Document lbrt000020010907dv5r00ie5>>. ISSN 0335-1793.
- Severin, Adrian. Anti-unionism sau anti-romanism? [online]. (Anti-Unionism and Anti-Romanian?). *Ziua*, no. 2238, 23 Oct. 2001. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2001-10-23&id=74533&keyword=biserica+si+moldova>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- Sima, Oana. Valeriu Stoica: 80% din fondurile partidelor sunt obtinute ilegal [online]. (Valeriu Stoica: 80% of the parties' funds are got illegally). *Ziua*, 28 Oct. 2000, no. 1939. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?data=2000-10-28&id=52455>>. ISSN 1583-8021.
- Socor, Vladimir. Putin fails to win concessions from NATO. Russia at the NATO Summit: Cooperative Rhetoric, Zero-Sum Prectice [online]. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 1 July 2004, 2004, vol. 1, no. 43. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cdi.org/russia/313-15.cfm>>.
- Solovyov, Dmitry and Zawadzki Sabina. Moscow warns EU over Moldova [online]. *The Independent*, 10 April 2009. [cited 22 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/moscow-warns-eu-over-moldova-1666848.html>>.

- Soulé, Véronique. La tache indélébile de l'épisode des mineurs (The indelible mission of the minors episode). *Liberation*, 18 Apr. 1990. ISSN 0335-1793.
- Stoica, Șerban. Conferința de presă de la Muzeul Satului (Press Conference at the Paysan Museum). *Evenimentul zilei*, 19 iulie 1997, no. 1539. ISSN 1222-3298.
- Tinu, Dumitru. Discursul președintelui României la reunuinea la nivel înalt de la Paris a C.S.C.E. (Speech of the Romanian president at the high level meeting of the CSCE in Paris). *Adevărul*, 21 noiembrie 1990, no. I-239, p. VI-A. ISSN 1016-7587.
- Trandafir, Gelu. Interviu cu ambasadorul SUA, Nicholas Taubman. "Romania e cel mai bun prieten pe care îl avem în întreaga lume" [online]. (Interview with U.S. ambassador, Nicholas Taubman. "Romania is The Best Friend We Have in The World"). *România Liberă*, 27 Decembrie 2006. [cited 23 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romanalibera.ro/a81558/romania-e-cel-mai-bun-prieten-pe-care-il-avem-in-intreaga-lume.html>>.
- Traynor, Ian. Crisis in the National Salvation Front [online]. *The Guardian*, 18 June 1990, no. 1. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factiva.com/Document/grdn000020011128dm6i005vf>>.
- Traynor, Ian. Revolution 'not against communism' [online]. *The Guardian*, 19 May 1990. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://global.factiva.com/Document/grdn000020011128dm5j0053u>>.
- Trean, Claire. Roumanie : les pressions internationales sur le régime de M. Ceausescu (Romania: international pressure on the regime of Ceausescu). *Le Monde*, 18 March 1989. ISSN 0395-2037.
- Uffe, Ellemann-Jensen. Two dangerous signals from the Bucharest NATO summit [online]. *The Daily Star - Lebanon*, April 10, 2008. [cited 23 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition\\_id=1&category\\_id=5&article\\_id=90812](http://www.dailystar.com.lb/article.asp?edition_id=1&category_id=5&article_id=90812)>.

## **Bibliography**

- Ungureanu, Traian. Din nou, nimic nou pe Frontul de Vest [online]. (Again, nothing new on the West Front). *Revista 22*, 11 March 2003 - 17 March 2003, 2003, no. 679. [cited 29 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/html/index.php?art=389&nr=2003-03-17>>. ISSN 1583-6029.
- Vătăman, Alina. „România nu va permite transformarea Prutului într-o Cortină de Fier” [online]. ("Romania will not permit the transformation of the Prut River in a Iron Curtain"). *Evenimentul zilei*, no. 5505. [cited 24 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.evz.ro/articole/detalii-articol/847445/Romania-nu-va-permite-transformarea-Prutului-intr-o-cortina-de-fier/>>.
- Verluisse, Pierre. Roumanie : l'espérance trahie, propos recueillis de Radu Portocala (Romania: hope betrayed, statements obtained by Radu Portocala). *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 21 Jan. 1992. ISSN 1084-7340.
- Vianu, Tudor. Prima expoziție internațională Contemporanul (First International Contemporaine exposition). *Mișcarea Literară*, 1924, 1924, no. 4.
- Wagstyl, Stefan and Marsh Virginia. Romania in bid to alter deal terms. *Financial Times*, 2 Sep. 1998, p. 4. ISSN 0307-1766.
- Wajzman, Patrick. Le jumeau de Ceausescu (The twin of Ceausescu). *Le Figaro*, 22 Jun. 1990. ISSN 1082-5852.
- Wood, Paul. Looking back on election 2004 - Romania's Orange Revolution [online]. *Vivid*, 23 Jan. 2010, 2005, no. 69, p. 69. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.vivid.ro/vivid69/pages69/election\\_back69.htm](http://www.vivid.ro/vivid69/pages69/election_back69.htm)>.
- Yasmann, Victor. Russia: Moscow Content To Block Kosovo Resolution [online]. *RadioFreeEurope*, 13 July 2007. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1077614.html>>.
- Zakheim, Dov S. NATO's Role in the U.S. Grand Strategy: Should Europe Remain the Prime Focus of U.S. Foreign Policy? [online]. *The Heritage Foundation*, 1989, p. 6. [cited 23 Sept. 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/upload/92573\\_1.pdf](http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/upload/92573_1.pdf)>. ISSN 0272-1155.

**Electronic Articles**

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1989, chute du mur: la fin d'une époque [online]. (1989, fall of the wall: the one time end). *Deutschaland ONLINE*, 26 July 2004. s.l.: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei GmbH, 2006a. [cited 16 April 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/issue/Essays\\_4-04\\_Mauerfall\\_FRA\\_F1.php?&lang=deu](http://www.magazine-deutschland.de/issue/Essays_4-04_Mauerfall_FRA_F1.php?&lang=deu)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *About number and composition population of Ukraine by data All-Ukrainian population census'2001 data* [online]. 2001f. State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Basescu: Romania continues its support to Moldova's EU accession [online]. *Moldova.org*. Washington, D.C.: Moldova Foundation, 2010a. [cited 18 May 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/basescu-romania-continues-its-support-to-moldovas-eu-accession-200700-eng.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Basescu linked to Securitate [online]. *Kathimerini*, 2 Sept. 2009. Athens: Kathimerini, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/\\_w\\_articles\\_world\\_0\\_02/09/2009\\_110335](http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_world_0_02/09/2009_110335)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Commission asked to launch Danube Strategy [online]. *EurActiv*, 21 Jan. 2010. Brussels: EurActiv, 2010b. [cited 8 Feb. 8 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/priorities/commission-asked-launch-danube-strategy/article-189130>>. ISSN 1803-2486.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Contributions by the United States. United States key role in development, support of human rights [online]. Washington, DC: America.gov, 2008f. [cited March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.america.gov/st/democracyhr-english/2008/March/20080325141735myleen0.5100214.html>>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. Defence Minister Oprea - US invitation to Romania, a foreign policy success.pdf [online]. *www.romaniapress.com*. Bucharest: Romanian National Press Agency 2010c. [cited 8 Feb. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romaniapress.com/news-1004328.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_. Dovada Bukovski [online]. (Bukovsky's Proof). *Ziua*, 23 Jan. 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2009] Address. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?id=199569&data=2006-05-15>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_. Ethno-demographic Structure of Romania [online]. 2002c, 16 June 2009. Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center. [cited 18 June 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.edrc.ro/recensamant.jsp>>.
- \_\_\_\_. Gazprom Agrees To Boost Pipeline Capacity [online]. *DownstreamToday*, 15 May 2009: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 2009c. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a\\_id=16386&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1](http://downstreamtoday.com/news/article.aspx?a_id=16386&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1)>.
- \_\_\_\_. Italy Sends Romanians Home [online]. Nov. 8, 2007, Nov. 8, 2007. Sarajevo: Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, 2007. [cited Feb. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://birn.eu.com/en/111/15/5745/>>.
- \_\_\_\_. La Roumanie accueillera une partie du bouclier antimissile américain [online]. (Romania will host a part of U.S. missile defense system). *NovelObs.com*, 4 Febr. 2010. Paris: Le Nouvel Observateur, 2010d. [cited Feb. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/europe/20100204.OBS5874/la\\_roumanie\\_accueillera\\_une\\_partie\\_du\\_bouclier\\_antimiss.html](http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/actualites/international/europe/20100204.OBS5874/la_roumanie_accueillera_une_partie_du_bouclier_antimiss.html)>.
- \_\_\_\_. Moldova: The Example Of Gagauz-Yeri As An 'Unfrozen Conflict' Region [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, April 05, 2007. Prague, Czech Republic: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2007c. [cited Feb. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1075722.html>>.



- \_\_\_\_\_. Moscow changes strategy on Transdnistria [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3020. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=147927&data=2004-05-21>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Nabucco Gas Pipeline is Approved [online]. *BBC News online*, 27 June 2006 16:22 GMT. London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2006b. [cited 10 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/business/5121394.stm>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. No gifts in Foreign Policy [online]. *Radio Romania International*, Sept. 4, 2009. Bucharest: Radio Romania International, 2009d. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rri.ro/art.shtml?lang=1&sec=11&art=24750>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Novy ustav Rumynskoy tserkvi podtverdil "vossozdaniye" trekh eparkhy v sostave "Bessarabskoy mitropolii" [online]. (Romanian Orthodox Church Confirms Establishment of Eparchies in Ukraine and Moldova). *Interfax Religion*, 24 January 2008, 12:48. Moscow: Interfax, 2008g. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=22510>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Participation aux opérations [online]. (UN peace operations). *Réseau francophone de recherche sur les opérations de paix (ROP)*. Montréal: Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal (CÉRIUM), s.d. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.operationspaix.net/Roumanie>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. President Traian Basescu presented to the Diplomatic Corp accredited to Bucharest the priorities of the Romanian foreign policy [online]. January 18, 2005. Bucharest: Mediafax, 2005c. [cited Feb. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.roembus.org/english/news/international\\_media/2005/January/Mediafax\\_18\\_01\\_2005\\_President%20Traian%20Basescu%20presented%20to%20the%20foreign%20ambassadors%20to%20Bucharest%20the%20priorities%20of%20the%20Romanian%20foreign%20policy.htm](http://www.roembus.org/english/news/international_media/2005/January/Mediafax_18_01_2005_President%20Traian%20Basescu%20presented%20to%20the%20foreign%20ambassadors%20to%20Bucharest%20the%20priorities%20of%20the%20Romanian%20foreign%20policy.htm)>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. Punctul de vedere al Partidului Conservator in urma prezentarii, in Parlamentul Romaniei, a raportului intocmit de Comisia prezidentiala pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste [online]. (Point of view of the Conservative Party after the presentation, at the Romanian Parliament, a report from the Presidential Commission for the analysis of communist dictatorship). *Partidul Conservator*, 18 Dec. 2006. București: Partidul Conservator, 2006c. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.pur.ro/print.php?i=1346>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Putin 97% [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3037. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004e. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149560&data=2004-06-10>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Putin is 98% sure about hypothesis Basarabia against Transdnistria [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3039. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004f. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149799&data=2004-06-12>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Rice Hails Romania as One of United States' "Strongest Friends" [online]. *U.S. Mission to the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State, 2005d. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://useu.usmission.gov/Article.asp?ID=755B2E9A-F26E-4A90-B7C3-CC1FEEFED643>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania - A bridge Between East and West [online]. *A Challenge for the Future*. Bucharest: Radio Romania International, 2009e. [cited May, 22 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rri.ro/art.shtml?lang=1&sec=11&art=21886>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania: RFE/RL Speaks With Foreign Minister Mihai Razvan [online]. *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, August 27, 2005. Prague, Czech Republic: RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, 2005e. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060980.html>>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania strives to attach Moldova to Balkan EU train [online]. *EurActive*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2010e. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/Romania-strives-to-attach-Moldova-to-Balkan-EU-train>>. ISSN 1803-2486.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania Supporting Montenegro's EU accession [online]. *New Europe - The European Weekly*. Brussels: The Media Company, 2009f. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.neurope.eu/articles/Romania-supporting-Montenegros-EU-accession/96768.php>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania to Lobby for Agriculture Commissioner [online]. *EurActive*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2009g. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/future-eu/romania-lobby-agriculture-commissioner/article-185006>>. ISSN 1803-2486.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian Intelligence Service Chief Says 'Foreign Interests' Threaten Country's Economy [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, March 07, 2003, 7 March 2003. Bucharest: MediaFax, 2003a. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1142870.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian Patriarchate's activity aimed at Moldova's absorption by Romania: Konstantin Zatulin [online]. *Regnum*, 12 May 2007 19:29. Moscow: Regnum News Agency, 2007d. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.regnum.ru/english/927412.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian President Traian Basescu: Recognition of Kosovo's independence can be precedent in the solution of other frozen conflicts [online]. *Apa Xeberimiz Var*, 21 Nov. 2006 15:19. Baku: Azeri-Press Agency, 2006d. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://en.apa.az/news.php?id=16534>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Electronic Article - Romania's MPs Suspend President [online]. *BBC News*, 19 April 2007, 23:18:51 GMT. London: British Broadcasting Cooperation, 2007. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6572003.stm>>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania's president to cancel pardon, pledges to fight corruption [online]. *Associated Press*. Bucharest: Associated Press, 2002. [cited 29 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-49352551.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romania's Tariceanu Reverses Decision on Resignation [online]. *SETimes.com*, July 20, 2005: SETimes, 2007. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/features/2005/07/20/feature-01](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2005/07/20/feature-01)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. România celebrează 130 de relații diplomatice cu Franța, Germania și Marea Britanie [online]. (Romania will Celebrate 130th years of diplomatic relations with France, Germany and Great Britain.). *Arad Online*, Feb. 20, 2010, Vol. 2010, February 20, 2010. Arad: Inform Media, 2010. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.aradon.ro/stiri/mapamond/articol/romania-celebreaza-130-de-relatii-diplomatice-cu-franta-germania-si-marea-britanie/cn/news-20100220-01494479>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian President in open conflict with prime minister [online]. *HotNews.ro*, Jan. 17, 2007: HotNews, 2007. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-archive-1752365-romanian-president-open-conflict-with-prime-minister.htm>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. RUSINE! Eliberindu-l pe Cozma, Iliescu si Nastase isi bat joc de Romania [online]. (Shame! The Release of Cozma, Iliescu and Nastase Make a Joke with Romania). *9 AM News*. Bucharest: Internet Corp SRL 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/Politica/1682/RUSINE-Eliberindu-l-pe-Cozma-Iliescu-si-Nastase-isi-bat-joc-de-Romania.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tension grows between Moldova and Romania [online]. *EurActiv*. Brussels: Fondation EurActiv, 2009h. [cited 22 Apr. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/tension-grows-moldova-romania/article-181183>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The largest gathering of world leaders in history meets in New York to discuss the role of the United Nations in the 21st century. [online]. *BBC News online*, 7 September 2000 09:52 GMT. London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2000a. [cited 6 October 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/904903.stm>>.

## Bibliography

- \_\_\_\_\_. Three Romanian ministers quit [online]. *BBC News*, 20 October 2003 11:08 GMT London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2003b. [cited 4 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3207076.stm>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tismaneanu report opens new Pandora's box [online]. *ACTMedia News Agency*. Bucharest: ACT Media - news agency, s.d.-b. [cited 4 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.actmedia.eu/top+story/tismaneanu+report+open+s+new+pandora%92s+box+/5307>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ukraine accuses Romania of polluting the Tisa [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3112. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004g. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=156653&data=2004-09-06>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ukrainian Minister of Environmental Protection Pavlo Ihnatenko and Romanian Minister of Environment and Water Resources Sulfina Barbu sign joint Protocol [online]. *Ukrainian Radio*, 25 May 2005. Kiev: The National Radio Company of Ukraine, 2005f. [cited 4 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nrcu.gov.ua/index.php?id=148&listid=14590>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Yuschenko: UN International Court Of Justice's Decision On Delimitation Of Black Sea Shelf Between Ukraine And Romania Just [online]. *Ukrainian News*. Kyiv: Ukrainian News Agency, 2009i. [cited 4 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ukranews.com/eng/article/178853.html>>.
- Andreescu, Gabriel, Stan Valentin and Weber Renate. Romania's Relations with the Republic of Moldova [online]. *International Studies*, 30 Oct. 1993. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1994. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/moldova.htm>>.
- Andreescu, Gabriel and Weber Renate. Nationalism and its Impact Upon the Rule of Law in Romania [online]. *International Studies*. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. [cited 4 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://studint.ong.ro/national.htm>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Andriessen, Hans H. J. J. Les changements en Europe centrale et de l'Est. Le rôle de la Communauté européenne [online]. (The Changes in Central and Eastern Europe). *NATO review*, 23 Oct. 2002, Vol. 38, 1. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 1990. pp. 1-6. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/revue/1990/9001-01.htm>>.
- Antonian, Iulia. Geo-strategic Evolutions in Black Sea Region [online]. *Euro-Atlantic Studies*, Oct. 2004, Vol. 7. Bucharest: Centre for Euro-Atlantic Studies, University of Bucharest, 2004. pp. 83-90. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/StiintePOL/euro-atlanticstudies7-2004/cap9.pdf>>.
- Bănescu, Traian. On the road to the Bucharest Summit [online]. *NATO review*, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008a. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART2/EN/index.htm>>.
- Biocina, Marko. Medvedev: Gazprom a 'reliable partner' [online]. *SETimes.com*, 11 Jan. 2010. Moscow: Southeast European Times, 2010. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/articles/2010/01/11/reportage-01](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/articles/2010/01/11/reportage-01)>.
- Blank, Stephen. Analysis: Black Sea Rivalry [online]. *Moldova.org*, April 03, 2007. Washington, D.C.: The Moldova Foundation, 2007. [cited 23 September 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/analysis-black-sea-rivalry-40082-eng.html>>.
- Boros, Crina. Russian dissident who copied the Gorbachev Foundation's archive: Mitterrand and Gorbachev wanted the European Socialist Union, Thatcher opposed Germany's reunification [online]. *HotNews*, 29 Sept. 2009 13:47. Bucharest: HotNews, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-top\\_news-6209804-russian-dissident-who-copied-the-gorbachev-foundations-archive-mitterrand-and-gorbachev-wanted-the-european-socialist-union-thatcher-opposed-germanys-reunification.htm](http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-top_news-6209804-russian-dissident-who-copied-the-gorbachev-foundations-archive-mitterrand-and-gorbachev-wanted-the-european-socialist-union-thatcher-opposed-germanys-reunification.htm)>.

## Bibliography

- Cendrowicz, Leo. Europe Tries to Break Its Russian Gas Habit [online]. *Time.com*, 13 Jul. 2009. New York, NY: Time Inc., 2009. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1910123,00.html>>.
- Chalmers, Johson. America's Empire of Bases [online]. *Common Dreams News Center*, Jan. 15, 2004. Portland, ME: CommonDreams.org, 2004b. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=/views04/0115-08.htm>>.
- Chomsky, Noam and Lee Sun Woo. Korea and International Affaires. Noam Chomsky interviewed by Sun Woo Lee [online]. *Z Net*. s.l.: Z Communication, 2006. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/4362>>.
- Clej, Petru. Romanian politics mired in abuse [online]. *BBC News*, 15 May 2007 17:19:51 GMT. s.l.: BBC Romanian Service, 2007. [cited 17 Sept. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/europe/6653681.stm>>.
- Clubb, David Brian. Foreign Students Boost National Security Keeping Our Universities Open to the World Is Vital to Winning Hearts and Minds [online]. *Pittsburg Post-Gazette*. New York, NY: Institute of International Education Network, 2002. [cited January 9, 2002]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=29462>>.
- Cohen, Ariel and Conway Irwin. U.S. Strategy in the Black Sea Region [online]. *Russia and Eurasia*, December 13, 2006. Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 2006. [cited April 10, 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#\\_ftn29](http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/bg1990.cfm#_ftn29)>.
- Cotoi, Calin. The Danube - orientation of Romania, a key position undermined by Ukraine [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3083. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=153975&data=2004-08-03>>. ISSN 1223-0464.

## **Bibliography**

- Daalder, Ivo H. and Loindsay James M. The Globalization of Politics: America Foreign Policy for a New Century [online]. *Brookings*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2003. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter\\_diplomacy\\_daalder.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/winter_diplomacy_daalder.aspx)>.
- Damian, George. "War to Romania!" [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3141. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=159508&data=2004-10-09>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- De Hoop Scheffer, Jaap Bucharest: a milestone in NATO's transformation [online]. *NATO review*, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART3/EN/index.htm>>.
- Di Puppo, Lili. L'Union européenne avance à tâtons sur la mer Noire [online]. (The European Union is in the dark on the Black Sea). *Caucaz Europeanews*, 2 Nov. 2005, 2005. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.caucaz.com/home/breve\\_contenu.php?id=284](http://www.caucaz.com/home/breve_contenu.php?id=284)>.
- Douay, Abel and Hertault Gérard. Quand Napoléon III suscita la naissance de la Roumanie [online]. (When Napoleon III sparked the birth of Romania). *Napoleon.org*. Paris: Fondation Napoléon, 2008. [cited 8 June 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://195.154.144.20/fr/salle\\_lecture/articles/files/471953.asp#notes](http://195.154.144.20/fr/salle_lecture/articles/files/471953.asp#notes)>.
- Dunai, Marton, Balaci Dumitru, Khokhotva Ivan, *and al.* Oil out of Troubled Waters [online]. *Transitions Online*, 31 July 2003. Prague: Transitions Online, 2003. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.tol.cz/look/TOL/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=4&NrIssue=48&NrSection=2&NrArticle=10317&search=search&SearchKeywords=Oil+out+of+Troubled+Waters&SearchMode=on&SearchLevel=0>>. ISSN 1214-1615.



- Durandin, Catherine. *First part - Romania: the "revolution" of 1989, by Dr. Catherine Durandin, writer and historian. Interview by Pierre Verluise* [online]. 2002. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/english/romania/durandin1.htm>>.
- Durandin, Catherine. *Second part - Romania from 1990-2001, by Dr. Catherine Durandin, writer and historian. Interview by Pierre Verluise* [online]. 2003. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/english/romania/durandin2.htm>>.
- Eberhardt, Piotr *Polacy na Białorusi. Liczebność i rozmieszczenie ludności polskiej według ostatnich spisów powszechnych* [online]. (Poles in Belarus. The numbers and distribution of Polish population according to recent censure ). s.d. Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Polska [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.wspolnota-polska.org.pl/index.php?id=pwko01>>.
- Ekşi, Muharrem. NATO's Global Transformation and Quest for Absolute Hegemony: Missile Defence and Energy Security [online]. *EurasiaCritic*. London, UK: Eurasia Critic NewsAgency Ltd., 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.eurasiacritic.com/june/june\\_eksi.html](http://www.eurasiacritic.com/june/june_eksi.html)>. ISSN 1308-1560.
- Engelhart, Tom and Fraser Steve. Interview with Chalmers Johnson, author of the Sorrows of Empire [online]. *The American Project*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books - Henry Holt and Company s.d. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.americanempireproject.com/johnson/johnson\\_interview.htm](http://www.americanempireproject.com/johnson/johnson_interview.htm)>.
- European Commission. *The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy ?* [online]. 2008. European Commission. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm)>.
- European Commission. *Documents concerning the Enlargement Process with the fifth Enlargement countries* [online]. 2010. European Commission. [cited June 15, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press\\_corner/key-documents/index\\_archive\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press_corner/key-documents/index_archive_en.htm)>.

## **Bibliography**

- European Communities. *Conditions for Enlargement* [online]. 1993a. European Union. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/conditions-for-enlargement/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/the-policy/conditions-for-enlargement/index_en.htm)>.
- European Communities. *Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union* [online]. 1993b. European Union. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002M/htm/C\\_2002325EN.000501.html](http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/en/treaties/dat/12002M/htm/C_2002325EN.000501.html)>.
- European Communities. *The Hague Programme - Ten priorities for the next five years* [online]. 2005b, 2005. European Commission. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/news/information\\_dossiers/the\\_hague\\_priorities/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/information_dossiers/the_hague_priorities/index_en.htm)>.
- Fabre, Emmanuel. De la géopolitique. Le point de vue des dictionnaires de géopolitique [online]. (About geopolitics, from geopolitical dictionaries). *Cybergo. european journal of geography*, 22 June 2007, Vol. Epistemology, History, Teaching, Article 259: Cybergo, 2004. [cited 10 Feb. 2004]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.cybergeog.eu/index3901.html>>. ISSN 1278-3366.
- Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History? [online]. (Available from:). *The National Interest*, 2003, Summer 1989, 1989. [cited 11 Feb. 2008 10:31]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>>.
- Gerbet, Pierre. *The collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe* [online]. Trans. *L'effondrement des régimes communistes en Europe de l'Est* by CVCE. 2004-2008. Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe — CVCE. [cited 15 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.
- Geropoulos, Kostis. Russia Prefers South Stream over Blue Stream II [online]. *New Europe - The European Weekly*, 3 Nov. 2007, 754. Attikis, Greece: News Corporations S.A., 2007. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.neurope.eu/articles/79576.php>>.

- Grove, Thomas and Coskun Orhan. Turkish PM Says Wants Nabucco to Transport Iran Gas [online]. *Reuters UK*, 13 Jul. 2009 9:51am BST. London, UK: Thomson Reuters, 2009. [cited 13 Jul. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKLD60806920090713?sp=true&pageNumber=1>>.
- Hatto, Ronald. Stratégies et intérêts : les relations des Etats-Unis avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale [online]. (Strategies and Interests: the Relationship of the United States with Countries of Central and Eastern Europe). *Diploweb, la revue géopolitique*. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id\\_article=292](http://www.diploweb.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id_article=292)>.
- Heinberg, Richard. The US and Eurasia: End Game for the Industrial Era? [online]. *MuseLetter*, 132. Sebastopol, CA: Post Carbon Institute, 2003. [cited 22 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.richardheinberg.com/museletter/132>>.
- Jefferson, Thomas. The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America [online]. *USHistory.org*. Philadelphia, PA: Independence Hall Association, 1776. [cited 7 October 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document/index.htm>>.
- Jolkver, Nikita. Russia's security strategy considers new and old challenges [online]. *DW-World.de*, 6 July 2009. Bonn: Deutsche Welle, 2009. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,4459148,00.html>>.
- Kulish, Nicholas and Barry Ellen. Romanians Accept Plan for Basing of Missiles [online]. *The New York Times*, 4 Febr. 2010. New York, NY: The New York Times Company, 2010. [cited 23 March 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/05/world/europe/05romania.html>>.
- Kutler, Stanley. Review of Chalmers Johnson's - The Sorrows of Empire [online]. *History News Network*. Seattle, WA: Goerge Mason University, 2004. [cited 29 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://hnn.us/articles/3015.html>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Lebègue, Daniel. *La corruption en Europe* [online]. (Corruption in Europe). 2005. Diploweb, la revue géopolitique. [cited 13 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/corruption.htm>>.
- Lindley-French, Julian and Townsend James Bucharest: Planning and Partnership for security effect in the 21st Century [online]. *NATO review*, March 2008, 03. Brussels, Belgium: NATO - Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, 2008. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2008/03/ART6/EN/index.htm>>.
- Lobjakas, Ahto. Russia: EU Maintains Codependent Energy Relationship [online]. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, May 11, 2006. Prague, Czech Republic: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2006. [cited 23 Sept. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/05/ff605d50-df88-46a9-9f0f-86b88350d1c1.html](http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/05/ff605d50-df88-46a9-9f0f-86b88350d1c1.html)>.
- Luca, Andrei. Nabucco sau South Stream: câștigă primul născut [online]. (Nabucco or South Stream: win the first born ). *România Liberă*, 2 Oct. 2009. București: România Liberă, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.romanialibera.ro/a166418/nabucco-sau-south-stream-castiga-primul-nascut.html>>.
- Mabrier, Patrick (Chef d'Escadron). Depuis la chute du Rideau de fer, quelle politique l'Union européenne met-elle en oeuvre face à la criminalité organisée d'Europe de l'Est ? [online]. (Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, what policy the European Union puts it out front to organized crime from Eastern Europe?). *Diploweb, la revue géopolitique*, Jan. 2005. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2005. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/mabrier.htm>>.
- Malek, Cate and Burgess Heidi Recognition [online]. *Beyond Intractability*. Boulder, CO: Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, 2005. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/recognition/>>. >.
- NATO. *George W. Bush: The Bucharest Summit will be one "marked by success"* [Online]. 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://crib.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=26516>>.

- NATO. *Romania to host NATO summit in spring 2008* [Online]. 2007b, 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 30 July 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://crib.mae.ro/index.php?lang=en&id=31&s=26516>>.
- Nicola, Stefan. Analysis: Europe's Pipeline War [online]. *UPI.com*, 5 Feb. 2008 7:42pm Washington, DC: United Press International, 2008. [cited 23 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.upi.com/Science\\_News/Resource-Wars/2008/02/05/Analysis-Europes-pipeline-war/UPI-24561202258576/](http://www.upi.com/Science_News/Resource-Wars/2008/02/05/Analysis-Europes-pipeline-war/UPI-24561202258576/)>.
- Parmentier, Florent. Un avenir méconnu pour la francosphère : la francophonie chez les Latins orientaux [online]. (A future ignored for the francosphère: francophonie among Eastern Latin). *Francophonie : Le dialogue de Cultures*, 9 October 2006, 2. s.l.: Lianes, 2006. [cited 23 April 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.lianes.org/Un-avenir-meconnu-pour-la-francosphere-la-francophonie-chez-les-Latins-orientaux\\_a116.html?PHPSESSID=7d1e769975e2b3f652821c9d53fe0603](http://www.lianes.org/Un-avenir-meconnu-pour-la-francosphere-la-francophonie-chez-les-Latins-orientaux_a116.html?PHPSESSID=7d1e769975e2b3f652821c9d53fe0603)>. ISSN 1776-3150.
- Pasaniuc, Janina. Basescu: „Kosovo nu poate constitui un precedent” [online]. (Basescu: Kovose can constitute a precedent). *Divers*, 20 Sept. 2008. București: Asociația de Investigatii Media in Balcani, 2008. [cited 23 April 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.humanrights.ro/Members/janina/news/basescu-201ekosovo-nu-poate-constitui-un-precedent201d>>.
- Păduraru, Anca. Border dispute: A Long Shelf Life [online]. *International Relations and Security Network*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies - Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich, 2009. [cited 23 April 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?lng=en&id=97101>>.
- Romanian Government. Chapter XI - Foreign Policy and Promoting the Real Image of Romania [online]. Washington, DC: Embassy of Romania - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000a. [cited 9 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.roembus.org/english/journal/PROGRAM%20GUVENARE/capitolul%2011.htm>>.

## **Bibliography**

- Roncea, Victor. Russia is challenging Romania on Bassarabia [online]. *Ziua - English*, Vol. 3038. Bucharest: Ziua, 2004. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/display.php?id=149655&data=2004-06-11>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- Roncea, Victor. Ucis de Comisia Tismăneanu [online]. (Killed by the Tismaneanu Commission). *ZIUA pe internet*, 8 ianuarie 2007, 3823. București: ZIUA, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.net/prt.php?id=213782&data=2007-01-08>>. ISSN 1223-0464.
- Rozoff, Rick. Black Sea: Pentagon's Gateway to Three Continents and the Middle East [online]. *Global Research*. Montreal, QC: The Centre for Research on Globalization, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=12400>>.
- Rusia la zi. Oleg Serebrian: Unirea Moldovei cu România ar putea avea loc în 2009 [online]. (The Union of Moldova with Romania could be done in 2009). *Unimedia*. Chisinau: New Media Group, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.unimedia.md/?mod=news&id=872>>.
- Schreiber, Thomas. Hongrie : 1956 / 2006 [online]. (Hungary: 1956 / 2006). *Diploweb, la revue géopolitique*, Oct. 2006. Paris: Pierre Verluise, 2006. [cited 15 April 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/hongrie06103.htm>>.
- Serebrian, Oleg. Dossier : "Bulgarie, Roumanie : enjeux d'une nouvelle adhésion". Roumanie et Moldavie: quelles relations après le 1er janvier 2007? [online]. (File: "Bulgaria, Romania: issues of a new membership." Romania and Moldova: What relations after 1 January 2007?). *Regard sur l'Est*, 22 Jan. 2009 Saint-Gratien: Regard sur l'Est, 2006. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.regard-est.com/home/breve\\_contenu.php?id=703](http://www.regard-est.com/home/breve_contenu.php?id=703)>.

- Simon, Jeffrey and Binnendijk Hans. Romania and Nato. Membership Reassessment at the July 1997 Summit [online]. *National Defense University Strategic Forum*, Feb. 1997, Vol. 101, 1997. [cited 28 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Strforum/SF101/forum101.html>>.
- Socor, Vladimir. Gazprom Seducing Romanian Government With South Stream [online]. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 23 Oct. 2008 10:00 PM, Vol. 5, 204. Washington, D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2008a. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=34048](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34048)>.
- Socor, Vladimir. Romania is the Latest Target for Gazprom's South Stream Temptations [online]. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 21 Oct. 2008 10:00 PM, Vol. 5, 201. Washington, D.C.: The Jamestown Foundation, 2008b. [cited 23 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=34037](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34037)>.
- Soulé, Véronique. Roumanie 1990 : une transition cahotique [online]. (Romania 1990: a cahotic transition). *L'état des Balkans*. Paris: La Découverte, 1990a. [cited 12 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://www.afebalk.org/edm/print.php3?id\\_article=87](http://www.afebalk.org/edm/print.php3?id_article=87)>.
- Stan, Valentin. Nationalism and European Security: Romania's Euro-Atlantic Integration [online]. *International Studies*. Bucharest: Center for International Studies, 1995. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<<http://studint.ong.ro/nato.htm#2>>.
- Taylor, Paul and Jukwey James U.S. throws Weight Behind EU's Nabucco Pipeline [online]. *Reuters UK*, 22 Feb. 2008 10:20am GMT. London, UK: Thomson Reuters, 2006. [cited 23 Feb. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://uk.reuters.com/article/UK\\_SMALLCAPSRPT/idUKL2212241120080222](http://uk.reuters.com/article/UK_SMALLCAPSRPT/idUKL2212241120080222)>.
- Thompson, Doug. Bush Ignored the Truth About Iraq [online]. *Capitol Hill Blue*, Aug 17, 2005, 8:27:00 AM. Washington, DC: Capitol Hill Blue, 2005. [cited 23 Oct. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:  
<[http://www.capitolhillblue.com/artman/publish/article\\_7231.shtml](http://www.capitolhillblue.com/artman/publish/article_7231.shtml)>.

## **Bibliography**

- Tremblay, Rodrigue. *Why Not Simply Abolish NATO?* [online]. August 20, 2008 at 5:30 am. s.l.: Tremblay Rodrigue, 2008. [cited 21 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.thenewamericanempire.com/tremblay=1093>>.
- Tuchel, Daniela. Romanians Warn of Danube Delta Ecological Disaster [online]. *Environment News Service*, 28 September 2004. Washington, DC: Environment News Service (ENS), 2004. [cited 21 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/sep2004/2004-09-28-02.asp>>.
- Turturica, Cristian. Iliescu's second referendum [online]. *Nine o'Clock*, 9 Feb. 2010, 2969. Bucharest: Nine o'Clock, 2010. [cited 23 March. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nineoclock.ro/index.php?issue=2969&page=detali&categorie=politics&id=20100209-511707>>.
- Vahl, Marius Borderland of Europe (11): Transforming Transnistria? [online]. *Centre for European Policy Studies*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ceps01.link.be/wp.php?article\\_id=222](http://ceps01.link.be/wp.php?article_id=222)>.
- Verluse, Pierre. Pourquoi la corruption a-t-elle mis en difficulté l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union européenne ? [online]. (Why corruption put in difficulty Romania's accession to the European Union?). *Diploweb, la revue géopolitique*, March 2006. Paris: Pierre Verluse, 2006. [cited 3 Nov. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.diploweb.com/forum/verluse06031roum.htm>>.
- Voldman, Danièle. Le témoignage dans l'histoire française du temps présent [online]. (Testimony in the French history of time present). *Dossier - L'histoire du temps présent, hier et aujourd'hui*, Vol. 75, June 2000. Paris: Institut d'histoire du temps présent, 2000. [cited 19 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ihtp.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article472&lang=fr>>.
- Walt, Stephen M. The downside of soft power [online]. *Foreign Policy - Stephen M. Walt's blog*, January, 28 2009. Washington, DC: Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC., 2009. [cited 21 Nov. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/category/topic/australia>>.



**Audio and Visual Materials**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Discursul Ion Iliescu la TVR* [online]. (Speech of Ion Iliescu on Romanian Public Television). 1989. Bucharest: National TV. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Video Clip. Available from: <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOt\\_0XzOBmo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOt_0XzOBmo)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *European Union* [online]. England: Royal Greenwich Observatory, 2008j. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://wwp.greenwichmeantime.com/time-zone/europe/european-union/map.htm>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ion Iliescu* [online]. Bucharest: Presidency, 2010. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/include/romania/4/TN\\_ii-poza\\_oficiala3.JPG](http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/include/romania/4/TN_ii-poza_oficiala3.JPG)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ion Iliescu - Mineriada din 1990* [online]. (Ion Iliescu - 'Mineriada' in 1990). 2007a. Romania: YouTube. Politica si Istorie. [cited 9 June 2008]. Video Clip. Available from: <[http://www.filme-youtube.ro/games/Ion\\_Iliescu\\_-\\_Mineriada\\_din\\_1990.html](http://www.filme-youtube.ro/games/Ion_Iliescu_-_Mineriada_din_1990.html)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mineriada din 1990.....Street fight at revolution...iliescu* [online]. 1990a. Bucharest: Youtube. [cited 10 June 2008]. Video Clip. Available from: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cbe3VSlAOTI>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Nabucco Gas Pipeline Project Gas Supply Sources for Nabucco* [online]. Oslo, NO: Nabucco Gas Pipeline International GmbH, s.d.-d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/development/Gas\\_Supply\\_Sources\\_20080220\\_518.jpg](http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/cms/upload/development/Gas_Supply_Sources_20080220_518.jpg)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Traian Băsescu* [online]. Bucharest: Presidency, 2010. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/images/portrete/presedinte/3/mic\\_1\\_\\_LUP9036.jpg](http://www.presidency.ro/images/portrete/presedinte/3/mic_1__LUP9036.jpg)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Video interview with Traian Basescu, President of Romania* [online]. 2008a, 23 Jan. 2009. Brussels, Belgium: NATO HQ. Opinion. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2008/s080630b.html>>.

## **Bibliography**

\_\_\_\_\_. *Voyage en Roumanie, discours à l'université de Bucarest* [online]. (Travel to Romania, Speech at the Bucarest University). 1968. Paris: Institut National de l'Audiovisuel. Charles de Gaulle, parole publiques. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Video Clip. Available from: <[http://degaulle.ina.fr/Html/PrincipaleAccueil.php?ouvertureInitiale=1&requeteInitiale=Select+\\*+from+documents+WHERE+documents.DescripteursPrincipaux+LIKE+%27\\_+Politique+exterieure\\_%27+ORDER+BY+DateAffichage%3B&infoRequeteInitiale=Politique+exterieure&typeRequeteInitiale=sql&modeAffichage=fresque&documentZoom=Gaulle00273&documentVisionneuse=Gaulle00273&Hauteur=994](http://degaulle.ina.fr/Html/PrincipaleAccueil.php?ouvertureInitiale=1&requeteInitiale=Select+*+from+documents+WHERE+documents.DescripteursPrincipaux+LIKE+%27_+Politique+exterieure_%27+ORDER+BY+DateAffichage%3B&infoRequeteInitiale=Politique+exterieure&typeRequeteInitiale=sql&modeAffichage=fresque&documentZoom=Gaulle00273&documentVisionneuse=Gaulle00273&Hauteur=994)>.

De Daruvar, Yves. *Le destin dramatique de la Hongrie* [online]. Trans. *The Tragic Fate of Hungary: A country Carved-up Alive at Trianon* by Stankovich, Victor. Paris: Editions Albatros, 1971. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Graphics Interchange Format Available from: <<http://tgbalogh.home.att.net/trianon/map2b.gif>>.

Marin, Lucian E. *Black Sea Map* [online]. s.l.: WorldPress.com, s.d. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <<http://eldib.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/black-sea-map.gif>>.

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. *Eastern Europe (Political)* [online]. Oslo, NO: ReiseNett AS, 1993. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.reisenett.no/map\\_collection/europe/EasternEurope.jpg](http://www.reisenett.no/map_collection/europe/EasternEurope.jpg)>.

Ward, R. D. *Emil Constantinescu* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 1998. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group. Available from: <<http://osd.dtic.mil/photos/Aug1998/980717-D-9880W-030.html>>.

## **WebSites**

\_\_\_\_\_. *2006 Census Release Topics* [online]. 2009. Statistics Canada. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/rt-td/index-eng.cfm>>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *A chronology of Romania - NATO relationship* [online]. 2009. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=11154&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Aromanians* [online]. 2010. Organization for the European Minorities. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/minority-detail.asp?id\\_minorities=296](http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/minority-detail.asp?id_minorities=296)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilateral Political Relations - Serbia-Romania* [online]. s.d. Republic of Serbia - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Policy/Bilateral/Romania/basic\\_e.html](http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Policy/Bilateral/Romania/basic_e.html)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilaterale Staatsverträge. Österreich - Rumänien* [online]. (Bilateral Treaties. Austria - Romania). s.d. Das Ausenministerium. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv\\_staat=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb\\_vp\\_id=142&cHash=5ea2772ceb](http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv_staat=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb_vp_id=142&cHash=5ea2772ceb)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bosnia-Romania relations 'excellent' - foreign ministers* [online]. 2006. The Center for SouthEast European Studies. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.csees.net/index.php?page=news&news\\_id=52111&country\\_id=6](http://www.csees.net/index.php?page=news&news_id=52111&country_id=6)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Historical Events* [online]. 2004-2008. Virtual Resource Centre for Knowledge about Europe - CVCE. [cited 25 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ena.lu/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Southeast Europe On Line* [online]. 2004i. Southeast Europe On Line. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.southeasteurope.org/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The End of the Cold War* [online]. 2005k, 2005. The Cold War International History Project. [cited 16 April 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://coldwarfiles.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=units.details&thi\\_sunit=17](http://coldwarfiles.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=units.details&thi_sunit=17)>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_. *The Institute* [online]. 2006-2008a. The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania. [cited 23 Dec. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/en/about\\_iiccr/institute/](http://www.crimelecomunismului.ro/en/about_iiccr/institute/)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Székeler National Council* [online]. 2006-2008b. Székeler National Council. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://sznt.eu/en/>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *What is Transparency International?* [online]. 2007i. Transparency International. [cited 27 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.transparency.org/about\\_us](http://www.transparency.org/about_us)>.
- \_\_\_\_. *NATO and the fight against terrorism* [online]. 2008l, 01 Apr. 2008. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. [cited 23 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/issues/terrorism/index.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Background Note: Bulgaria* [online]. 2009q. U.S. Department of State. [cited 10 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3236.htm>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Background Note: Romania* [online]. 2009r. U.S. Department of State. [cited 10 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35722.htm#>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *The Balkan Crisis Group* [online]. 2009s. International Crisis Group. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1239&l=1>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Balkan Trust for Democracy* [online]. 2009t. The German Marshall Fund of the United States. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gmfus.org/balkantrust/>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *The Center for South East European Studies* [online]. 2009u. The Center for SouthEast European Studies. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.csees.net/>>.
- \_\_\_\_. *Le courrier des Balkans* [online]. 2009v. Le Courrier des Balkans. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://balkans.courriers.info/spip.php?page=apropos>>.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Despre noi - Misiune* [online]. (About us - Our Mission). s.d.-g, s.d. Institutul Cultural Român. [cited 23 Nov. 2007]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.icr.ro/icr/despre\\_noi/misiune](http://www.icr.ro/icr/despre_noi/misiune)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *European Commission Enlargement. Key documents* [online]. s.d. European Commission Enlargement. [cited 25 March 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press\\_corner/key-documents/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press_corner/key-documents/index_en.htm)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Estonia and Romania Bilateral Relations* [online]. (Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2010, June 8, 2010. Välisministeerium. [cited June 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.vm.ee/?q=en/node/78>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Population figures and Demographic Censuses* [online]. 2010. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu\\_cifraspob\\_en.htm](http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu_cifraspob_en.htm)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *RA Prime Minister Serzh Sargsyan received the delegation headed by Minister of National Defense of Romania Teodor Meleskanu* [online]. 2007. The Government of the Republic of Armenia. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gov.am/en/news/item/2301/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania* [online]. 2010. Auswärtiges Amt. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Laenderinformationen/01-Laender/Rumaenien.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania, an active ally within an active and solid Alliance* [online]. 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Jan. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=4995&idInk=1&cat=3>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania - Chronology of Diplomatic Relation* [online]. 2010, June 29, 2010. Embassy of Georgia to Romania and the Republic of Moldova. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://romania.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang\\_id=ENG&sec\\_id=392](http://romania.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=392)>.

## **Bibliography**

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania in International Organisations* [online]. 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=34&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Scurt istoric al relațiilor franco-române* [online]. (Short History of the Relations between France and Romania). 2010, June 29, 2010. Ambasadă României. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://paris.mae.ro/index.php?lang=ro&id=13067>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *United Nations* [online]. 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5035&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *United Nations Peacekeeping* [online]. 2010, 2010. United Nations. [cited 23 June 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *UN Security Council - Members - Romania* [online]. 2010. United Nations. [cited June 12, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.un.org/sc/searchres\\_sc\\_members\\_english.asp?sc\\_members=134](http://www.un.org/sc/searchres_sc_members_english.asp?sc_members=134)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Web Page - Turkey's Political Relations with Romania* [online]. 2010, s.d. Republic of Turkey - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey\\_s-political-relations-with-romania.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-romania.en.mfa)>.
- Direcția Europa Occidentală-Europa Centrală. *Republica UNGARĂ* [online]. (Republic of Hungary). 2010, Feb. 2010. Romania - Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5754&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Regional Cooperation* [online]. 2009, 2009. The Republic of Bulgaria. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.bg/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=5097&Itemid=304](http://www.mfa.bg/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5097&Itemid=304)>.

## **Bibliography**

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Cultural Diplomacy* [online]. s.d-a, 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5011&idInk=1&cat=3>>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Economic Diplomacy* [online]. s.d-b, 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 29 Sept. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=10538&idInk=1&cat=3>>.
- NATO. Romania - *NATO. Chronology of key events* [online]. 2004, 15 Jan. 2004 14:56. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. [cited 15 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/romania/chronology.htm#top>>.
- United States Mission to NATO. *NATO Summit* [online]. s.d. United States of America Embassy. [cited 23 Jul. 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://nato.usmission.gov/dossier/NATO\\_Summit.asp](http://nato.usmission.gov/dossier/NATO_Summit.asp)>.

## **Table of Contents**

<b>Dedication</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Preface</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Brief Table of Contents</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>List of Acronyms and Abbreviations</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>I Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>I.1 Subject and Issue of Research</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>I.1.1 Subject of Research</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>I.1.2 Issue of Research</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>I.2 Methodology, Concepts and the Corpus of Sources</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>I.2.1 Methodology</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>I.2.2 Concepts</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>I.2.2.1 International Relations Definitions</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>I.2.2.1.1 Major Forces – Geopolitics</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>I.2.2.1.2 Variable Forces – Foreign Policy</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>I.2.2.2 History of International Relations – Present Time</b>	<b>19</b>



## ***Table of Contents***

I.2.2.3	Case Study Theory	22
I.2.3	The Corpus of Sources	24
I.3	Thesis Plan	29
<b>II</b>	<b>Romania and the International Context</b>	<b>31</b>
II.1	Romania's Situation	31
II.1.1	International Recognition	31
II.1.2	Romania's First Challenge(s)	33
II.1.3	The Beginning of the End	35
II.2	The Post-Cold War International Situation	38
II.2.1	The End of the Cold War	38
II.2.2	The Millennium Development Goals	40
II.2.3	September 11, 2001	42
II.3	The Paradigm's Change	45
II.3.1	The Human Rights as an International Issue	45
II.3.2	The Modern Globalization Phenomena	48
II.3.3	Impact of the Globalization on International Relations	51
II.4	The 21 <sup>st</sup> Century	52
<b>III</b>	<b>Change into Continuity</b>	<b>55</b>
III.1	A Controversial Period	59
III.1.1	State and Government Recognition	63
III.1.1.1	The Revolutionary Question	64
III.1.1.2	Domestic Recognition	65

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>III.1.1.3</b>	<b>International Recognition</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>III.1.2</b>	<b>Romania's Image</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>III.1.2.1</b>	<b>Domestics Problems</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>III.1.2.1.1</b>	<b><i>Government Legitimacy</i></b>	<b>71</b>
<b>III.1.2.1.2</b>	<b><i>Mineriads</i></b>	<b>73</b>
<b>III.1.2.1.3</b>	<b><i>Minorities Problems</i></b>	<b>75</b>
<b>III.1.2.2</b>	<b>The Political Problems</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>III.1.2.3</b>	<b>International Positioning</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>III.1.3</b>	<b>Latinity</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>III.1.3.1</b>	<b>Latine Origin</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>III.1.3.2</b>	<b>Francophony</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>III.1.4</b>	<b>Romania's Foreign Policy</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>III.1.5</b>	<b>The Change of Strategy</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>III.2</b>	<b>A Necessary Rupture</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>III.2.1</b>	<b>Romania at the Crossroad</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>III.2.2</b>	<b>The Challenge</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>III.2.2.1</b>	<b>The Economic Field</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>III.2.2.2</b>	<b>The Military Field</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>III.2.2.3</b>	<b>The Kosovo War</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>III.2.3</b>	<b>NATO and the EU</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>III.3</b>	<b>The Comeback</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>III.3.1</b>	<b>The 2001-2004 Government's Program</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>III.3.1.1</b>	<b>The Foreign Policy New Lines</b>	<b>117</b>

## **Table of Contents**

<b>III.3.1.1.1</b>	<b><i>Civil Society</i></b>	<b>119</b>
<b>III.3.1.1.2</b>	<b><i>Economic Diplomacy</i></b>	<b>120</b>
<b>III.3.1.1.3</b>	<b><i>Cultural Diplomacy</i></b>	<b>122</b>
<b>III.3.1.2</b>	<b>The National Interest</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>III.3.1.3</b>	<b>The NATO integration</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>III.3.1.4</b>	<b>The European Union accession</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>III.3.2</b>	<b>Romania's International Actions</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>III.3.2.1</b>	<b>The Neighbors</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>III.3.2.2</b>	<b>The 9/11 International Crisis</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>III.3.3</b>	<b>The Iraqi War Crisis</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>III.3.3.1</b>	<b>The Betrayal</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>III.3.3.2</b>	<b>The Slander</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>III.3.3.3</b>	<b>The Reasons</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>III.3.3.4</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>III.4</b>	<b>A Wind of Change</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>III.4.1</b>	<b>The Romanian European Union Accession</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>III.4.2</b>	<b>The Bucharest-London-Washington Axis</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>III.4.3</b>	<b>The Kosovo Crisis</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>III.4.4</b>	<b>The Moldovan Issue</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>III.4.5</b>	<b>The Domestic Policy</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>III.4.5.1</b>	<b>The Corruption</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>III.4.5.1.1</b>	<b><i>A Worrying Situation</i></b>	<b>164</b>
<b>III.4.5.1.2</b>	<b><i>Inertia of the Practices</i></b>	<b>166</b>
<b>III.4.5.1.3</b>	<b><i>Origin of the Problem</i></b>	<b>168</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>III.4.5.1.4</b>	<b><i>The Initiative</i></b>	<b>171</b>
<b>III.4.5.2</b>	<b>The Battle</b>	<b>175</b>
<b>III.5</b>	<b>Partial Conclusion</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>IV</b>	<b>From Isolation to Interdependence</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>IV.1</b>	<b>The Global Situation</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>IV.1.1</b>	<b>The Choice</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>IV.1.1.1</b>	<b>Central and Eastern European Countries</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>IV.1.1.2</b>	<b>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>	<b>189</b>
<b>IV.1.1.3</b>	<b>The European Union Integration</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>IV.1.2</b>	<b>Foreign Policy Change</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>IV.2</b>	<b>The Security: North Association Treaty Organization</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>IV.2.1</b>	<b>The United States</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>IV.2.1.1</b>	<b>The Role of the United States</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>IV.2.1.1.1</b>	<b>The Guarantor of Freedom and Democracy</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>IV.2.1.1.2</b>	<b><i>The Role of World's Policeman</i></b>	<b>204</b>
<b>IV.2.1.1.3</b>	<b><i>The United States and Eastern Europe</i></b>	<b>208</b>
<b>IV.2.1.2</b>	<b>NATO and the United States Foreign Policy</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>IV.2.1.2.1</b>	<b><i>American Security and Foreign Policy</i></b>	<b>210</b>
<b>IV.2.1.2.2</b>	<b><i>A Political and Military Organization</i></b>	<b>211</b>
<b>IV.2.1.2.3</b>	<b><i>Implication for the US</i></b>	<b>212</b>
<b>IV.2.1.3</b>	<b>The Romanian-American Relations</b>	<b>213</b>
<b>IV.2.1.3.1</b>	<b><i>Cold War's Period Relations</i></b>	<b>213</b>
<b>IV.2.1.3.2</b>	<b><i>The Post-Revolution Relations</i></b>	<b>214</b>

<b>IV.2.1.3.3</b>	<b><i>The Reasons</i></b>	<b>217</b>
	<i>The winner of the Cold War</i>	217
	<i>The Guarantor of Freedom and Democracy</i>	218
	<i>The Protector</i>	219
	<i>A Strong NATO Sponsor</i>	220
<b>IV.2.2</b>	<b>The Transformation of the Alliance</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1</b>	<b>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization from ...</b>	<b>223</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.1</b>	<b><i>The London Summit</i></b>	<b>223</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.2</b>	<b><i>The Rome Summit</i></b>	<b>224</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.3</b>	<b><i>The Brussels Summit</i></b>	<b>225</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.4</b>	<b><i>The Madrid Summit</i></b>	<b>226</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.5</b>	<b><i>The Washington Summit</i></b>	<b>227</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.6</b>	<b><i>The Prague Summit</i></b>	<b>228</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.7</b>	<b><i>The Istanbul Summit</i></b>	<b>228</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.8</b>	<b><i>The Riga Summit</i></b>	<b>229</b>
<b>IV.2.2.1.9</b>	<b><i>The Bucharest Summit</i></b>	<b>230</b>
<b>IV.2.2.2</b>	<b>The Process of Enlargement</b>	<b>232</b>
<b>IV.2.2.2.1</b>	<b><i>Partnership for Peace</i></b>	<b>233</b>
<b>IV.2.2.2.2</b>	<b><i>Membership Action Plan</i></b>	<b>233</b>
<b>IV.2.3</b>	<b>From Cooperation to Integration</b>	<b>234</b>
<b>IV.2.3.1</b>	<b>The Partnership for Peace</b>	<b>241</b>
<b>IV.2.3.2</b>	<b>The Membership Action Plan</b>	<b>243</b>
<b>IV.2.3.3</b>	<b>After September 11</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>IV.2.3.4</b>	<b>Romania and NATO</b>	<b>246</b>
<b>IV.2.3.4.1</b>	<b><i>Foreign Relations Theories</i></b>	<b>246</b>
<b>IV.2.3.4.2</b>	<b><i>Domestic Policy</i></b>	<b>249</b>

## **Table of Contents**

<b>IV.2.3.4.3 Foreign Policy</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>IV.2.4 NATO Membership</b>	<b>251</b>
<b>IV.3 The European Union as a Western Dream</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>IV.3.1 Background on the European Union</b>	<b>263</b>
<b>IV.3.1.1 From the EEC to the EU</b>	<b>264</b>
<b>IV.3.1.2 European Union Enlargement Strategy</b>	<b>268</b>
<b>IV.3.1.3 Obligation to Meet the EU Accession Criteria</b>	<b>272</b>
<b>IV.3.1.3.1 Conditions for Enlargement</b>	<b>272</b>
<b>IV.3.1.3.2 Enlargement Process</b>	<b>277</b>
<i>Pre – Accession strategy</i>	277
<i>Negotiations</i>	278
<i>Ratification</i>	280
<b>IV.3.1.3.3 Accession Timetable</b>	<b>280</b>
<b>IV.3.2 From Cooperation with the EEC to the Accession in the EU</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>IV.3.2.1 Economic and Commercial Cooperation from ...</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>IV.3.2.1.1 New Starting Point</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>IV.3.2.1.2 Difficulties Due to the Country’s Behavior</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>IV.3.2.1.3 The First Efforts</b>	<b>294</b>
<b>IV.3.2.2 Association Period: From 1995 to 2000</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>IV.3.2.2.1 The European Agreement</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>IV.3.2.2.2 Romania’s Accession Requirements</b>	<b>298</b>
<b>IV.3.2.2.3 Government Initiative</b>	<b>301</b>
<b>IV.3.2.2.4 Charming Attitude</b>	<b>304</b>
<b>IV.3.2.3 Accession Period: From 2000 to 2007</b>	<b>307</b>
<b>IV.3.2.3.1 Government</b>	<b>308</b>

<b>IV.3.2.3.2</b>	<b><i>The Country's Efforts</i></b>	<b>312</b>
<b>IV.3.2.3.3</b>	<b><i>Evaluation</i></b>	<b>315</b>
	<i>The Previous Reports</i>	317
	<i>Reports From 2000 up to 2005</i>	319
	<i>The Last Step</i>	332
<b>IV.3.2.3.4</b>	<b><i>Corruption</i></b>	<b>335</b>
<b>IV.3.3</b>	<b>European Union Membership</b>	<b>337</b>
<b>IV.3.3.1</b>	<b>The Foreign Policy</b>	<b>340</b>
<b>IV.4</b>	<b>The Neighborliness</b>	<b>349</b>
<b>IV.4.1</b>	<b>Bulgaria</b>	<b>352</b>
<b>IV.4.2</b>	<b>Hungary</b>	<b>355</b>
<b>IV.4.3</b>	<b>The Republic of Moldova</b>	<b>368</b>
<b>IV.4.3.1</b>	<b>The Independence</b>	<b>376</b>
<b>IV.4.3.2</b>	<b>The Civil War</b>	<b>380</b>
<b>IV.4.3.3</b>	<b>Băsescu's Policies</b>	<b>386</b>
<b>IV.4.4</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>391</b>
<b>IV.4.4.1</b>	<b>The Weight of Historical Legacies</b>	<b>392</b>
<b>IV.4.4.1.1</b>	<b><i>The Old Provinces</i></b>	<b>392</b>
<b>IV.4.4.1.2</b>	<b><i>The Minority</i></b>	<b>393</b>
<b>IV.4.4.1.3</b>	<b><i>The Bastroe Channel Project</i></b>	<b>394</b>
<b>IV.4.4.1.4</b>	<b><i>The Snakes Island</i></b>	<b>398</b>
<b>IV.4.4.2</b>	<b>The Bilateral Relations</b>	<b>401</b>
<b>IV.4.4.3</b>	<b><i>The Impact of Foreign Policy Orientation</i></b>	<b>404</b>
<b>IV.4.4.4</b>	<b>External Factors</b>	<b>406</b>
<b>IV.4.5</b>	<b>Yugoslavia</b>	<b>408</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

IV.4.6	<b>The Black Sea</b>	<b>410</b>
IV.4.7	<b>Russian Federation</b>	<b>422</b>
IV.5	<b>Partial Conclusion</b>	<b>425</b>
<b>V</b>	<b>Romania, a Crossroad</b>	<b>438</b>
V.1	<b>The Others and the Impact on Romania</b>	<b>440</b>
V.1.1	<b>The Others and their Importance for Romania</b>	<b>440</b>
V.1.1.1	<b>Others</b>	<b>440</b>
V.1.1.2	<b>Identity</b>	<b>443</b>
V.1.1.3	<b>National Identity</b>	<b>446</b>
V.1.1.4	<b>Nation-Building</b>	<b>448</b>
V.1.1.5	<b>Nationalism</b>	<b>452</b>
V.1.2	<b>The Victimization</b>	<b>454</b>
V.1.2.1	<b>Why Victimization of Romanians?</b>	<b>456</b>
V.1.2.2	<b>Several Examples of Victimization</b>	<b>459</b>
V.1.3	<b>The Need for Recognition</b>	<b>460</b>
V.1.3.1	<b><i>The Recognition as an Independent State</i></b>	<b>462</b>
V.1.3.1.1	<b><i>Independence</i></b>	<b>462</b>
V.1.3.1.2	<b><i>Affiliation</i></b>	<b>463</b>
V.1.3.2	<b>Recognition as a Political Parlor</b>	<b>464</b>
V.1.3.2.1	<b><i>Political Space</i></b>	<b>465</b>
V.1.3.2.2	<b><i>Geographical Space</i></b>	<b>468</b>
	<i>In the Past</i>	468
	<i>After the Cold War</i>	470
V.1.3.2.3	<b><i>Economic Space</i></b>	<b>472</b>



## **Table of Contents**

V.1.3.3	<b>The Recognition as a European Country</b>	<b>472</b>
<b>V.2</b>	<b>Romania In-between</b>	<b>474</b>
V.2.1	<b>Romania between West (Latinity) and East (Orthodoxy)</b>	<b>475</b>
V.2.1.1	<b>Latinity</b>	<b>476</b>
V.2.1.2	<b>Latinity - A Tool for Survival</b>	<b>478</b>
V.2.1.3	<b>Orthodoxy</b>	<b>479</b>
V.2.1.4	<b>Romanian Orthodox Church and Moldova</b>	<b>482</b>
V.2.1.5	<b>Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism</b>	<b>484</b>
V.2.1.5.1	<i>The Russian Expansion</i>	<b>484</b>
V.2.1.5.2	<i>National and Geopolitical Expansion Tool</i>	<b>486</b>
V.2.1.5.3	<i>Geopolitical Development Tool</i>	<b>487</b>
V.2.1.6	<b>Orthodox Feeling Toward the Balkans</b>	<b>488</b>
V.2.1.6.1	<i>The Balkan Area and Orthodoxy</i>	<b>488</b>
V.2.1.6.2	<i>The Balkans and Their Definition</i>	<b>489</b>
V.2.1.6.3	<i>Romania, 'In' or 'Out'?</i>	<b>492</b>
V.2.2	<b>Permanent Balance Between Europe (EU) and the United States (NATO)</b>	<b>494</b>
V.2.2.1	<b>Why Did Romania Join the European Union?</b>	<b>495</b>
V.2.2.2	<b>Why Is Romania Attracted by the United States?</b>	<b>496</b>
V.2.2.2.1	<i>Physical Evidence</i>	<b>496</b>
V.2.2.2.2	<i>Intangible Elements</i>	<b>497</b>
V.2.2.3	<b>Permanent Balance</b>	<b>499</b>
V.2.3	<b>An In-between Geopolitical Situation</b>	<b>502</b>
<b>V.3</b>	<b>From Borderland to Crossroad</b>	<b>508</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>V.3.1</b>	<b>The Complexity of the Bordeland</b>	<b>509</b>
<b>V.3.1.1</b>	<b>Border or boundary</b>	<b>509</b>
<b>V.3.1.2</b>	<b>Frontier</b>	<b>510</b>
<b>V.3.1.3</b>	<b>Signification</b>	<b>511</b>
<b>V.3.1.4</b>	<b>Romanians' Signification</b>	<b>512</b>
<b>V.3.1.4.1</b>	<b><i>In the past</i></b>	<b>513</b>
<b>V.3.1.4.2</b>	<b><i>Present Time</i></b>	<b>515</b>
<b>V.3.2</b>	<b>Crossroad</b>	<b>518</b>
<b>V.3.2.1</b>	<b>Within NATO</b>	<b>523</b>
<b>V.3.2.2</b>	<b>Within EU</b>	<b>526</b>
<b>V.3.2.3</b>	<b>Within Black Sea</b>	<b>530</b>
<b>V.3.2.4</b>	<b>The Energy Question</b>	<b>533</b>
<b>V.4</b>	<b>Partial Conclusion</b>	<b>539</b>
<b>VI</b>	<b>Global Conclusion</b>	<b>545</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>551</b>
	<b>Thesis</b>	<b>551</b>
	<b>Books</b>	<b>552</b>
	<b>Books</b>	<b>552</b>
	<b>Books Sections</b>	<b>574</b>
	<b>Scientific Articles</b>	<b>582</b>
	<b>Government Publications</b>	<b>594</b>
	<b>Conferences Papers</b>	<b>621</b>
	<b>Doctor of Philosophy in International Relation and Diplomacy Romania's Post-Cold War International Relations</b>	<b>699</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>Reports</b>	<b>625</b>
<b>Encyclopedia and Dictionary</b>	<b>641</b>
<b>Journals, Magazines, Newspapers and Periodicals Articles</b>	<b>643</b>
<b>Electronic Articles</b>	<b>664</b>
<b>Audio and Visual Materials</b>	<b>682</b>
<b>WebSites</b>	<b>683</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>689</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>705</b>
<b>Appendix – Table of Contents</b>	<b>706</b>
<b>Appendix – Liste of Tables</b>	<b>705</b>
<b>Appendix – Presidents and Vita</b>	<b>710</b>
<b>Ion Iliescu</b>	<b>710</b>
<b>Family Background</b>	<b>711</b>
<b>Earlier Life</b>	<b>711</b>
<b>The 1989 Revolution</b>	<b>712</b>
<b>After the 1989 Revolution</b>	<b>713</b>
<b>Controversies</b>	<b>714</b>
<b>Mineriad</b>	<b>714</b>
<b>Constitution Violations</b>	<b>715</b>
<b>Alleged KGB Connections</b>	<b>715</b>
<b>Pardons</b>	<b>716</b>
<b>Decorating Vadim Tudor</b>	<b>717</b>
<b>Emil Constantinescu</b>	<b>718</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>Family Background</b>	<b>718</b>
<b>Earlier Life</b>	<b>718</b>
<b>After the 1989 Revolution</b>	<b>719</b>
<b>Traian Basescu</b>	<b>720</b>
<b>Family Background</b>	<b>720</b>
<b>Earlier Life</b>	<b>721</b>
<b>The 1989 Revolution</b>	<b>721</b>
<b>After the 1989 Revolution</b>	<b>721</b>
<b>Controversies</b>	<b>723</b>
<b>Relationship with the press</b>	<b>723</b>
<b>Conflict with the Prime Minister</b>	<b>723</b>
<b>Impeachment</b>	<b>723</b>
<b>Appendix – Ministers of Foreign Affairs’ List</b>	<b>725</b>
<b>Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy</b>	<b>727</b>
<b>1990</b>	<b>728</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>728</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>729</b>
<b>1991</b>	<b>730</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>730</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>731</b>
<b>1992</b>	<b>733</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>733</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>734</b>
<b>1993</b>	<b>735</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>735</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>736</b>
<b>1994</b>	<b>738</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>738</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>739</b>
<b>1995</b>	<b>745</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>745</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>746</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>748</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>748</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>749</b>
<b>1997</b>	<b>750</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>750</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>752</b>
<b>1998</b>	<b>755</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>755</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>756</b>
<b>1999</b>	<b>759</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>759</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>762</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>764</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>764</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>765</b>
<b>2001</b>	<b>767</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>767</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>768</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>771</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>771</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>773</b>
<b>2003</b>	<b>776</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>776</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>777</b>
<b>2004</b>	<b>779</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>779</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>781</b>
<b>2005</b>	<b>783</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>783</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>784</b>
<b>2006</b>	<b>788</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>788</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>790</b>
<b>2007</b>	<b>793</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>793</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>794</b>
<b>2008</b>	<b>797</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>797</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>798</b>
<b>2009</b>	<b>802</b>
<b>From Abroad to Romania</b>	<b>802</b>
<b>From Romania to Abroad</b>	<b>803</b>
<b>Foreign Relations Anniversaries</b>	<b>806</b>
<b>Appendix – Romania and the United Nations</b>	<b>808</b>
<b>Romania in the United Nations Organization</b>	<b>808</b>
<b>Romania’s Involvement in UN Peace Operations System</b>	<b>810</b>
<b>Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>	<b>813</b>
<b>Appendix – European Union</b>	<b>823</b>
<b>Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country</b>	<b>839</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>839</b>
<b>America</b>	<b>843</b>
<b>Asia</b>	<b>846</b>

## ***Table of Contents***

<b>Caucaz and Central Asia</b>	<b>849</b>
<b>Europe</b>	<b>852</b>
<b>Middle East</b>	<b>865</b>
<b>Oceania</b>	<b>867</b>
<b>Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership</b>	<b>868</b>

**Appendix**



## **Appendix – Table of Contents**

<b>Appendix</b>	<b>705</b>
<b>Appendix – Table of Contents</b>	<b>706</b>
<b>Appendix – Liste of Tables</b>	<b>707</b>
<b>Appendix – Presidents and Vita</b>	<b>710</b>
<b>Appendix – Ministers of Foreign Affairs’ List</b>	<b>725</b>
<b>Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy</b>	<b>727</b>
<b>Appendix – Romania and the United Nations</b>	<b>808</b>
<b>Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>	<b>813</b>
<b>Appendix – European Union</b>	<b>823</b>
<b>Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country</b>	<b>839</b>
<b>Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership</b>	<b>868</b>

## **Appendix – Liste of Tables**

Table 1: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1990.	728
Table 2: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1990.	729
Table 3: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1991.	730
Table 4: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1991.	732
Table 5: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1992.	733
Table 6: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1992.	734
Table 7: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1993.	735
Table 8: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1993.	737
Table 9: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1994.	742
Table 10: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1994.	744
Table 11: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1995.	745
Table 12: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1995.	747
Table 13: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1996.	748
Table 14: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1996.	749
Table 15: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1997.	751
Table 16: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1997.	754
Table 17: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1998.	755

## ***Appendix – Liste of Tables***

Table 18: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1998.	758
Table 19: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1999.	761
Table 20: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1999.	763
Table 21: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2000.	765
Table 22: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2000.	766
Table 23: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2001.	768
Table 24: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2001.	770
Table 25: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2002.	772
Table 26: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2002.	775
Table 27: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2003.	776
Table 28: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2003.	778
Table 29: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2004.	780
Table 30: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2004.	782
Table 31: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2005.	784
Table 32: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2005.	787
Table 33: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2006.	789
Table 34: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2006.	792
Table 35: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2007.	794
Table 36: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2007.	796
Table 37: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2008.	798

## ***Appendix – Liste of Tables***

Table 38: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2008.	801
Table 39: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2009.	802
Table 40: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2009.	805
Table 41 : Romania Participations in UN Peacekeeping Operations	811

## Appendix – Presidents and Vita

### Ion Iliescu



1973

Ion Iliescu<sup>1974</sup> was born in March 3rd, 1930 in Oltenița and served as President of Romania from 1990 until 1996 and then from 2000 until 2004. From 1996 to 2000 and from 2004 until his retirement in 2008, Iliescu was a Senator for the Social Democratic

---

<sup>1973</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Ion Iliescu* [online]. Bucharest: Presidency, 2010b. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/include/romania/4/TN\\_ii-poza\\_oficiala3.JPG](http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/include/romania/4/TN_ii-poza_oficiala3.JPG)>.

<sup>1974</sup> To draft the bibliography of Ion Iliescu we used: Președintele României. *Biografie - Ion Iliescu* [online]. (Bibliography of Ion Iliescu). Bucharest: Președintele României, 2008. [cited 30 July 2008 23:35]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/?\\_RID=htm&id=4](http://web.archive.org/web/20041021002732/http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=htm&id=4)>., Alexe, Vladimir. *Ion Iliescu - Biografia secretă: "Candidatul manciurian"* (The Secret Biography: "The Manchurian Candidate"). Bucharest: Editure Elit Comentator, 2000., and \_\_\_\_\_. Ion Iliescu [online]. *Academia Cațavencu*, 22 December 2004, no. Supplement. [cited 23 Dec. 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.catavencu.ro/pdf/supliment\\_Iliescu.pdf](http://www.catavencu.ro/pdf/supliment_Iliescu.pdf)>.

## **Appendix – Presidents and Vita**

Party (PSD), who remains today honorary president of the party. Ion Iliescu is widely recognized as the predominant figure in the first fifteen years of post-1989 Romanian political Revolution and one of the fifty Romanians who have made the Romania's history in the twenties century.<sup>1975</sup>

### **Family Background**

Iliescu's father, Alexandru Iliescu was a railroad worker with communist views during the period in which the Romanian Communist Party was banned by the authorities. In 1931 he went to the Soviet Union to take part in the Communist Party Congress of Gorikovo, near Moscow. He remained in the USSR for the next four years and was arrested upon his return. He was imprisoned from June 1940 to August 1944 and died in August 1945. Ion Iliescu married Nina Serbanescu in 1951 and they have no children.

### **Earlier Life**

Ion Iliescu studied fluid mechanics at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute and then as a foreign student at the Energy Institute of the Moscow University. During his stay in Moscow, he was the secretary of the "Association of Romanian Students". It is alleged that he knew Mikhail Gorbachev, although Iliescu always denied this.<sup>1976</sup>

He joined the Union of Communist Youth in 1944 and the Communist Party in 1953 and made a career in the communist nomenklatura, becoming a secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth in 1956 and a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965. At one point, he served as the head of the Central Committee's Department of Propaganda.<sup>1977</sup> Iliescu later served as Minister for Youth-related

---

<sup>1975</sup> Munteanu, Petre. 50 de Romăni care au făcut istoria secolului XX (50 Romanian that have made the History in the 20th Century). *Eurolider*, 2005, no. 38.

<sup>1976</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Upheaval in the East: A Rising Star; A Man Who Could Become Rumania's Leader [online]. *The NewYork Times*. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/24/world/upheaval-in-the-east-a-rising-star-a-man-who-could-become-rumania-s-leader.html?pagewanted=1&pagewanted=print>>. p. 15.

<sup>1977</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

Issues between 1967 and 1971.<sup>1978</sup> However beginning with 1971 he was gradually marginalized by Nicolae Ceaușescu. He was removed from all major political offices, being assigned vice-president of the Timis County Council (1971-1974) and later president of the Iasi Council (1974-1979). In 1984 he was excluded from the Central Committee. Until 1989, he was in charge of the Editura Tehnica publishing house.<sup>1979</sup>

## **The 1989 Revolution**

Ion Iliescu and a few other second-rank communists seized power and created an organization named National Salvation Front (NSF). Iliescu was quickly acknowledged as the leader of the organization and therefore of the provisional authority. Ion Iliescu did not renounce to the communist ideology and the program he initially presented during the revolution included restructuring the agriculture and the reorganization of trade, but not a switch to capitalism.<sup>1980</sup> These views were held by other members of the NSF such as Silviu Brucan, who claimed in early 1990 that the revolution was against Ceausescu, not against communism. Ion Iliescu on this speech on Romanian Television<sup>1981</sup> seen in December 1989 condemned Ceausescu's regime for having "defiled the noble ideals of communism"<sup>1982</sup>. Many persons in Romania believe that Ion Iliescu had in fact organized what they describe to be a 'coup d'état' with the help of high ranking Army Officials and has ultimately managed to manipulate the public anger towards the oppressive Ceausescu regime in his own favour to install himself as a new leader. There are still many mysteries about his true role in the Revolution.

---

<sup>1978</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Ibid.

<sup>1979</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Ibid.

<sup>1980</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ Ibid.

<sup>1981</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Discursul Ion Iliescu la TVR* [online]. (Speech of Ion Iliescu on Romanian Public Television). 1989a. Bucharest: National TV. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Available from: <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOt\\_0XzOBmo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOt_0XzOBmo)>.

<sup>1982</sup> Cesereanu, Ruxandra. Fenomenul Piața Universității 1990 [online]. (The Phenomenon of the University Square in 1990). *Revista 22*, May 12, 2003, 2003, no. 445. [Cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.revista22.ro/fenomenul-piata-universitatii-1990-445.html>>..

Translated by Marc Bonnemains

### **After the 1989 Revolution**

The National Salvation Front was originally created for the free legislative elections on 20 May 1990 and afterward disband itself, but the president of the party ran in the elections, winning over 70% of the votes. As a founding member, Ion Iliescu followed the Front in all its new avatars: the NSDF (National Salvation Democratic Front), then the Party of Social Democracy in Romania (PDSR), then the Social Democratic Party (PSD). Progressively, the Front lost its character as a national government or generic coalition, and became vulnerable to criticism for using its appeal as the first institution involved in power sharing, while engaging itself in political battles with forces that could not enjoy this artificial. Ion Iliescu himself came to be seen as hostile to a proper civic society and more committed to a revised version of democratic centralism. Under the pressure of the events that led to the Mineriads, his political stance has veered with time: from a proponent of the Perestroika, Ion Iliescu became a neophyte social democrat, aligning himself with the Western European political spectrum. The main debate around the subject of his commitment to such ideals is linked to the special conditions in Romania and especially to the strong nationalist and autarkic attitude visible within the Ceausescu regime. Most critics have pointed out that, unlike most communist-to-social democrat changes in the Eastern bloc, Romania's tended to retain various cornerstones, sometimes expressed with scandalous traits - to the Mineriads themselves can be added the slogan of Iliescu supporters in the early 1990s, - "We will not sell off our country!".

The new Constitution was adopted in 1991 and in 1992 he won a second term when he received 61% of the votes. He ran for a third time in 1996 but he lost in favour of Emil Constantinescu. In the 2000 presidential election, Iliescu ran again and won in the run-off against the ultra-nationalist Corneliu Vadim Tudor. He began his third term on December 20, 2000, ending on December 20, 2004. The center-right was severely defeated during the 2000 elections due largely to public dissatisfaction with the harsh economic reforms of the previous four years as well as the political instability and infighting of the multiparty coalition. Tudor's extreme views also ensured that most urban voters either abstained or chose Ion Iliescu. In 2004, Ion Iliescu cannot attend the presidential election because of constitutional provisions prohibiting a president to more than two terms. In the PSD elections of 21 April 2005, Ion Iliescu lost the Party's presidency in favour of Mircea Geoana, but was elected as honorary president of the party in 2006, a position without official executive authority in the party, created just for him.



## **Controversies**

Few controversies, here after, have been marked the third mandate of Ion Iliescu as President of the country.

### **Mineriad**

The term - Mineriad<sup>1983</sup> - is used to name "the periodic eruptions of violence when Jiu Valley miners strike and descend upon Bucharest"<sup>1984</sup> to save the government in place – the National Salvation Front (FSN) -, which happened on January 28 and 29, 1990, February 1990, June 1990. The term refers also to the manifestation against the government in place living up its economic promises in September 1999 and January-February 1999. The three first interventions were generally seen as aimed at wresting policy changes or simply material advantages from the current political power. The term is mostly used to refer to the most violent mineriad, which happened on the 13, 14 and 15 June 1990.

Due to an anti-communist demonstration (January and February 1990) that took place in Bucharest, the party in place organized a demonstration relying on workers from factories in Bucharest (January 1990), but also relied on over thousand miners from the Jiu Valley, who came to Bucharest to save the 'besieged democratic regime' and restore order and democracy in Bucharest (June 1990) upon the call of Ion Iliescu (January 1990, February 1990, June 1990).

The fourth and the fifth mineriad happened because of the miners claiming that government had not lived up to its economic promises (September 1991) and to oppose to the governmental reduction of the subsidies induced by the closing of the mines (January-February 1999) in spite of the role played by the Jui Valley Coal Miners Union in Post-Revolution Romania. Each mineriad has it dead and wounded people. The miner's leader, President of the Jiu Valley Coal Miners Union, Miron Cozma, was found guilty and sentenced to 18 years in prison on 14 February 1999.

---

<sup>1983</sup> in Romanian: Mineriadă

<sup>1984</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Renaissance 2000 Strategy - Political Economy of Lupeni/Jiu Valley* [online]. Jui Valley: Jui Valley Portal, 2005a. (White Paper Analysis). [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.jiuvalley.com/engl/tourism/history\\_pol\\_econ.pdf](http://www.jiuvalley.com/engl/tourism/history_pol_econ.pdf)>. p. 4.

## **Appendix – Presidents and Vita**

The National Salvation Front initiated the three first mineriads with its leader Ion Iliescu to protect democracy, but the political opposition at that time believed that the Romanian Presidency and Secret Service had a hand on it. This believe generated conspiracy theories and rumors circulated on the origins and development of the mineriad.

### **Constitution Violations**

Iliescu was accused by his opponents of having held three terms in office (four, counting the one between December 1989 and June 1990), although was not allowed it. Before his unsuccessful campaign of 1996, the Constitutional Court of Romania ruled in favour of his third candidature and henceforth of his third presidency, began in 2000. In view of this, the accusation can be described as biased because the illegitimacy can not be *post facto* of the voted legislation within the framework of Romanian constitutionalism. The situation is fairly similar to those in Russia (Boris Yeltsin), Ukraine and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the same time, taking into account that Ion Iliescu had a shorter first term and that he had a break between the second and the third term. In 1995, the procedures of impeaching the president Ion Iliescu were started by the Romanian Democratic Convention, following a press interview in which Ion Iliescu appeared to deny the owners' rights as a whole to properties nationalized during the communist period. The Constitutional Court agreed on the unlawfulness of the declaration, but the Members of Parliament rejected the proposal of impeachment.

### **Alleged KGB Connections**

In 1995, the Ziu newspaper published an interview with an ex-KGB officer who declared that Ion Iliescu was a KGB inductee. Iliescu denied any involvement, and Ziu journalists began to investigate the topic in detail. However, only a few days later, Ziu alleged that its employees were being placed under the surveillance of the Romanian Intelligence Service – the official explanation was that the secret service was in fact watching a spy that lived nearby.

The scandal on his alleged connections continued during 2003-2008, when Russian dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, who had been granted access to Soviet archives, declared that Iliescu and most of the Salvation Front members were KGB agents, that Iliescu had been

in close connection with Mikhail Gorbachev ever since they had allegedly met during Iliescu's stay in Moscow, and that the Romanian Revolution of 1989 was a plot organized by the KGB - in order to regain control of the country's policies (gradually lost under Ceausescu's rule).<sup>1985</sup> The only hard evidence published was a discussion between Gorbachev and Bulgaria's Aleksandar Lilov from May 23, 1990 (after Iliescu's victory in the May 20 elections) in which Gorbachev says that Iliescu holds a 'calculated position', and that despite sharing common views with Iliescu, Gorbachev wanted to avoid sharing this impression with the public.<sup>1986</sup>

## **Pardons**

In December 2001, Iliescu pardoned three inmates convicted for bribery, including George Tanase, former Financial Guard head commissioner for Ialomita.<sup>1987</sup> Iliescu had to revoke Tanase's pardon a few days later due to the media outcry, claiming that "a legal adviser was superficial in analyzing the case".<sup>1988</sup>

Most controversial of all, on 15 December 2004, a few days before the end of his last term, Iliescu pardoned 47 convicts, including Miron Cozma, the leader of the miners during the early 1990s, who had been sentenced in 1999 to 18 years in prison in conjunction with the 1991 Mineriad. This has attracted harsh criticism

---

<sup>1985</sup> Boros, Crina. Russian dissident who copied the Gorbachev Foundation's archive: Mitterrand and Gorbachev wanted the European Socialist Union, Thatcher opposed Germany's reunification [online]. *HotNews*, 29 Sept. 2009 13:47. Bucharest: HotNews, 2009. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-top\\_news-6209804-russian-dissident-who-copied-the-gorbachev-foundations-archive-mitterrand-and-gorbachev-wanted-the-european-socialist-union-thatcher-opposed-germanys-reunification.htm](http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-top_news-6209804-russian-dissident-who-copied-the-gorbachev-foundations-archive-mitterrand-and-gorbachev-wanted-the-european-socialist-union-thatcher-opposed-germanys-reunification.htm)>.

<sup>1986</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Dovada Bukovski [online]. (Bukovsky's Proof). *Ziua*, 23 Jan. 2009, [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziua.ro/display.php?id=199569&data=2006-05-15>>

<sup>1987</sup> Preşedintele României. *Decretul 1101 din 28 decembrie 2001* [online]. Bucharest: Monitor Oficial, 2001. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.legestart.ro/Decretul-1101-2001-acordarea-unor-gratieri-individuale-\(NDU2MjA-\).htm](http://www.legestart.ro/Decretul-1101-2001-acordarea-unor-gratieri-individuale-(NDU2MjA-).htm)>.

<sup>1988</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania's president to cancel pardon, pledges to fight corruption [online]. Bucharest: Associated Press, 2002a. [Cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P1-49352551.html>>.

## **Appendix – Presidents and Vita**

from all Romanian media<sup>1989</sup> and later on the President and his Prime-minister revoked the pardon.

### **Decorating Vadim Tudor**

In the last days of his President mandate, he awarded the Order of the Star of Romania (Steaua României) in the rank of ceremonial knighthood to the ultra-nationalist controversial politician Corneliu Vadim Tudor, a gesture that drew criticism in the press. The president, Traian Basescu, revoked the award granted to Tudor on May 24, 2007, but a lawsuit is ongoing even after Basescu's decree was declared constitutional.<sup>1990</sup>

---

<sup>1989</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. RUSINE! Eliberindu-l pe Cozma, Iliescu si Nastase isi bat joc de Romania [online]. (Shame! The Release of Cozma, Iliescu and Nastase Make a Joke with Romania). 9 AM News. Bucharest: Internet Corp SRL 2004a. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/Politica/1682/RUSINE-Eliberindu-l-pe-Cozma-Iliescu-si-Nastase-isi-bat-joc-de-Romania.html>>.

<sup>1990</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. CCR a respins contestatia lui CV Tudor in dosarul "Steaua Romaniei" [online]. (RAC Tudor's appeal dismissed in the file "Star of Romania"). Ziare.com. [cited 30 July 2009 23:35]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.ziare.com/corneliu-vadim-tudor/traian-basescu/ccr-a-respins-contestatia-lui-cv-tudor-in-dosarul-steaua-romaniei-627025>>.

## **Emil Constantinescu**



Emil Constantinescu born in November 19, 1939 in Tighina (currently in the Republic of Moldova today) was President of Romania from 1996 to 2000. He is a member of the 'Haut Conseil de la Francophonie'.

### **Family Background**

He married Nadia, a former legal adviser in 1964, and have a son, Dragos and a daughter, Norina, along with two grandchildren.

### **Earlier Life**

Emil Constantinescu graduated from the law school of the University of Bucharest and started a career as a geologist. At the beginning of 1966, Emil Constantinescu taught in the Geology Faculty

---

<sup>1991</sup> Ward, R. D. *Emil Constantinescu* [online]. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 1998. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <<http://osd.dtic.mil/photos/Aug1998/980717-D-9880W-030.html>>.

## ***Appendix – Presidents and Vita***

of the University of Bucharest, where he also became the Propaganda Secretary of the local organisation of the Romanian Communist Party. In 1992 he was elected president of the University of Bucharest.

### **After the 1989 Revolution**

After the Romanian revolution in 1989, Emil Constantinescu became a founding member and vice-president of the Civic Alliance. He was the acting chairman of the Romanian Anti-Totalitarian Forum, the first associative structure of the opposition in Romania, which was transformed into a political and electoral alliance - the Romanian Democratic Convention (CDR) -. In 1992, he became the CDR's candidate for presidency, but he lost the election against Ion Iliescu, after a second round.

Emil Constantinescu was elected President after winning on November 17 runoff against Ion Iliescu. In 1997, the mandate of Emil Constantinescu began with great expectations. Initially, support for the new government was high and a large segment of the population was for change. Nevertheless, the presidency of Emil Constantinescu led to perpetual friction bringing crisis and dissatisfaction with a growing hostility among the Romanian population.

The government's foreign policy was seen as a strong point. It adopted a pro-Western stance, and early in its mandate, Emil Constantinescu launched a diplomatic offensive to improve the image of Romania abroad. The Romania's top foreign policy priorities were the NATO and the European Union accession, with the will to improve relations with Romania's neighbours.

## Traian Basescu



1992

Traian Basescu<sup>1993</sup> born on November 4, 1951 in Murfatlar, a village (later a small town) near the port city of Constanta, and after serving as Mayor of Bucharest from June 2000 until December 2004, he became President of Romania, after winning the 2004 presidential election. In 2009, he won a second term of 5 years mandate as President of Romania.

### Family Background

His father, Dimitri Basescu an army officer died in 2002. He has a brother, Mircea born in 1953. Traian Basescu married Maria and they have two daughters, Ioana and Elena.

---

<sup>1992</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Traian Băseșcu* [online]. Bucharest: Presidency, 2010c. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Joint Photographic Experts Group Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/images/portrete/presedinte/3/mic\\_1\\_\\_LUP9036.jpg](http://www.presidency.ro/images/portrete/presedinte/3/mic_1__LUP9036.jpg)>.

<sup>1993</sup> To draft the bibliography of Ion Iliescu we used: Departamentul de comunicare publică. *Biography - Traian Băseșcu* [online]. (Departamentul de comunicare publică). București: Departamentul de comunicare publică, 2010. [cited 20 April 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.presidency.ro/?\\_RID=htm&id=165&exp2=ro](http://www.presidency.ro/?_RID=htm&id=165&exp2=ro)>.

### **Earlier Life**

Traian Basescu graduated the Institute of Civil Marine 'Mircea cel Batran' of Constanta in 1976 and became a Merchant Marine Officer at Navrom, the Romania state-owned shipping company, between 1976 and 1981. Then he served, from 1981 to 1987, as Merchant Navy Captain on Romanian commercial ships. In 1984, he was promoted Captain of the oil tanker Biruinta, the largest ship of the Romanian commercial fleet. From 1987 to 1989, Traian Basescu moved to Belgium as the head of Navrom Agency in Antwerp (Belgium).

Throughout Traian Basescu's career, questions have been raised about his links to the security services of the communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.<sup>1994</sup> Traian Basescu has said that his links with the former security service were strong because some contact was obligatory at that time for someone working abroad in a senior position.<sup>1995</sup> In addition, Traian Basescu was a member of the Communist Party (PCR). After the downfall of Communism, he claimed that he joined the PCR only in order to promote his career in the merchant marine.

### **The 1989 Revolution**

Traian Basescu joined politics after the 1989 Romanian Revolution, as a member of the large National Salvation Front (NSF) party.

### **After the 1989 Revolution**

In April 1991, Traian Basescu became Minister of Transport in Petre Roman's Cabinet and continued to hold this position during Theodor Stolojan's Cabinet from September 1991 to November 1992. In 1992, after the split of the NSF in two factions, the Social

---

<sup>1994</sup> To see : Harper, Jonathan. *Băsescu: The Shame of Romania* [online]. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: American Committee Against Corruption (ACAC), 2009. (Dictators of the 21st Century). [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://americansagainstcorruption.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Manuscript-Web11.pdf>>.

<sup>1995</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Basescu linked to Securitate [online]. *Kathimerini*, 2 Sept. 2009. Athens: Kathimerini, 2009a. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/\\_w\\_articles\\_world\\_0\\_02/09/2009\\_110335](http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_world_0_02/09/2009_110335)>.



Democratic Party of Romania (PDSR, later PSD), led by Ion Iliescu, and the Democratic Party (PD), led by Petre Roman, Traian Basescu joined the PD faction. In 1992, he was elected to the lower house of the Romanian Parliament, the Chamber of Deputies, then re-elected for the 1996-2000 term mandate. Concurrently with his second term mandate in the Parliament, from November 1996 to June 2000, Traian Basescu served as Minister of Transport in the centre-right governments of Victor Ciorbea, Radu Vasile and Mugur Isarescu. In 2000, Basescu was elected Mayor of Bucharest. In 2004, Basescu was elected for a second term in office. He resigned as Mayor later in the year, after winning the presidential election of Romania. Following Theodor Stolojan's surprise withdrawal from the 2004 presidential elections, Traian Basescu entered in the presidential race on behalf of the *Justice and Truth Alliance* and won the Presidential election by using an anti-communist and anti-corruption rhetoric. The Basescu's victory was characterized, at that time, in the media as Romania's 'Orange Revolution', in reference to the reformists' perceived victory in neighboring Ukraine during the same period and in reference to the orange color used by the winning *Justice and Truth Alliance*.<sup>1996</sup> He was re-elected at the 2009 presidential elections.

In domestic politics, Traian Basescu has claimed the fight against high-level corruption and pressed the official condemnation of Romanian communism regime.

During the first mandate, the European Union accession remained a top priority and a central component in Romania's foreign policy. In addition, Traian Basescu has focused on a strong strategic partnership with the United States, a relationship that during the 2004 presidential campaign he called the '*Bucharest-London-Washington axis*'. Traian Basescu has been vocal in calling for a regional approach to security in the Black Sea basin, which he noted remained to trans-border security threats such as drug and human trafficking. He has tried to improve Romania's relations with Moldova, and has expressed several times his belief in the future unification of the two countries, either politically or in the framework of the European Union, but this attitude led an increasing anti-Romanian rhetoric from the Communist government of Moldova.

---

<sup>1996</sup> Wood, Paul. Looking back on election 2004 - Romania's Orange Revolution [online]. *Vivid*, 23 Jan. 2010, 2005, no. 69. [cited 23 Jan. 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.vivid.ro/vivid69/pages69/election\\_back69.htm](http://www.vivid.ro/vivid69/pages69/election_back69.htm)>.

### **Controversies**

#### **Relationship with the press**

Basescu is a major target of criticism by the press and in turn in many occasions, he used controversial language to describe some of the journalists that have criticized him.

#### **Conflict with the Prime Minister**

Basescu has remained very popular, due to his open style and hands-on approach. He has been very involved in day-to-day politics of Romania, often being accused by other political leaders of overstepping constitutional boundaries on the role of the President. During the course of his presidency, his relations with the Prime Minister Popescu-Tariceanu gradually soured, particularly following the Prime Minister's reversal of course in July 2005 after Tariceanu initially announced he would resign and prompt early parliamentary elections,<sup>1997</sup> which some hoped would have resulted in the 'Justice and Truth Alliance' party governing alone. The ensuing poor relations between the President and the Prime Minister have become one of the primary themes of Romanian post-2004 politics,<sup>1998</sup> with many unrelated disputes converging to this dichotomy. Under the Romanian Constitution, the president appoints the prime minister, but does not have the authority to dismiss him.

#### **Impeachment**

On April 19, 2007, the Romanian Parliament voted to suspend Basescu and initiated an impeachment referendum for allegedly

---

<sup>1997</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania's Tariceanu Reverses Decision on Resignation [online]. *SETimes.com*, July 20, 2005: SETimes, 2007c. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/features/2005/07/20/feature-01](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2005/07/20/feature-01)>.

<sup>1998</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romanian President in open conflict with prime minister [online]. *HotNews.ro*, Jan. 17, 2007: HotNews, 2007d. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://english.hotnews.ro/stiri-archive-1752365-romanian-president-open-conflict-with-prime-minister.htm>>.

unconstitutional conduct<sup>1999</sup>. The Constitutional Court found no clear evidence of his breach of the Constitution in the sense required by the fundamental law.<sup>2000</sup> After the Parliament's vote on April 20, 2007,<sup>2001</sup> Basescu remained suspended until the referendum from May 19, 2007. The results failed to confirm the impeachment: 24.75% voted to impeach Basescu, and 74.48% to maintain him as president.<sup>2002</sup> Basescu is the first president in the history of Romania who has been officially suspended.

---

<sup>1999</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Propuner de suspendare din funcție a Președintelui României, Traian Băsescu* [online]. (The proposal of suspension from office of President Traian Basescu). Bucuresti: Hotnews, 2007g. (Archive). [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva\\_avt/3542.pdf](http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva_avt/3542.pdf)>.

<sup>2000</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Aviz consultativ privind propunerea de suspendare din funcție a Președintelui României, domnul Traian Băsescu* [online]. (Advisory opinion on the proposal for suspension from office of President of Romania, Mr. Traian Basescu). București: Curtea Constituțională, 2007e. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva\\_avt/3796.pdf](http://arhivamedia.hotnews.ro//arhiva_avt/3796.pdf)>.

<sup>2001</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Romania's MPs Suspend President [online]. *BBC News*, 19 April 2007, 23:18:51 GMT. London: British Broadcasting Cooperation, 2007b. [cited Jan. 26, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6572003.stm>>.

<sup>2002</sup> Dumitru, Gheorge. *Comunicat privind rezultatele parțial ale referendumului național din data de 19 mai 2007 pentru demiterea Președintelui României ora 18.00* [online]. (Press on the results of the partially referendum ...). București: Biroul Electoral Central, 2007. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://www.becreferendum2007.ro/document3/rez%20finale.pdf>>.

## **Appendix – Ministers of Foreign Affairs’ List**

This list was builded with information finded on the official web site of the Government of Romania and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Provisory Gov. of Petre Roman	Dec. 26, 1989 to June 28, 1990
Celac, Sergiu	Dec. 28, 1989 to June 28, 1990
Government of Petre Roman	June 28, 1990 to Oct. 16, 1991
Government of Theodor Stolojan	Oct. 16, 1991 to Nov. 19, 1992
Nastase, Adrian	June 28, 1990 to Nov. 18, 1992
Government of Nicolae Vacaroiu	Nov. 19, 1992 to Dec. 11, 1996
Melescanu, Teodor Viorel	Nov. 19, 1992 to Dec. 11, 1996
Government of Victor Ciorbea	Dec. 12, 1996 to Apr. 17, 1998
Sevrin, Andrien	Dec. 12, 1996 to Dec. 29, 1997
Government of Radu Vasile	Apr. 17, 1998 to Dec. 22, 1999
Plesu, Andrei Gabriel	Dec. 29, 1997 to Dec. 22, 1999
Government of Mugur Isarescu	Dec. 22, 1999 to Dec. 28, 2000
Roman, Petre	Dec. 22, 1999 to Dec. 28, 2000
Government of Adrian Nastase	Dec. 28, 2000 to Dec. 28, 2004
Geoana, Mircea Dan	Dec. 28, 2000 to Dec. 28, 2004

## **Appendix – Ministers of Foreign Affairs’ List**

---

Government of Calin Popescu-Tariceanu	Dec.29, 2004 to Dec. 22, 2008
Ungureanu, Mihai-Razvan	Dec. 29, 2004 to March 12, 2007
Popescu-Tariceanu, Calin Constantin Anton (ad interim)	March 21, 2007 to April 5, 2007
Cioroianu, Adrian-Mihai	April 5, 2007 to April 14, 2008
Comanescu, Lazar	April 14, 2008 to Dec. 22, 2008
Government of Emil Boc	Dec. 22, 2008 to Oct 1, 2009
Diaconescu, Cristian	Dec 23, 2008 to Oct. 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2009
Government of Emil Boc II	Oct. 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 2009 to Oct. 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2009
Predoiu, Catalin (ad interim)	Oct. 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 2009 to Dec 23, 2009
Government of Emil Boc IV	Dec. 23, 2009 to nowadays
Baconschi, Teodor	Dec. 23, 2009 to nowadays

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

These tables are builded with information finded on the official web site of the Romanian Presidency, the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as in Romanian local newspapers, and also in French, English, American, German, Russian... newspapers. We used also some books, as 'Romania 1989-2005 - A Chronological History'<sup>2003</sup>, 'Romania-Nato Chronology 198-2004'<sup>2004</sup>, 'România – UE Cronologie 1989-2005'<sup>2005</sup> and some others.

These informations could be not exhaustive even if we took attention to build it.

---

<sup>2003</sup> Stoica, Stan. *Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History*. Trans. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* by Barbu, Ileana and Dolgu, Daniela. Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2005a.

<sup>2004</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004.

<sup>2005</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). Bucureşti: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006.

**1990**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Russian Federation	Foreign minister Eduard Sevardnadze	January	Visit
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs	January	Visit
Sweden	Foreign minister Roland Dumas	10-11 January	Visit
European Community Commission	Vice-president, Frans Andriessen	14 January	Visit
Germany	Vice-Chancellor and Foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher	15-16 January	Visit
United States of America	State Secretary James Baker III	11 February	Visit
European Commission	Delegation	2 July	Visit
IMF	Delegation	25 July	Visit
European Parliament	Delegation	12-16 November	Visit
EBRD	President Jacques Attali	3-4 December	Visit

**Table 1: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1990.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Prime Minister Petre Roman	France	17-20 February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase	Russia (Moscow)	February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac	Russia (Moscow)	20 March	Visit
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Spain	11 April	Agreement
Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac	France	29 May	Agreement EBRD
Prime Minister Petre Roman	France	18-19 July	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Yugoslavia	3-5 September	Visit
Prime Minister	Brussels	27 September	Meeting EEC
President Ion Iliescu	UN (New York)	28 Sept. – 5 Oct.r	Un Summit
Delegation	Luxembourg	22 October	Treaty
Prime Minister	France	22 October	Visit
Prime Minister	NATO (Brussels)	24 October	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Japan	10-14 November	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France	20-23 November	CSCE Conference
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Germany	28 November	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac	Holy See	November	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac	Egypt	December	Visit

**Table 2: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1990.**



**1991**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
European Community	Delegation	14-16 January	Working Visit
Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova	President	11-13 February	Visit
European Council	C. Laumière and F. Fernandez Ordonez	7-8 February	Visit
European Council	Andres Biorek	26-28 February	Visit
European Council	Delegation	1 March	Visit - PHARE
European Council	Vice-president Frans Andriessen	11-12 March	Visit
France	President François Mitterand	18-19 April	Visit
Hungary	Delegation	11 mai	Treaty
NATO	General Secretary Manfred Womer	3-5 July	Visit
Italy	Representant	23 July	Treaty
Moldova	President	7 September	Meeting
Turkia	President Turgul Ozal	18-20 September	Treaty
European Council	Delegation	17-18 October	Working visit
WEU	Delegation	31 October	Visit
Serbia	President	16 November	Visit
Greece	President	27-28 November	Treatz
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister	28 December	Meeting

**Table 3: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1991.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Ion Iliescu	China	14-16 January	Treaty
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Turkey	24-26 January	Visit
Prime Minister Petre Roman and Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	France, Strasbourg	28-30 January	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Italy	31 Jan. – 2 Febr.	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Holy See	1 February	Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Brussels, Luxembourg	13-14 February	Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Spain	20-22 February	Visit - EC
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Malaysia	28 February – 1 <sup>st</sup> March	Visit - EC
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Brazil, Chile, Peru	4-13 March	Visit
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Ecuador	4-13 March	Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Moldova	25 March	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	URSS	4-6 April	Treaty
Prime Minister Petre Roman	United States of America	14-17 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu and Minister of Finances	England (London)	15 April	BERD
Representant	Brussels - EEC	30 May	Agreement
Delegation	Hungary (Budapest)	30 June	CAER Session
President Ion Iliescu and Delegation	Czechoslovakia (Prague)	1 July	Protocol

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Ion Iliescu	Germany (Salzburg)	4 July	Visit
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Serbia	4 July	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Portugal, Marocco, Venezuela, Costa Rica	5-13 July	Meeting
Prime Minister Petre Roman	France	17-19 July	Visit
Prime Minister Petre Roman	Bulgaria	13 September	Treaty
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Lithuania	13 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France and OIF	18-20 November	Treaty
Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and Foreign minister Adrian Nastase	Italy	5 December	Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Strasbourg	18-19 December	Visit the EC
Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and Foreign minister Adrian Nastase	Italy	5 December	Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Portugal		Visit
Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	South of Africa		Visit

**Table 4: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1991.**

**1992**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Bank Mondial	Delegation	15 January	Visit
NATO	Secretary General Manfred Wömer	21-22 February	Euro-Atlantic Center
BERD	President Jacques Attali	16 March	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Mircea Snegur	21 March	Visit
Germany	Vice-chancellor and Foreign Minister Has- Dietrich Genscher	21-22 April	Treaty
USA	Vice-Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger	29 May	Treaty
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli	19-20 August	Visit
Ukraine	Minister of Foreign Affairs	3-4 September	Visit
Malaysia	Prime Minister	1-4 October	Visit
WEU	Delegation	12-13 October	Visit

**Table 5: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1992.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Ion Iliescu, Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase	Republic of Moldova	24 January	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Bulgaria	27 January	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Switzerland (Davos)	31 January – 2 February	Economic Forum
Foreign minister Adrian Nastase	Turkey (Istanbul)	3 February	Meeting Black Sea Region
Foreign minister Adrian Nastase	Spain	4-6 February	Treaty
Foreign minister Adrian Nastase	Germany	31 March – 1 April	Summit WEU
President Ion Iliescu	Greece (Athen)	10-11 April	Conference - Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Republic of Moldova (Chisinau)	18-19 May	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey (Istanbul)	24-26 June	Summit
President Ion Iliescu	Finland (Helsinki)	9-10 June	CSCE – Helsinki II
President Ion Iliescu	Spain	11-13 September	International Exposition in Seville
President Ion Iliescu	Italy	11-13 September	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Holy See	14 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France	24 November	Meeting

**Table 6: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1992.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**1993**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
France	Foreign minister Roland Dumas	11-12 January	Treaty
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	President Dobrica Ciosic	25 February	Meeting
Bulgaria	President Jeliu Jeleu	27 March	Visit
European Union	Chief-negotiator of EU, Daniel Guggenbuhl	1-3 April	Meeting
Poland	Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski	6-7 May	Treaty
Belarus	The President of the Supreme Council of Belarus, Stanislav Suskevici	6-7 May	Agreement
United Kingdom of Great Britain	Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd	1-3 June	Meeting
European Union	President of EEC, Leon Brittan	13-15 June	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Mircea Snegur	17 July	Meeting
Italy	President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro	21-22 July	Meeting
European Council	Secretary General Catherine Lamùière	26-28 August	Meeting
France	Alain Lamassure	13 September	Meeting
Slovakia	Prime Minister		Visit

**Table 7: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1993.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Brussels - EEC	1 February	Agreement.
President Ion Iliescu	Brussels – NATO	17-18 February	Meeting. NATO Membership.
President Ion Iliescu	United Arab Emirates	10-12 April	Agreement
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Denmark (Copenhagen)	13-15 April	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	United State of America	13-19 April	Meeting
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Greece	16-27 April	Treaty
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Singapore	April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Slovenia Croatia Bosnia-Herzegovina	14-19 May	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Argentina	27-29 July	Visit and Agreement
President Ion Iliescu	Uruguay Chile Columbia	27 July – 6 August	Visit and Agreement
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	9-11 September	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Brussels – NATO	21 September	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Republic of Slovakia	23-24 September	Treaty
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Russia (Moscow)	27-29 September	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Austria (Vienne)	8-9 October	EU Agreement
President Ion Iliescu	Republic of South of Africa	10-21 October	Agreement

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Belgium	3 December	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	United State of America	15-16 December	Treaty

**Table 8: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1993.**



**1994**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Republic of Moldova	Minister of Foreign Affairs	5-8 January	Visit
Cyprus	Minister of Trade and Industry Stalios Kiliaris	6 January	Visit
Denmark	Minister of Environment Sven Auken	9-11 January	Agreement
Republic of Turkey	Minister of Health	10-11 January	Visit
France	Chief of General Staff of French Army Jacques Lauxade	13 January	Visit
United States	Madeline Albright	15 January	Visit
Israel	Minister of Police Moshe Shalal	17-18 January	Visit
United States	Delegation Bart Gordon	21 January	Meeting
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Iovanovic	24-25 January	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Delegation	24-26 January	Meeting
Croatia	Minister of Trade	26 January	Treaty
Bulgaria	Minister of Defence Valentin Gheorghiev	29 January	Visit
France	Diplomatic adviser of French PM Bernard Fauboumet	2-3 February	Visit
Islamic Republic of Iran	Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Akbar Velayati	2-3 February	Treaty

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

NATO	Delegation	3 February	Visit
Ireland	Minister of State Tom Kit	13-16 February	Visit
Croatia	President Franco Tudjman	14-16 February	Treaty
Republic of Moldova	Vice-prime minister Nicolae Andronati	15 February	Meeting, Agreement
European Union	EU Minister Robert Urbain	15 February	Visit
Poland	Minister of Defence Piotr Kolodziejczyk	21-23 February	Visit
Hungary	Minorities Department Janis Wolfart	21-24 February	Meeting
Malta	President Censu Tabone	25-28 February	Visit
Slovenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Lozje Peterle	28 February	Agreement
Thailand	Delegation	12-16 March	Visit
United States	National Security Council Ruchar Schifter	13-16 March	Visit
Ukraine	Delegation	15-17 March	Visit
Germany	Parliamentarian Delegation	16-18 March	Visit
Germany	Parliamentarian Delegation	22 March	Visit
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	23-25 March	Visit
France	MFA Delegation	27-29 March	Meeting
Poland	Senate Delegation	28-30 March	Visit
Concil of Europe	Delegation	28-30 March	Visit
Germany	MFA Delegation	28-29 March	Meeting
Ukraine	MFA Delegation	28-29 March	Meeting
Russia	MFA Delegation	28-29 March	Meeting

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Russia	Minister of Defence General Pavel Grachev	29-31 March	Visit
Republic of El Salvador	Minister of Foreign Relations Miguel Angel Salaverria	2-5 April	Visit
Canada	Parliamentary Delegation	4-6 April	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Parliamentary Delegation	4-8 April	Visit
Serbia	President Slobodan Milosevici	5 April	Meeting
NATO	Comander-in-chief General George Jolwan	5 April	Meeting
Belgium	Minister of Foreign Affairs Willy Claes	6-8 April	Visit Dedaration
Indonesia	Parliamentary Delegation	6-10 April	Visit
Columbia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	10-11 April	Visit
Russia	Vice-Chairman of the State Duma Peter Ludlow	18 April	Seminar
Armenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	18-24 April	Agreement
World Wid	Heads of States Prime- Minsiters	21-24 April	Crans-Montana Forum
Netherlands	Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers	19-20 April	Agreement
Albania	President Mr. Sali Berisha	9-11 May	Treaty
Germany	Parliamentary Delegation	4-6 May	Visit
Germany	Federal Minister Carl Dieter	6-8 May	Visit
European Union	President of the European Parleмент Egon Klepsch	16-17 May	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Nicaragua	President special envoy Mrs. Violeta Chamorro	22-24 May	Visit
China	Parliamentary Delegation	22-26 May	Visit
United Kingdom	New secretary of state Sir John Coles	25-26 May	Visit
Republic of India	President Sanker Dayal Sarma	30 May – 2 Jun	Agreement
Poland	Parliamentary Delegation	1-3 June	Visit
Palestine Liberation Organization	Delegation	5-8 June	Agreement
United Kingdom	MFA	13-14 June	Visit
Council of Europe	President of the Parliamentary Assembly Miguel Angle Martinez	16-21 June	Visit
Georgia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Chikvaidze	20 June	Visit
Republic of Moldeova	President of Parliament Petru Luchinski	20 June	Visit
Czech Republic	President Vadav Havel	21-23 June	Treaty
United States	Mr. James Baker	2 July	Private visit
Pakistan	Parliamentary Delegation	5-9 July	Visit
Republic of China	Premier Li Peng	9-12 July	Agreement
Germany	Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel	13 July	Visit
United States	Department of Defense Mr. William Perry	17-18 July	Visit
France	Foreign minister Alain Juppe	7-8 September	Visit
European Union	Delegation	3 October	Meeting

International Monetary Fund	Executive director Michel Camdessus	18-20 October	Meeting
United Nations	Secretary General Boutros Boutros Gali	18-20 October	Meeting
European Union	Representant	5 November	EU Information and Research Office
Egypt	President Mohammad Hosni Mubarak	23-24 November	Agreement

**Table 9: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1994.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
	Greece	18 January	EU Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Brussels – NATO	26 January	Agreement PFP
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Morocco	27-28 January	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Switzerland, Geneva	9 February	Meeting
Delegation	Uzbekistan	11 February	Agreement
State department of MFA	Pakistan	11 February	Meeting
State department of MFA	Japan	14-18 February	Meeting
State department of MFA	China	19-24 February	Meeting
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Republic of Slovakia	3 March	Agreements
President Ion Iliescu	Lithuania	7-8 March	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Belarus	8 March	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	South Korea	9-11 March	Agreement

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Ion Iliescu	China	11-14 March	Unofficial visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Tunisia	17-21 March	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Greece	30-31 March	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Austria	11-12 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France	14-16 April	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Luxembourg	9 April	Summit WEU
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Brazil	10-14 May	Agreement
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Peru	14-18 May	Agreement
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Paraguay	18-21 May	Agreement
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	France (Paris)	26-27 May	Summit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Egypt	May	Visit
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Croatia	8 June	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Turkey, Istanbul	9 June	NACC Summit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Denmark	14-15 June	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Finland	15-16 June	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Switzerland	15-17 June	Crans-Montana Forum
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Poland	22-25 June	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	England (London)	27-29 June	Visit
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Bulgaria (Sofia)	4-6 July	Visit

**Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Moldova (Chisinau)	19 July	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	17 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	United States of America and United Nations	25-28 September	UN General Assembly Meeting
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Czech Republic	24-25 October	Agreement
President Ion Iliescu	Morocco (Casablanca) Great Britain Belgium - NATO	2-4 November	Summit Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Egypt	November	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France (Paris)	28-30 November	Parlemenatar Session
President Ion Iliescu	Hungary (Budapest)	5-6 December	CSCE SUMmit
Minister of Agriculture, Valeriu Tabara	Brussels – EU	9 December	Agreement
President Ion Iliescu	Germany – EU	9-10 December	Summit

**Table 10: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1994.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**1995**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
European Union	Delegation	20-21 February	Work session
Spain	Premier Felipe Gonzales	24-25 February	Visité
Tunisia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	February	Visit
Indonesia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	February	Visit
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	7 March	Visit
European Union	Parliamentary Committee	18-20 April	Session
Lithuania	President Algirdas Brazauskas		Visit
Germany	Preseident Roman Herzog	15-16 May	Support
Azerbaijan	President H. Aliyev	2 June	Visit
Republic of Slovakia	Premier Vladimir Meciar	25-27 July	Cooperation Discussion
European Union	Arie M. Oostlander	3 September	Visit
Greece	President Konstantinos Stephanopoulos	2-4 November	Treaty
Egypt	President	November	Visit
Portugal	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit

**Table 11: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1995.**



**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu	France (Strasbourg)	1 February	Convention
President Ion Iliescu and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Brussels – EU	10 March	Meeting
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Paris - PSEC	20-21 March	Summit
President Ion Iliescu	Italy	28-30 March	Property
President Ion Iliescu	Holy See	29 March	Visit
Expert	Ukraine (Kiev)	5-8 April	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Poland	18-20 April	Discussion
	Hungary (Budapest)	27-29 May	NATO Session
Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu	Sweden	June	Meeting
Pemier Nicolae Vacaroiu	Republic of China Socialist Republic of Vietnam Islmaic Republic of Pakistan	3-7 July	Visit Commercial Promotion
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Paris	18 July	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Greece (Ioannina)	26 August	Communiqué Yugoslavian support
President Ion Iliescu	United States of America	25 September	Discussion Commercial exchanges
President Ion Iliescu	Tunisia	15-16 October	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	ONU (New York)	22-24 October	Session
President Ion Iliescu	Tunisia	15-16 October	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

President Ion Iliescu	United States	25-27 October	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Republic of Moldova (Chisinau)	1 November	Summit BSEC
President Ion Iliescu	Egypt	13-14 November	Commercial Romanian-Egyptian Bank
President Ion Iliescu	France (Paris)	14-16 November	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	23-24 November	Bilateral relations
Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu	Yugoslavia (Belgrade)	23-24 November	Visit Economic Cooperation

**Table 12: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1995.**

**1996**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
France	French Minister Michel Barnier	14-15 January	Meeting
OSCE	President Max Van der Stoel	18 January	Meeting
United States	State Secretary, Richard Holbrooke	12-13 February	Visit
Algeria	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	March	Visit
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	18 April	Visit
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affaires	April	Visit
Canada	Prime Minister Jean Chrétien	April	Visit
NATO	General Secretar Javier Solana	3 May	Visit
Poland	President Alexandr Kwaśniewski	14-15 May	Meeting Treaty
People's Republic of China	Jiang Zemin	29 June – 1 July	Agreement
England	Minister of Defense	29 July	Visit
Hungary	Premier Gyula Horn	16 September	Treaty
IMF	Paul Thomsen	13 December	Report
Republic of Moldova	President	30 December	Meeting
Slovenia	President		Visit

**Table 13: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1996.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	Brussels – EU	27 February	Meeting
Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu	France		Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Caucasian States Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia	25-28 March	Treaties
Prime Minister	Ukraine	29 March	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	16-18 May	Treaty
Delagation	Germany (Berlin)	3-4 June	NATO Summit
President Ion Iliescu	Forence – EU	21-22 June	Meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Germany	25-26 June	Meeting, Economy, Agreements
President Ion Iliescu	Republic of Moldova	5-6 July	Treaty
President Emil Constantinescu	Ireland (Dublin)	13-14 December	European Union meeting
President	Portugal		Visit
Prime Minister	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 14: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1996.**

**1997**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
France	President of the Commission for Development from European Parliament Michel Rocard	24 January	Visit
France	President Jacques Chirac	21-23 February	Meeting
	Former Sovereign Mihai I de Hohenzollern	28 February – 5 March	Meeting
European Union	Commisar of European Union Hans van den Broek	6-7 March	Visit
European Union	President European Commission Jacques Santer	10-11 April	Visit
Germany	Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel	1 May	Visit
Italy	Prime Minister Romano Prodi	5 May	Visit
Belgium	Prime Minister Jean-Luc Behaene	8-11 May	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Preme Minister Ion Ciubuc	15 May	Agreement
Hungary	President Arpad Goncz	25-27 May	Meeting
Ukraine	President	2 June	Visit
Poland	Minister of Foreign Affairs	14-15 June	Meeting
United States of America	President Bill Clinton	11 July	Meeting

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

India	Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamla Sinha	3 September	Visit
Portugal	Prime Minister Antonio Guterres	16 September	Visit
Finland	Minister of Foreign Affairs Tarja Halonen	17 September	Visit
Philippines	Minister of Foreign Affairs	September	Visit
EBRD	President Jacques de Larosière	3 October	Visit
NATO	Secretar General Javier Solana	16 October	Visit
European Union	Commisar of European Union Hans van den Broek	16-17 October	Visit
Hungary	President Laszlo Kovacs	8 October	Meeting
Hungary	Prime Minister Gyula Horn	20-21 October	Meeting
Portugal	Prime Minister		Visit
Greece	Minister of Foreign Affairs	23 October	Meeting
Bulgaria	Minister of Foreign Affairs	23 October	Meeting
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	24 November	Visit
Poland	President Kwasniewski	26 November	Summit
Ukraine	President Kucima	26 November	Summit
Republic of Moldova	President Petru Lucinschi	4 December	Visit
Georgia	President Eduard Sevarnadze	10-11 December	Visit

**Table 15: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1997.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin	France		Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Poland	13-15 January	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Switzerland	31 January - 3 February	Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Brussels – UE and NATO	3-5 February	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	France	5-6 February	Meeting OCDE
President Emil Constantinescu	Czech Republic	10-11 March	Agreement
Prime Minister Victor Ciorbea	Hungary	12-13 March	Agreement
Former Sovereign Mihai I de Hohenzollern	Netherland Norway Belgium	14 April	Romania support
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	29-30 April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin	Holy Se	April	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Bulgaria	30 April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin	Ukraine	3 May	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Greece	22-24 May	Visit
Prime Minister Victor Ciorbea	Netherland	19-20 May	Visit and Agreement
President Emil Constantinescu	Netherland	28 May	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Emil Constantinescu	Ukraine (Kiev)	2 June	Treaty
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany	11 June	Summit
Prime Minister Victor Ciorbea	United States of America	17-25 June	Meeting UN meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Czech Republic	23 June	NATO Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Netherland	27 June	Meeting EU
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany (Bonn)	2 July	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Ukraine	3-4 July	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Spain	8-9 July	NATO Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Japan	12-16 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Indonesia	17-19 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Lithuania	5-6 September	Conferences
President Emil Constantinescu	People's Republic of China	8-12 September	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Belgium Luxembourg	29 Sept. – 1 October	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	France (Strasbourg)	10-11 October	Meeting EU
Prime minister Victor Ciorbea	Israel	3 November	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	France	6-7 November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Vietnam	14-16 November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	India	17-19 November	Summit



## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Emil Constantinescu	Netherland (The Hague)	4 December	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Luxembourg	13 December	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Ireland	13-15 December	Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany	16-19 December	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin	Portugal		Visit
Prime Minister	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 16: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1997.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**1998**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Poland	Minister of Foreign Affairs Bronislaw Geremek	15-16 January	Meeting
Italy	President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro	18 February	Meeting
Republic of Moldova	President	February	Meeting
Brussels – NATO	Secretar General	1-2 April	Meeting
Turkey	Prime minister Mesut Yilmaz	18-19 June	Visit
Hungary	Prime minister Viktor Orban	25 July	Agreement
Perou	President Alberto Fujimori Fujimori	8-9 September	Visit
Kazatan	President Nursultan Nazarbaiev	20-22 September	Visit
Croatia	President Zlatko Matesa	29 September	Visit
EU	President of the Paliamentary Assembly	8 October	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Petru Lucinschi	10 October	Meeting
Bulgaria	President Petar Stoianov	10-11 November	Visit
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	3-4 December	Visit
Slovenia	Prime Minister		Visit

**Table 17: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1998.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Emil Constantinescu	Slovakia	23-24 January	Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Hungary	25-27 January	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Switzerland	1st February - 29 January	Summit
Foreign Minister Andrei Plesu	Republic of Moldova	February	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Netherlands	5-6 March	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Great Britain (London)	11-12 March	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany	2 April	Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	16-17 April	Meeting and Agreement
Foreign Minister Andrei Plesu	Luxembourg	28 April	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	16-17 April	Summit
Foreign Minister Andrei Plesu	France		Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany	13-14 May	Meeting
Premier Radu Vasile	Turkey (Istanbul)	24-26 May	Meeting
President	Canada	24-31 May	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	United States of America	20-21 June	Visit
Premier Radu Vasile	Poland	22-24 June	Meeting
President	Republic of Azerbaijan	29-30 June	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Prime Minister Radu Vasile	Italy	7 July	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Georgia	1-3 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	28 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	United States of America	14-21 July	Visit
Prime Minister Radu Vasile	Holy See	17 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	28 July	Visit
Premier Radu Vasile	Israel	2-6 August	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Republic of Azerbaijan (Baku)	7-8 September	Meeting
Premier Radu Vasile	United State of America	2-3 October	Meeting IMF and World Bank
President Emil Constantinescu	Grece (Delphi)	3-4 October	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkia (Antalya)	12-13 October	Meeting
Premier Radu Vasile	Brussels	20 October	Meeting NATO, EU, UEO
President	Republic of Moldova	22-23 October	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Novegia	25-26 October	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Finland	27-28 October	Meeting
Foreign Minister Andrei Pleșu	Republic of Moldova	October	Meeting
Prime Minister Radu Vasile	France	2-4 November	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Poland	11 November	Ceremony
President	Spain	14-15 November	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Argentina	17-19 November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Slovenia	16-17 November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Bosnia and Herzegovina	18 November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Brussels	25 November	Meeting NATO
Foreign Minister	Portugal		Visit
Foreign Minister	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 18: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1998.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**1999**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Greece	Minister of Foreign Affairs Theodoros Pangalos	20 January	Visit
Jordania	King Hussein	8 February	Visit
Ukraine	Ministre of Foreign Affairs Boris Tarasiuk	18 February	Visit
Luxembourg	Ministre of Foreign Affairs Jacques Poos	23-25 February	Visit
Switzerland	Ministre of Foreign Affairs Flavio Cotti	26 February	Visit
Poland	President Alexander Kwasniewski	4-5 March	Visit
Greece	Minister of Foreign Affairs Georgios Papandreu	11 March	Visit
Turkey	President Suleyman Demirel	11-12 March	Visit
Bulgaria	President Petar Stoianov	11-12 March	Visit
Austria	President Thomas Klestil	18-19 March	Visit
Czech Republic	President Milos Zeman	19 March	Visit
Norway	Minister of Foreign Affairs	7 April	OSCE Visit
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs	7 April	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Armenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Vartan Oskanian	3-5 May	Visit
Great Britain	Prime Minister Tony Blair	4 May	EU negotiation
Vatican	Pope John Paul II	7-9 May	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Radu Vasile	24-25 May	Visit
Slovenia	Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Boris Frlec	31 May	Visit
Slovakia	Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan	3 June	Visit
NATO	General Secretary Javier Solana	7-9 June	Visit
Greece	President Constantinos Stephanopulos	16-18 June	Visit
United States of America	State Secretary Madelaine Albright	22 June	Dicussion
NATO	Secretar General Javier Solana	7 July	Visit
Netherland	Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozias van Aartsen	13 July	Visit
NATO	NATO Commandor Generalul Wesley Clark	15 July	Visit
Pakistan	Monister of Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz	26July	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Ion Sturza	28 August	Visit
Turkey	Vice Prime Minister Cumhur Ersumer	30-31 August	Visit
Norway	King Harald 5ft	10 September	Visit
Norway	Mister of Foreign Affairs Knut Vollebaek	20 September	Visit
Germany	Chancellor Gerhard Schroder	23-24 September	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

EU	European Commissioner Günter Verheugen	28 October	Meeting
United States of America	State Secretary Willian Cohen	30 November	Visit
Slovakia	Prime Minister		Visit
Slovenia	Prime Minister		Visit

**Table 19: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 1999.**



**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Emil Constantinescu	Germany	31 January	Meeting
Prime Minister Radu Vasile	Germany	28-29 January	Working visit
Prime Minister Radu Vasile	Hungary	8-10 February	Working visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Great Britain	8-10 March	NATO Meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany	15 March	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany	1st April	OSCE Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Luxembourg	8 April	OSCE Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	France	14 April	OSCE Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Slovakia	15-16 April	OSCE Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gabriel Plesu	United States of America	23-25 April	NATO Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gabriel Plesu	Belgium	27 April	EU Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gabriel Plesu	Georgia	30 April	CEMN Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	United States of America	23-25 April	NATO Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Poland	16-18 May	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Emil Constantinescu	Ukraine	27-28 May	Visit and discusion
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany	10 June	Meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Danmark	4-6 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	6-7 July	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Germany	8 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Belgium	11 July	Ceremony
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Spain	21-23 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Bosnia & Herzegovina	30 July	Summit
President Emil Constantinescu	Canada (Moncton)	3-5 September	Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Spain	21-23 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	United States of America	21-25 September	UN Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	People's Republic of China	7-17 Octobrie	Visit
President	Qatar	23-24 October	Visit
President	Kuwait	24-25 October	Visit
Prime Minister Radu Vasile	Russian Federation	November	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Finland	11 December	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Turkey	17 November	Visit
Prime Minister Constantinescu	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 20: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 1999.**

**2000**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
EU	President of the European Council Romano Prodi	3 February	Meeting
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Turkia	Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit	12 February	Visit
Portugal	President	3-5 March	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Minister of Foreign Affairs Nicolae Tabacaru	23-24 March	Visit
Slovakia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan	4 April	Visit
Armenia	President Robert Kocharyan	5-7 April	Visit
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affairs Rusalio Vladimir Borisovici	27 April	Visit
Finland	Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen	3-4 May	Visit
Czechia	President Vadav Havel	18-19 May	Official visit
Danmark	Altess Henry	23-25 May	Visit
Estonia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	May	Consultation
Europe	Ministers	6-10 July	OSCE Session
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affaires	October	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Sweden	Minister of Foreign Affairs	November	Visit
Portugal	President		Visit
Portugal	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Slovenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit

**Table 21: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2000.**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Emil Constantinescu	Israel	3-5 January	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Great Britain	7-9 February	Discussion
President Emil Constantinescu	Crotia	18 February	Visit
Prime Minister Mugur Isarescu, Foreign Minister Petre Roman	Brussels	20 March	Presentation
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	Holy Se	April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	Egypt	April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	Algeria	April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	Repblic of Moldova	28 April	Meeting
President Emil Constantinescu	Slovakia	6 June	Visit
President	Crotia	7-9 June	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	United Mexican States	19-23 July	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Emil Constantinescu	Brazil	23-27 July	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Australia	September	Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Holy See	6 October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geoana	Russian Federation	October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	Egypt	October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	France		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman	France		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Portugal		Visit
President Emil Constantinescu	Slovakia		Visit

**Table 22: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2000.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2001**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Republic of Moldova	Minister of Foreign Affairs Nicolae Cernomaz	9-10 January	Visit
Latvia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Indulis Berzins	11 April	Visit
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affairs	April	Visit
-	Mihai I and Queen Anne	18 May	Visit
France	Prime Minister Lionel Jospin	23-24 July	Agreements
Republic of Moldova	President Vladimir Vronin	1st May	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Minister of Foreign Affairs	13-15 May	Visit
Georgia	President Eduard Shevardnadze		Visit
Turkey	President Ahmet Necdet Sez	21-22 June	Visit
Sweden	Prime Minister	24 June	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Vasile Tarlev	27 July	Visit
Lithuania	Minister of Foreign Affairs Antanas Valionis	3-4 December	OSCE Summit
Lithuania	Minister of Defense Linas Linkevicius	5-7 December	OSCE Summit
Portugal	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit

Azerbaijan	Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Quliyev	2-3 December	Visit
Algeria	Minister of Foreign Affairs	4 December	OSCE Summit
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affairs	4 December	OSCE Summit

**Table 23: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2001.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Austria	11 January	OSCE meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu	Turkey	28 February	Visit
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Azerbaijan	1-2 March	OSCE meeting
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Italy	6 April	Discussion
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Sweden	6 April	Visit
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Holy See	10 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Egypt	April	Visit
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Poland	30 May – 1st June	Visit on behalf OSCE
Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu	Sweden	June	Meeting
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Kazakhstan,	3-8 June	Visit on behalf OSCE
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Kyrgyzstan	3-8 June	Visit on behalf OSCE

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Tadzhikistan	3-8 June	Visit on behalf OSCE
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Turkmenistan	3-8 June	Visit on behalf OSCE
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Egypt	June	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Germany	3-6 July	Visit
President	Poland	11-12 July	Visit
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase, Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Israel	16-18 July	Visit
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Finland	11 Spetember	Visit on behalf OSCE
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Finland	15-16 October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Armenia	27 October	Visit on behalf OSCE
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Canada	29 Oct. – 9 Nov.	Visit and cooperation
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	United States of America	29 Oct. – 9 Nov.	Visit and NATO discussion
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Great Britan	29 Oct. – 9 Nov.	Visit
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	France		Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Lithuania	26-27 November	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Severin	Ukraine	27 November	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Latvia	27-28 November	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	France	28-31 November	Visit
President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Belgium	7 December	Visit



## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

President Ion Iliescu	Holy See	17 December	Visit
Prime Minsiter	Portugal		Visit
Prime Minsiter	Korea		Visit
Foreign Minister	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 24: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2001.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2002**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Spain	Foreign Ministry Miguel Bauza	21 January	Visit
Ukraine	Prime Minister	29-30 January	Visit
EU	Enrico Grillo	23-27 February	Visit
Bulgaria	Prime Minister Simeon de Axa Coburg-Gotha	9-19 March	Visit
Germany	President Johannes Rau	19-20 March	Visit
Lithuania	President Algirdas Brazauskas	25-26 March	Spring of New Allies meeting
Poland	President	25-26 March	Spring of New Allies meeting
Latvia	Prime Minister Andris Berzins	25-26 March	Spring of New Allies meeting
World	Head of States	25-26 March	Spring of New Allies' meeting
European Union	Jan Truszczyński	9 April	Visit
European Union	Enrico Grilo Pasquarelli	10 April	Visit
Italia	Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi	17 April	Visit
Luxembourg	Minister of Trade and Foreign Affairs Lydie Polfer	18 April	Visit
Bulgaria	President Gyorgy Pyrvanov	20 April	Discussion on economic cooperation

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Greece	Prime Minsiter Kostas Smitis	20 April	Discussion on economic cooperation
Nigeria	Vice-President	April	Visit
European Union	European Parleмент Elisabeth Schroedter	21 August	Visit
European Union	President of the Foreign Affairs commission Elmar Brok	29 August	Visit
Hungaria	President Ferenc Mádl	2-4 October	Visit
European Union	European Commission Michel Barnier	10-11 October	Visit
Egypt	President	15-16 October	Visit
Italia	Minister for European Affairs Rocco Butiglione	8 November	Visit
European Union	President of the European Parliament Pratick Cox	12-13 November	Visit
United States	President Georges W. Bush	23 November	Visit
Slovakia	President		Visit
Slovenia	President		Visit

**Table 25: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2002.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs	Poland	27 January	Visit on behalf OSCE
Minstry of European Integration	Brussels	28-31 January	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Japan	10-15 February	Visit and economic relations
President Ion Iliescu	Singapore	15-21 February	Visit and economic relations
President Ion Iliescu	Philipines	15-21 February	Visit and economic relations
President Ion Iliescu	The United Arab Emirates	21 February	Visit and economic relations
President Ion Iliescu	Philippines	10-21 February	Visit and economic relations
President Ion Iliescu	Vietnam	10-21 February	Visit and economic relations
Minstry of European Integration	Brussels	19 February	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Turkey	19 January	Visit
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Russian Federation	21 February	Economic relations
Minstry of European Integration	Brussels	27 February	Meeting
Foreign Minister Mircea Geona	Brussels	12 March	Meeting
Romanian President Ion Iliescu	Brussels	24-25 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	May	Visit
Prime Minister	Sweden	29 May	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Romanian President Ion Iliescu	Georgia		Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Brussels	6 June	Visit
Romanian President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Seville - EU	23 June	EU Meeting
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Poland	4 July	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Latvia	5-6 July	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ukraine	15 August	Visit
Romanian President Ion Iliescu	South of Africa	2 September	Summit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Norway	17 September	Visit
Romanian President Ion Iliescu	Ukraine	17-19 September	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Brussels	26 September	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	France	4 October	Visit
Romanian President Ion Iliescu	Azerbaijan	29-30 October	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Poland	14-15 November	Conferences
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Spain	17-18 November	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Hungary	29 November – 1 December	Discussion
Minister of Foreign Affairs	France		Visit
Prime Minsiter Adrian Nastase	Portugal		Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Portugal		Visit
Prime Minister	Slovenia		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 26: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2002.**

**2003**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Sweden	Minister of Foreign Affairs	22 January	Visit
NATO	General Secretary Lord George Robertson	3 March	Discussion
Sweden	King Carl XVI Gustav	8-10 April	Visit
Indonesia	President	April	Visit
Azerbaijan	Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Quliyev	27-30 May	Visit
Russian Federation	Prime Minister Mikhail Kassianov	May	Political discussion
Bulgaria	Head of State	2-4 June	Trilateral Summit
Turkey	Head of State	2-4 June	Trilateral Summit
Spain	King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia	11 June	Visit
Slovakia	Prime Minister	10 June	Visit
Poland	President	8-9 October	Visit
Armenia	President	17-18 November	Visit and Agreement
Ireland	Prime Minister	20 November	Visit
Portugal	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Egypt	Minister of Foreign Affairs	3-4 December	Visit
Rusian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanoc	December	Visit

**Table 27: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2003.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
President Ion Iliescu	Tunisia	10-11 January	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Tunisia	10-13 January	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Algeria	13-15 January	Visit
Prime Minister	Sweden	7 March	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Belgium	26 March	Accession protocol to NATO
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	France		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Republic of Moldova	1st April	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Turkey	4 April	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Turkey	23 May	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Slovenia	10 June	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Russian Federation	4 July	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	The People's Republic of China	19-26 August	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	South of Africa	2 September	Summit
President Ion Iliescu	Poland	4 September	Economic cooperation
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	France	7-9 September	Cooperation
President Ion Iliescu	Kazakhstan	8-10 September	Economic cooperation
President Ion Iliescu	Hungary	15-16 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	France	23 September	European Parliament
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Turkey	14 October	NATO Summit



## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Ion Iliescu	United States of America	28-30 October	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Bulgaria	16 November	Discussion
President Ion Iliescu	France	19-22 November	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Poland	20-21 November	Conferences
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Sweden	27 November	OSCE meeting
President Ion Iliescu	Portugal		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Portugal		Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Slovenia		Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	December	Visit

**Table 28: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2003.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2004**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Armenia	President	14 January	Visit
Norway	Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Petersen	10-11 February	Visit
Ukraine	Minister of Foreign Affairs	18 February	Visit
Poland	Prime Minister	22 March	Visit
Estonia	Minister of Foreign Affairs Kristiina Ojuland	April	Visit
Hungary	Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy	25 April	Reconciliation
European Union	Head of EU Commission Jonathan Scheele	25 April	Reconciliation
Sweden	Prime Minister Goran Person	10-11 May	Cooperation
Turkey	Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan	20-21 May	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Vladimir Voronin	24 May	Visit
Jordania	King Abdallah II	24-25 May	Visit
Egypt	President Hosni Mubarak	24-25 May	Visit
Central European States	Head of States	27-28 May	Summit
Poland	President	27-28 May	Summit & Meeting
People's Republic of China	President Hu Jintao	12-14 June	Visit

**Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Turkey	President Ahmet Necdet Sez	8-9 July	Visit
Turkey	Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul	8-9 July	Visit
Germany	Chancellor Gerhard Schröder	12 August	Personnal visit
Norway	Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik	13-14 September	Visit
Republic of South Africa	President	16 September	Visit
Azerbaijan	President I. Aliyev	11-12 October	Visit
NATO member States	Minsiters of Defence	12-14 October	NATO Summit
Brazil	Vice-President	14-16 October	Visit
France	Premier Minister Jean Pierre Raffarin	18 October	Visit and Contract
Georgia	President Michael Saakashvili		Visit
Portugal	Prime Minister		Visit
Slovenia	President		Visit
Slovenia	Prime Minister		Visit
Slovenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit

**Table 29: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2004.**

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Sweden	26 January	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	United States of America	6 February	Meeting
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	People's Republic of China	16-17 February	Visit
President	Indonesia	February	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Denmark	16-17 March	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	United States of America	29 March	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Belgium	2 April	NATO ceremony
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Sweden	14 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Poland	28-29 April	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Egypt	May	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Turkey	June	NATO Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Irak	3 July	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Slovenia	6 July	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	United States of America	18-21 July	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	Russian Federation	27 July	Treaty
President Ion Iliescu	Canada	17-22 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	United States of America	17-22 September	Visit
President Ion Iliescu	Italy	29 September – 1th October	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

President Ion Iliescu	Holy See	30 September	Visit
Prime Minister Adrian Nastase	United States of America	18-21 July	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Turkey	14 October	NATO Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	France		Visit

**Table 30: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2004.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2005**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Poland	Minister of Foreign Affairs	30 March	Visit
Finland	Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen	12 April	Visit
Ukraine	President Viktor Yushchenko's	21 April	Visit
Turkey	Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul	10-11 May	SEECF Summi
Republic of Moldova	President Vladimir Voronin	11 May	SEECF Summi
European States	Head of States	11 May	SEECF Summi
Hungary	Head of States	20 October	Meeting
Republic of Serbia	President Boris Tadic	23-24 June	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Vladimir Voronin	25 September	Visit
Ukraine	President Viktor Yushchenko's	30-31 October	Visit
Republic of Bulgaria	President Gheorghe Parvanov	3-4 November	Visit
Ukraine	Minister of Foreign Affairs	10 November	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Vasile Tarlev	16 November	Visit
Russian Federation	Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov	December	Visit
Republic of Serbia and Montenegro	President Svetozar Marovic	6-7 December	Visit

Lithuania	President Valdas Adamkus	8-9 December	Visit
Republic of Moldova	President Vladimir Voronin	10 December	Visit
Jordan	King Abdallah II	19-20 December	Visit
Slovenia	President		Visit

**Table 31: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2005.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	France		Visit
Primer Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Hungary	17 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Moldova	21 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Ukraine	23 January	Forum
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Ukraine	22 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Poland	27 January	Ceremony
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Great Britain	31 January – 1th February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Russian Federation	14 February	Discussion
Foreign Minister	Serbia	18 February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	21-22 February	NATO's Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	United States of America	8-11 March	Meeting
Prime Minister	Israel	14-16 March	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Romanian President Traian Basescu	Germany	20-21 March	Cooperation
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Italy	23-24 March	Cooperation
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Great Britain	March	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Turkey	24-25 March	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Iraq	27 March	Visi
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Afghanistan	28 March	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Holy See	8 April	Ceremony
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	Lithuania	20-21 April	GUAM Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Moldova	22 April	GUAM Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai Ravan Ungureanu	Holy See	24 April	Ceremony
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Luxembourg	25 April	Treaty
Primer Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Luxembourg	25 April	Treaty
Foreign Minister Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	Luxembourg	25 April	Treaty
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Russian Federation	8 May	Ceremony
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Canada	9 May	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Poland	16 May	EC Summit



## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Sweden	27 May	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Japan	1st June	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Israel	1-6 July	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Republic of Moldova	9 September	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	United States of America	15-16 September	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Turkey	28-29 September	Visit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	France	6-7 October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Croatia	14-15 October	Summit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	OECD	25 October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Great Britain	27-28 October	Meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	Republic of Moldova	28 October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	Russian Federation	October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Korea	October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Greece	2 November	Meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	14 November	Meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Slovakia	8-9 November	Meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	21-22 November	Meeting

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Romanian President Traian Basescu	Georgia	23 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Ukraine	2 December	Forum
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mircea Geona	Ukraine	2 December	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	15-16 December	European Council meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Irak	21 December	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Irak	21 December	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Afghanistan	22 December	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Lybia	December	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Slovenia		Visit

**Table 32: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2005.**

**2006**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Slovenia	President Janez Dmovsek	30-31 January	Visit
Albania	Minister of Foreign Affairs Besnik Mustafaj	20 Febreuary	Visit
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	President Branko Crvenkiovski	27-28 Febreuary	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Vasile Tarlev	6 April	Visit
Republic of Serbia	Prime Minister V. Kostunica	6 April	Visit
Albania	President	28 April	Visit
Austria	President Heinz Fisher	2-3 May	Visit
Albania	Prime Minister	4 May	SEECF Summit
Azerbaijan	President I. Aliyev	4-6 June	SEECF Summit
Armenia	President	4-5 June	SEECF Summit
Armenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	5 June	SEECF Summit
Black Sea States	Head of States	5 June	SEECF Summit
Ukraine	Minister of Foreign Affairs	5 June	SEECF Summit
Cezch Republic	President Vadav Klaus	10-13 July	Visit
Serbia	President Boris Tadic	25 July	Visit
Republic of Korea	President Roh Moo-hyun	6-7 September	Visit
Kuwait	Prime Minister	14-15 September	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Quebec	Prime Minister Jean Charest	23-30 September	Summit
switzerland	President Moritz Leuenberger	26-27 September	Visit
France	President Jacques Chirac	27 September	Summit
Algeria	President Jacques Chirac	27 September	Summit
Canada	Prime Minister Stephen Harper	27 September	Summit
States of the Francophonie	Head of States	28-29 September	Summit
Albania	Prime Minister	28-29 September	Summit
Tunisia	President	28-29 September	Summit
Republic of Cyprus	Minister of Foreign Affairs Yorgos Liliakas	28-29 September	Summit
Korea	President	September	Visit
Korea	Minister of Foreign Affairs	September	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Prime Minister Vasile Tarlev	10 October	Visit
Republic of Moldova	Minister of Foreign Affairs	20 October	Visit
Georgia	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Gela Bezhuashvili		Visit

**Table 33: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2006.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	25 January	EC meeting
Prime Minister Calin Popescu-Tariceanu	Turkey	1-2 February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Great Britain	February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ukraine	2-3 February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Ukraine	2-3 February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Quatar	14-15 February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Republic of Moldova	16-17 February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	23-24 March	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	People's Republic of China	27-29 March	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Italy	31 March	Congres
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Serbia and Montenegro	18-19 April	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Albania	28 April	Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	29-30 April	Conferences
Foreign Minister Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Lithuania	3-4 May	Treaty
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Lithuania	3-4 May	Summit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ukraine	23 May	GUAM Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	30-31 May	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	15-16 June	EC meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	Estonia	21 June	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Finland	21-22 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Serbia	23 June	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ukraine	24 June	Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	United States of America	26-28 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Iraq	9 August	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Afghanistan	10 August	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu	Finland	1-2 Septembrie	Visit
Prime Minsiter Calin Popescu-Tariceanu	Finland	4-5 Septembrie	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Germany	21-22 Septembrie	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Armenia	5-6 October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Azerbaijan	11-12 October	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Serbia	16 October	Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Finland	19-20 October	EC meeting

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of India	23-25 October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Poland	9-10 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Lebanon	15 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Lybia	15 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Latvia	28-29 November	NATO Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	14-15 December	EC Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	16 December	Visit

**Table 34: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2006.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2007**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Japan	Minister of Foreign Affairs	9-10 January	Visit
France	Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin	1 February	Visit
France	Minister of Foreign Affairs		Visit
Poland	President Lech Kaczynski	1-2 February	Visit
Hungary	President László Sólyom	12-13 February	Visit
Greece	President Karolos Papoulias	15-16 February	Visit
Republic of Cyprus	President Thassos Papadopoulos	13-14 March	Visit
Germany	President Horst Köhler	2-5 July	Visit
Sudan	Minister of Foreign Affairs	July	Visit
Principality of Liechtenstein	Prince Alois	17-19 September	Visit
Republic of Iceland	President Olafur Ragnar Grimsson	19-21 September	Visit
Republic of Azerbaijan	President Ilham Aliyev	24-25 September	Personal Visit
Kingdom of Denmark	Prince Frederik	8-9 October	Visit
Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	Grand Dukes of Henry	12-13 October	Visit
Turkey	Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan	25-26 October	Visit



Former Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro	President Filip Vujanović	30-31 October	Visit
Ukraine	President Viktor Iouchtchenko	30-31 October	Visit
Ukraine	Minsiter of Foreign Affairs	30-31 October	Visit
Repulic of Kazakhstan	President Nursultan Nazarbaev	22-23 November	Visit
Czech Repulic	Vice President A.Vondra	27 November	Visit

**Table 35: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2007.**

**From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Ukraine	15 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Moldova	16 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Serbia	17 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	30-31 January	Visit European Parliament
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Egypt	21-22 February	Visit
Prime Minister	Japan	21-23 February	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	8-9 March	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Luxembourg	15-16 March	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Germany	24-25 March	Ceremony
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Canada	26 April	Summit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Norway	27 April	NATO Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Czech Republic	25 May	Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Azerbaijan	19 June	GUAM Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	21-22 June	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Croatia	24 June	Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	Republic of Turkey	25 June	OCEMN Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Turkey	25 June	OCEMN Summit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu-Tariceanu	Republic of Moldova	29 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Moldova	25 July	OCEMN Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Moldova	20 August	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	3 Octobre	Festival
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Lithuania	10-11 October	Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Spain	18-19 October	EC meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	Czech Republic	22-23 October	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	Republic of Turkey	25 October	OCEMN Summit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	France		Visit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Holy See	7 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Norway	7-6 November	Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Romanian President Traian Basescu	Spain	26-28 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Swiss Confederation	4 December	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Portugal	8-9 December	Summit
Prime Minister	Portugal		Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	14 December	EC meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	Republic of Moldova	21 December	Visit
Prime Minister	Great Britain	December	Visit

**Table 36: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2007.**

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**2008**

### **From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
NATO	General Secretar Hoop Scheffer	11 January	Visit
France	President Sarkozy de Nagy-Bocsa	4 February	Visit
Serbia	President Boris Tadic	21 February	Visit
Sweden	Minister of Foreign Affairs	29 February	Visit
Republic of Turkey	President Abdullah Gul	3-4 March	Visit
Qatar	Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani	5-6 March	Visit
Turkey	President Abdullah Gul	March	Visit
Albania	President and Prime Minister	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Armenia	President and Prime Minister	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Poland	Minister of Foreign Affairs	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Turkey	President Abdullah Gül	2-4 April	Visit
Russian Federation	President Vladimir Putin	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Canada	Prime Minister Stephen Harper	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Great Britain	Prime Minister Gordon Brown	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Spain	President Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero	2-4 April	NATO Summit
NATO States	Head of States	1-4 April	NATO Summit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

United States of America	President George W. Bush	2 April	Visit
Tunisia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	1-3 June	Visit
Republic of Finland	President Tarja Halonen	8-9 June	Visit
Republic of Turkmenistan	President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow	16-17 July	Visit
Republic of Ireland	President Mary McAleese	22-24 September	Visit
Republic of Hungary	President Laszlo Solyom	23 October	Private visit
Republic of Hungary	Prime Minister Zinaida Greacianii	23 October	Visit
Palestinian National Authority	President Mahmud Abbas	2-4 November	Visit
Czech Republic	President Vadav Klaus	10 December	Private visit

**Table 37: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2008.**

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	France	11 January	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Georgia	20 January	Visit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Czech Republic	22 January	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroianu	Tunisia	23-24 January	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Serbia	29 January	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	NATO Headquarter	31 January	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroiu	Norway	10-12 February	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroiu	Ukraine	14 February	Meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Cioroiu	Israel	19-22 February	Meeting
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Sweden	11-12 March	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	13-14 March	EC meeting
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Bosnia and Herzegovina	20 March	Visit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	France	22-23 April	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Kuweit	12 May	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Germany	2 June	Ceremony
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Holy See	9 June	Meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Italy	9 June	Meeting
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	10-20 June	EC meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Poland	27 June	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Albania	30 June	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	30 June	NATO meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Republic of Moldova	7 July	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

Romanian President, Traian Basescu	France	13-14 July	Summit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Italy	31 July	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Serbia	1th August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	People's Republic of China	7-9 August	Ceremony
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Ukraine	20 August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Moldova	20 August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Azerbaidjan	21 August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Georgia	21 August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Turkey	21 August	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	1th September	EC Meeting
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Italy	5-7 September	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Holy See	6 September	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Order of the Knights of Malta – Italy	6 September	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Holy See	6 September	Ceremony
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Republic of Korea	10-12 September	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Spain	4-5 October	Meeting
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	6 October	Conferences
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	15-16 October	EC meeting

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Syria	20-21 October	Visit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	7 November	EC meeting
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Armenia	15-16 November	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Turkey	20 November	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Lazar Comanescu	Republic of Moldova	28 November	Visit
Prime Minister Calin Popescu Tariceanu	Poland (Gdansk)	6 December	Summit
Romanian President, Traian Basescu	Belgium	11-12 December	EC meeting

**Table 38: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2008.**



**2009**

**From Abroad to Romania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Whom</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Republic of Serbia	President Boris Tadic	26-28 March	Visit
Jordania	King Abdallah II	5-6 April	Visit
Principality of Monaco	Prince Albert de Nonaco	23-24 April	Visit
NATO	Secretar General Jaap de Hoop	24 April	Visit
Ethiopa	Minister of Foreign Affairs	May	Visit
Belgium	King Albert II of Belgium	7-9 July	Visit
Armenia	Minister of Foreign Affairs	10 July	Visit
Spain	Princes of Asturias	27-29 July	Visit
Republic of Ajerbaijan	President Ilham Aliyev	28-29 September	Visit
Poland	President Lech Kaczynski	7 October	Visit
Republic of Slovakia	President Ivan Gasparovic	15-17 October	Visit
People's Republic of China	Vice President Xi Jinping	19 October	Visit
United States of America	Vice President Joseph Biden	21-22 October	Visit
Slovakia	President		Visit

**Table 39: Diplomatic Travel to Romania from Abroad in 2009.**

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

### **From Romania to Abroad**

<b>Whom</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Object</b>
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	12 January	EC meeting
State Secretary for Strategic Affairs Bogdan Aurescu	Athen Geece	12 January	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Cristain Diaconescu	Republic of Moldova	22 January	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Cristain Diaconescu	Russian Federation	22 January	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs Cristain Diaconescu	Spain	28-29 January	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Hungary	2-3 February	Visit
Foreign Minister Cristian Diaconescu	Russia	27 February	Meeting
Foreign Minister Cristian Diaconescu	Italy	29 February	Meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	1th March	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Poland	5 March	Visit
Minsiter of Foreign Affairs	Sweden	18 March	OSCE meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	19 March	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	19-20 March	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Austria	23 March	Visit
President	Great Britain	April	Visit

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

President Traian Basescu	Germany	2-4 April	NATO Summit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Czech Republic	5 April	EU-USA Summi
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Liban	15-16 April	Visit
President Traian Basescu	Croatia	29 April	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Israel	31 May – 2 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	France	18-19 May	Visit
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Poland	20 May	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Greece	27-28 May	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Israel	31 May – 2 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Iraq	4 June	Visit
Prime Minister Emil Boc	Poland (Cracovia)	4 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Afghanistan	6 June	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	18-19 June	EC meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Palestinian National Authority	12 July	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Czech Republic	15-16 July	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Turkmenistan	21-22 July	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Republic of Turkmenistan	21-22 July	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Serbia	8 August	Private Visit

## ***Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy***

Foreign Minister Cristian Diaconescu	Turkey	26-27 August	Visit
Prime Minister Emil Boc	Poland (Gdansk)	1 <sup>st</sup> September	Ceremony
Foreign Minister Cristian Diaconescu	France		Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	17 September	Meeting
Romanian President	Belgium	29-30 October	EC meeting
Romanian President	Germany	9 November	Ceremony
State Secretary for Strategic Affairs Bogdan Aurescu	Washington USA	16-17 November	Visit
State Secretary for European Affairs Bogdan Mazuru	Sofia Bulgaria	18 November	Work Meeting
State Secretary for Strategic Affairs Bogdan Aurescu	Ottawa Canada	18-19 November	Visit
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	19 November	EC meeting
Interim Foreign Minister Catalin Predoiu	Brussels Belgium	4 December	
State Secretary for Global Affairs Doru Costea	Copenhagen, Denmark	7-8 December	Meeting
Romanian President	Germany	10 December	Congress
State Secretary for European Affairs Bogdan Mazuru	Brussels, Belgium	10-11 December	NATO meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Belgium	10-11 December	EC meeting
State Secretary for Strategic Affairs	Paris, France	15-16 December	Meeting
Romanian President Traian Basescu	Kingdom of Denmark	17-18 December	ONU meeting

**Table 40: Romanian Diplomatic Travel Abroad in 2009.**

## **Foreign Relations Anniversaries**

**2002** – The 100th anniversary of relations between Romania and Japan was celebrated.

**2002** – The 30th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Philipines was celebrated.

**February, 2005** - 125th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Great Britain was celebrated.

**June, 2005** – The 125th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and United States of America was celebrated.

**August, 2005** – The 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Syrian Arab Republic was celebrated.

**May, 2008** - Celebration of the 60th years of Romanian-Russian diplomatic relationships.

**September 16, 2008** - Celebration of the 130th years of Romanian-Israelian diplomatic relationships.

**December 15, 2008** – Celebration of the 45th anniversary since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Tunisia was celebrated.

**January, 2009** – The 50th anniversary of re-establishment diplomatic relations between Romania and Japan was celebrated

**May 5th, 2009** – The 90th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Poland was celebrated.

**September 29, 2009** – The 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Bulgaria was celebrated.

**November 18-19, 2009** – The 90 years of diplomatic relations between Romania and Canada was celebrated.

**November 25, 2009** - Symposium on the 50th anniversary of re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Japan

**December 10, 2009** – The 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and People's Republic of China was celebrated.

## **Appendix – Foreign Diplomacy**

**December 10, 2009** – The 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Italy was celebrated.

**December 14, 2009** – The 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and Peru was celebrated.

**January 1th, 2010** – The 90th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia was celebrated.

**February 2, 2010** – 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between France, Germany and Great Britain<sup>2006</sup> was celebrated.

**June 14, 2010** - The 130th years of diplomatic relations between Romania and the United States of America.

**November 13, 2010** – The 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Cyprus was celebrated.

---

<sup>2006</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. România celebrează 130 de relații diplomatice cu Franța, Germania și Marea Britanie [online]. (Romania will Celebrate 130th years of diplomatic relations with FRance, Germany and Great Britain.). *Arad Online*, Feb. 20, 2010, Vol. 2010, February 20, 2010. Arad: Inform Media, 2010a. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.aradon.ro/stiri/mapamond/articol/romania-celebreaza-130-de-relatii-diplomatice-cu-franta-germania-si-marea-britanie/cn/news-20100220-01494479>>.

## **Appendix – Romania and the United Nations**

### **Romania in the United Nations Organization**

Although Romania's desire to become part of the United Nations was formally stated back in 1946, but the country's accession was blocked until 1955. On December 14, 1995, the General Assembly decided to accept Romania in the UN.

The Romania's presence will in various bodies of the United Nation entitles is to be a part of the decision making process within the world organization that influences the international situation at global level and in its regional geographical areas. The UN represent by means and its specialized bodies, a source of support for the country's efforts to attend its goals. For this purpose, Romania participates in a series of agencies, committees, bodies and programs within the UN. The Romanian government unlighted that "Romania's involvement in UN peacekeeping operations highlighted the efficiency of the Romanian army and Romania's political availability to attend multinational military activities aimed at preserving international stability."<sup>2007</sup>

Over the time, we need to underline that Romania state as non-permanent member of the Security Council (UNSC) during the Cold War period, in 1962, 1976-1977, and in the recent period in 1990-1991 and 2004-2005. From July 1st, to July 30, 2004, Romania took the Presidency of the UN Security Council.<sup>2008</sup>

Well in 1972, Romania was elected to one of the vice-presidencies of the conference – United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. Romania was membership in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) during the period of 1965-1967, 1974-1976, 1978-1980, 1982-1987, 1990-1998, 2001-2003, with a last mandate from 2007 to 2009. "In 1961, Romania was apparently still considered loyal enough to Moscow in the area of foreign policy to be elected to the East European seat on the Security Council for a split term of one year [in

---

<sup>2007</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *United Nations* [online]. 2005c. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5035&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

<sup>2008</sup> To see : \_\_\_\_\_. *UN Security Council - Members - Romania* [online]. 2010k. United Nations. [cited June 12, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.un.org/sc/searchres\\_sc\\_members\\_english.asp?sc\\_members=134](http://www.un.org/sc/searchres_sc_members_english.asp?sc_members=134)>.

## **Appendix – Romania and the United Nations**

1962].<sup>2009</sup> Also, one have to remember, that in 1967 Corneliu Manescu was the first communist country representative to be president of the UN General Assembly by a vote of 112 to 1...

We can underline that "Romania has been extremely active in [UN] [...] organizations. For instance, Bucharest has attended all six conferences convened by UNCTAD<sup>2010</sup> in 1964, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1979, and 1983, as well as UNIDO<sup>2011</sup> conferences in 1971, 1975, and 1980. "<sup>2012</sup>

More or less eleven UN agencies are represented in Romania. The United Nation Information Center (UNIC) for Romania was opened on June 1970 in Bucharest. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) opened an office in 1971 and provided technical assistance to Romanians' experts. The European Centre for Higher Education of the Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO-CEPES) started its activities on September 21, 1972. The World Health Organization (WHO) opened a representation office in 1990. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is represented in Romania from 1991. The United Nations Children's Fond (UNICEF) established a country Office in Bucharest in 1991. The UN agency, International Labour Organization (ILO), established an office in Bucharest in 1992. The United Nations Joint Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAID) opened an office in Romania in 1997 in order to help the Romanian government to implement a national strategy against extension of HIV infection.

The Secretaries General of the United Nations paid some visits to Romania in May 1963 and in July 1968; Kurt Waldheim in August 1973, August 1974, when he participated in the World Population Conference in Bucharest and in July 1979; Javier Perez de Cuellar in September 1981; Boutros Boutros-Ghali in October 1994. During the Cold War period, these visits should be understood in the context of Romania's admission into the Group of 77 of developing countries in 1976 and Romania's association with the activities of the 'Group of 21' of neutral and non-aligned countries at the Conference on Disarmament, that strengthened the country's position as a beneficiary of the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations.

---

<sup>2009</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 44.

<sup>2010</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. – An UN agency.

<sup>2011</sup> United Nations Industrial Development Organization – An UN agency.

<sup>2012</sup> Weiner, Robert. *Romanian Foreign Policy and the United Nations*. New York: Praeger Publishers Division, 1984. p. 121.



## **Romania's Involvement in UN Peace Operations System<sup>2013</sup>**

Since 1991, Romania has actively participated in UN peacekeeping operations.<sup>2014</sup> It is in April 1991 that Romania initiated its involvement within its first UN peacekeeping operations with the Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). Then Romania has developed its involvement in UN peacekeeping operations with the participation in many missions as:

- United Nations Mission of Observers in Angola (MONUA) to ensure UN staff and assets security with an infantry sub-unit (156 soldiers) from April 1997 to August 26, 1999,
- UN rapid-reaction force (ROMRRF) in MONUA with an infantry sub-unit (156 soldiers) from August 1997 to February 28, 1999
- Multinational Military Forces – Alba Operation (FMP),
- UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),
- United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III) with 36 staff officers and civilian police officers, an infantry battalion (751 soldiers) and a military field-hospital (40 beds, a staff of 110, out of which 45 medical staff) from May 26, 1995 until June 1997,
- United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) with 10 military observer officers from April, 1991 to May 1996,
- United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) with 5 military observers,
- United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) with a total of 20 civilian police officers to the International Police Task Force (IPTF) from June 1998 to June 1999,
- United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) with 26 people and a military officer (MoD) until 70 people from June 1999 to November 1999,
- United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR),
- United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG),
- United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) with a military field-hospital (50 beds and a staff of 236 people) from June 1993 to October 1994,

---

<sup>2013</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania in International Organisations* [online]. 2005b. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=34&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

<sup>2014</sup> To see: \_\_\_\_\_. *United Nations Peacekeeping* [online]. 2010, 2010. United Nations. [cited 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/>>.

## Appendix – Romania and the United Nations

Missions	Militaries	Military Observers	Policemen	Others	Total
EUFOR - Althea	56	0	0	0	56
EULEX - Kosovo	0	0	0	175	175
EUPOL Afghanistan	0	0	8	0	8
ISAF	1010	0	0	0	1010
KFOR	145	0	0	0	145
UNAMA	0	1	0	0	1
UNMIK	0	1	1	0	2
UNMIL	0	2	0	0	2
UNMIN	0	7	0	0	7
UNMIS	0	10	0	0	10
MINUSTAH	0	0	23	0	23
UNMIT	0	0	10	0	10
MONUC	0	22	14	0	36
EUPM-BiH	0	0	5	0	5
EUMM Georgia	0	21	0	0	21
OMIK	0	0	0	2	2
UNOCI	0	7	0	0	7
OSCEBIH	0	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1211</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>1521</b>

**Table 41: Romania Participations in UN Peacekeeping Operations<sup>2015</sup>**

Actually (2010), Romania takes part in the following missions:

- International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) under United Nations Security Council (UNSC),
- United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) with 10 military liaison officers,
- United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) with 5 military liaison officer,
- United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) with 1 military liaison officer,
- United Nations International Police Task Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (IPTF/UNMIBH) with 17 civilian police officers,
- United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) with 5 military observer,
- United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) with 3 military observers,

---

<sup>2015</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Participation aux opérations [online]. (UN peace operations). Réseau francophone de recherche sur les opérations de paix (ROP). Montréal: Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal (CÉRIUM), s.d.-a. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.operationspaix.net/Roumanie>>.. Translated by Marc Bonnemains

## ***Appendix – Romania and the United Nations***

- United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) with 5 military observers
- United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) with 12 military observers,
- United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) with 10 military liaison officers,
- United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) with 1 liaison officer and 26 civilian police officers,
- United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) with 7 military observers,
- United Nations Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) with 2 military liaison officers

We can underline that a Romanian national, Liviu Bota has been the Special Envoy of the Secretary General and the head of the Observer Mission of the United Nations in Georgia (UNOMIG) from July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1997 to October 18, 1999.

On September 23, 1998, Romania became the 18th UN member state, out of the 80 that joined the UN Stand-by Arrangement, to sign the Agreement Memorandum with the United Nations in this field. On 3 October 1999, Romania became full member of Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG) closed on June 30, 2009.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

This annexe is build with information find on the official web site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA),<sup>2016</sup> the web site of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),<sup>2017</sup> as well as in Romanian local newspapers, and in French, English, American... newspapers. We used also some books, as '*Romania 1989-2005 - A Chronological History*'<sup>2018</sup>, '*Romania-NATO Chronology 1998-2004*'<sup>2019</sup> and some other else.

This information could be not exhaustive even if we took attention to build it.

### **1990**

July 1990 – the Prime Minister of Romania, Mr. Petre Roman writes a letter to NATO Secretary General, Mr. Manfred Womer, inviting him to visit Romania. The letter also suggests the accreditation of a Romanian Ambassador to NATO.

October 1990 – the Romanian Ambassador to Belgium is authorised to initiate diplomatic relations with NATO.

October 1990 – Romanian Prime Minister meets NATO Secretary General in Brussels.

---

<sup>2016</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *A chronology of Romania - NATO relationship* [online]. 2009d. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from:

<<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=11154&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.  
<sup>2017</sup> NATO. *Romania - NATO. Chronology of key events* [online]. 2004, 15 Jan. 2004 14:56. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. [cited 15 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from:

<<http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/romania/chronology.htm#top>>.  
<sup>2018</sup> Stoica, Stan. *Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History*. Trans. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* by Barbu, Ileana and Dolgu, Daniela. Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2005a.

<sup>2019</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *Romania - Nato: Chronology 1989-2004*. Bucharest: Institute for Political Studies of Defense and Military History, 2004.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

December 1990 - Romanian military Chief of Staff visits NATO Headquarters in Brussels, meets NATO Secretary General and the permanent military representatives of the NATO Member States.

### **1991**

July 1991 – NATO Secretary General Manfred Wornat visits Romania.

October 1991 - Romanian President Ion Iliescu sends a message to NATO Secretary General stating Romania's willingness to engage in a close cooperation with NATO, as the only organization capable, from the political and military point of view, to ensure the stability and security of the emerging European democracies.

December 1991 – Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs attends the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). He proposes to intensify cooperation with NATO.

### **1992**

February 1992 - NATO Secretary General Manfred Wornat visits Romania. The Euro-Atlantic centre (Casa NATO) is inaugurated.

### **1993**

February 1993 – President Ion Iliescu visits NATO Headquarters. Romania's desire to integrate the Euro-Atlantic structures is reaffirmed.

October 1993 - US Deputy Defence Secretary visits Bucharest and presents the US proposal on setting up of a Partnership for Peace.

### **1994**

January 1994 - Romania is the first post-communist country to join the Partnership for Peace programme (PFP) (January 26, 1994). This individual programme is signed in May 1995.

### **1995**

October 1995 - Romania signs the 'Status of Forces Agreement' between the NATO members and the participants to PFP.

### **1996**

May 1996 - NATO Secretary General Javier Solana visits Romania.

June 1996 – The Romanian Parliament appeals to the Parliaments of the NATO Member States requesting support for Romania's aspirations to become a

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

NATO member. The appeal underlines the domestic political consensus regarding this major goal of Romanian foreign policy.

### **1997**

February 1997 - Romanian President Emil Constantinescu meets the members of the North Atlantic Council and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana in Brussels. On this occasion, he underlines Romania's firm desire to join NATO.

April 1997 – The Romanian Parliament unanimously approves a message addressed to the 16 NATO members, calling support for a decision in favour of Romania's NATO membership, at the Madrid Summit.

July 8-9, 1997 - NATO holds its 'enlargement' summit in Madrid; the Alliance decides to invite the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to join the Alliance. The final communiqué confirms that the process of enlargement is ongoing. The text nominates Romania among the candidate countries, which have made significant progress in fulfilling the NATO membership criteria.

### **1998**

April 1998 - NATO Secretary General Javier Solana pays an official visit to Romania.

October 1998 – The Romanian Parliament approves NATO's request that aircraft of the Alliance may use the country's air space for possible military operations against Yugoslavia, but under "urgent and exceptional situations" only.

### **1999**

February 1999 - Military from Romania and the United States set up an air traffic-monitoring centre covering, besides Romanian territory, the neighbouring areas also.

March 1999 – Following a NATO request, Romania closes three airports in the Western part of the country - Timisoara, Arad and Caransebes - until the end of the operations of the Alliance against Yugoslavia.

April 18, 1999 - NATO requests Romania to open its air space to Allied aircraft.

April 20, 1999 - Romania's Supreme Council for the Defence of the Country (CSAT) and the Government approve this request.

April 22, 1999 – The Parliament authorizes NATO aircraft to use Romanian air space during the operations in Yugoslavia.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

April 23-25, 1999 – The 15th NATO Summit in Washington; NATO presents the Membership Action Plan (MAP) which sets the ground for a mechanism meant for the individual preparation and assessment of the candidate countries.

May 1999 – The Ministry of Defence confirms that NATO air force may use Romanian airports during its operations in Yugoslavia.

May 1999 - Representatives of the Romanian Government and NATO sign an agreement on the conditions under which Allied aircraft will be able to use the Romanian air space.

June 9, 1999 – Romania involved in NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) with 148 military personnel.

June 17, 1999 – The Romanian Parliament approves by a majority of votes the request made by President Emil Constantinescu that Polish and Czech contingents within international peacekeeping units for Kosovo (KFOR) be allowed to transit Romanian territory during their transfer to Yugoslavia.

July 1999 - NATO Secretary General Javier Solana visits Romania.

### **2000**

February 2000 - NATO Secretary General George Robertson visits Bucharest.

June 2000 - New Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Joseph Ralston, visits Romania.

### **2001**

May 2001 - The North Atlantic Council - Romania meeting aimed at reviewing progress made in fulfilling.

May 2001 – The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) Ministerial Meeting is held in Budapest, Hungary.

September 19, 2001 – The Parliament decides with an overwhelming majority that Romania will participate, as a de facto NATO ally, in the war against international terrorism, through all means, including military ones. In the event of a NATO request to such effect, Romania will grant access to its airspace, airports, and land and sea facilities.

September 27, 2001 – The Government adopt the *National NATO Accession Plan* establishes the objectives in all fields essential to NATO integration.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

December 2001 – The EAPC Ministerial meeting is held in Brussels, Belgium.

December 2001 - NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson visits Bucharest, Romania.

### **2002**

January 2002 - Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Joseph Ralston, visits Romania, noting the progress made in the reform of the military field.

March 25-26, 2002 – The 'Spring of New Allies' Summit of the NATO candidate countries takes place in Bucharest, Romania.

April 4, 2002 – The government of Romania adopt a NATO integration plan consisted in seven chapters (military reform, corruption, securing information, economic reform, child's right, the minorities' rights, human being trafficking) that establishes a short-term concrete steps to the September 2002 NATO meeting.

April 2002 – The North Atlantic Council–Romania meeting is held. The latest progress made by Romania in fulfilling the objectives of Annual National Plan of Preparation for NATO Membership, third cycle, was reviewed. The Prime Minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, led the Romanian delegation.

April 2002 – A meeting between President Ion Iliescu and NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson is held in Brussels, Belgium.

May 2002 – the EAPC Ministerial meeting in held in Reykjavik, Ireland.

July 8-9, 2002 – Romania joins the United States in the Afghanistan campaign with an infantry battalion. This gesture was made to indicate the strong wish to join NATO.

November 21, 2002 – At the Prague NATO Summit (the 16th NATO Summit), Romania is invited to join the Alliance.

November 22, 2002 – The EAPC Ministerial Meeting is held in Prague, Czech Republic.

December 13, 2002 – The first round of Romania's accession talks with NATO takes place in Brussels. The State Secretary within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mihnea Motoc, led the Romanian delegation.

### **2003**



## ***Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization***

January 9, 2003 – A second round of Romania's accession talks to NATO takes place in Brussels, Belgium.

January 27–29, 2003 – A NATO's experts teams on defence, security and economic affairs visit Romania.

February 18, 2003 – The Political Committee at Senior Level 'reinforced' by national expert (SPC(R)) meeting plus Romania takes place in Brussels. Romania's calendar for finalizing the reforms is addressed.

March 2003 – NATO Secretary General, Lord George Roberston visits Romania to encourage Romania to further its Alliance integration efforts, to continue economic reforms and fight corruption.

March 21, 2003 – The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs writes to NATO Secretary General, confirming Romania's willingness and ability to meet the obligations and commitments required for NATO membership. Romania's calendar for finalizing the reforms is attached to this formal letter.

March 26, 2003 – The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs attends the Signing Ceremony of the Accession Protocols, in Brussels, Belgium.

April 2003 – An informal meeting of the Prime Ministers of the seven NATO invitees takes place in Snagov, Romania.

May 7, 2003 – The North Atlantic Council (NAC) plus the seven NATO invitees held a meeting in Brussels, Belgium.

May 7-8, 2003 – Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the seven NATO invitees attend US Senate vote on the resolution of ratification of the Accession Protocol.

May 8, 2003 – US Congress ratifies accession protocols.

May 19, 2003 – US Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz visits Romania.

May 20-22, 2003 – Vilnius and NATO Member States' Parliament Speakers convene.

June 3-4, 2003 – The North Atlantic Council (NAC) and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) Foreign Ministers meet in Madrid.

June 12-13, 2003 – The Ministerial meeting of Defence Ministers holds in Brussels, Belgium.

July 1, 2003 – A Romanian military contingent leave for Iraq to support the coalition led by the United States.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

July 1-3, 2003 – The final conference is in preparation of NATO/PfP DACIA – 2003 Exercise focusing on civil protection.

July 7-12 2003 – Norwegian Minister of Defence pays a visit to Bucharest, Romania.

July 25, 2003 – Hand-over ceremony of the chairmanship of the South-Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial Coordination Committee (SEDM-CC) and of the Political-Military Steering Committee (PMSC) of the Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe (MPFSEE) and of the command of the SEEBRIG multinational force, and of the re-location of the SEEBRIG Headquarters to Constanta. Admiral Gregory Johnson, chief of Allied Forces Southern Europe (AFSOUTH), attended the event.

August 4-5, 2003 – Official visit to Romania of the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, General James L. Jones.

October 6-10, 2003 – An NATO/PfP DACIA–2003 Exercise is organized in Pitesti, Romania.

November 18, 2003 – SPC(R) meeting plus Romania s held in Brussels to discuss the Annual National Programme (ANP) V.

December 2, 2003 – EAPC ministerial meeting of Defence Ministers is held in Brussels, Belgium.

December 4, 2003 – A NAC+7 ministerial meeting of Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels, Belgium.

### **2004**

February 26, 2004 – The Parliament of Romania unanimously adopts the law on accession to the North Atlantic Treaty.

March 1, 2004 – The law on accession to the North Atlantic Treaty is passed by President Ion Iliescu.

March 4, 2004 – Mr. Ion Iliescu signs Romania's accession instrument to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

March 29, 2004 – The Prime Minister of Romania, Mr. Adrian Nastase, submits Romania's accession instrument to the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington, USA.

March 29, 2004 – Romania becomes legally a NATO member with full rights.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

April 2, 2004 – The ceremony of hosting the National Flags at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels and informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held.

April 20, 2004 – The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mircea Geoana meets the Ambassadors of the NATO Member States accredited to Romania.

May 10-12, 2004 – A visit is paid to Romania by NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, Mr. Jean Fournet and his participation to 'Changing Perceptions in South Eastern Europe' seminar.

May 13-14, 2004 – NATO Secretary General, Mr. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, pays a visit to Bucharest.

May 28 - June 1st, 2004 – NATO Parliamentary Assembly Spring Session takes place in Bratislava, Slovakia.

June 14-15, 2004 – the annual meeting of PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes takes place in Bucharest, Romania.

June 28-29, 2004 – The 17th NATO Summit is held in Istanbul, Turkey.

October 13-14, 2004 – In Poiana Brasov is hosted the informal meeting of NATO Defence Ministers.

October 23-31, 2004 – A research visit to Romania (and Bulgaria) is paid by NATO Military Budget Committee.

November 12-16, 2004 – The annual Session of NATO Parliamentary Assembly is held in Venice, Italy.

December 8-9, 2004 – The meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

### **2005**

February 9-10, 2005 – An informal meeting of NATO Defence Ministers is held in Nice, France.

April 20-21, 2006 – An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Vilnius, Lithuania.

### **2006**

April 3, 2006 – on NATO's anniversary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in partnership with the Romanian Diplomatic Institute organized '*NATO in the perspective of the Riga Summit*' conference. NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, Mr. Jean Fournet, represented NATO.

## **Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

April 27-28, 2006 – An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Sofia, Bulgaria.

May 12, 2006 – At NATO Headquarters, in a ceremony chaired by NATO Secretary General, Romania signed the establishment documents for NATO Assistance Fund/Partnership for Peace - OSCE/ENVSEC (Environment and Security Initiative) for the disposal of hazardous chemicals and pesticides in Republic of Moldova. Romania, together with Belgium, took over the task of coordinator country for stage 1 of this project, in the context of holding the mandate of NATO Contact Point Embassy in Chisinau (CPE), for 2005-2006.

### **2007**

January 26, 2007 – A meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels, Belgium.

March 28, 2007 – The NAC in Brussels adopted the decision regarding the organization of 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest (April 2-4, 2008), Romania.

April 24-25, 2007 – An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Oslo, Norwegian.

October 29, 2007 – NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer pays a visit to Bucharest, Romania.

December 6-7, 2007 – A meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels, Belgium.

January 2007 – December 2008 – Romania holds the second mandate as NATO Point of Contact Embassy in Chisinau. Romania had a substantial contribution to finalizing and opening the NATO Information and Documentation Centre in Chisinau.

### **2008**

February 7-8, 2008 – An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

March 6, 2008 – An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

April 2-4, 2008 – The 20th NATO Summit is held in Bucharest, Romania.

May 24-26, 2008 – A seminar '*South East Europe towards Euro-Atlantic Integration*' was jointly organised by the NATO PA and the parliament of Montenegro in Sveti Stefan, Montenegro.

## ***Appendix – North Atlantic Treaty Organization***

June 12-13, 2008 – A meeting of NATO Defence Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

August 19, 2008 - A meeting of NATO Defence Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

September 18-19, 2008 - An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in London, United Kingdom.

October 9-10, 2008 - An informal meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers is held in Budapest, Hungary.

December 2-3, 2008 - A meeting of NATO Defence Ministers is held in Brussels at the NATO's headquarter.

### **2009**

January 2009 - The Embassy of Romania in Baku holds the mandate of NATO Contact Point Embassy (CPE) in Azerbaijan (until December 2010).

## **Appendix – European Union**

This annexe is build with information find on the official web site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA),<sup>2020</sup> the web site of the European Union (EU), as well as in Romanian local newspapers, and in French, English, American... newspapers. We used also some books, as 'Romania 1989-2005 - A Chronological History'<sup>2021</sup>, 'Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005'<sup>2022</sup> and some other else.

This information could be not exhaustive even if we took attention to build it.

I would like to underline that Romania was the first country of Central and Eastern Europe to have official relations with the European Community. In 1974, an agreement included Romania in the Community's Generalised System of Preferences and an Agreement on Industrial Products was signed in 1980.

Romania has been participated in European Union peacekeeping operation and military operation during it accession process and after.

Romania has been in:

- European Union Military Operation in Chad and Chad-RCA (EUFOR Chad-RCA),
- European Union Police mission in the Former Republic Yugoslav of Macedonia (EUPOL-Proxima),
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Mission to Georgia (OSCE – Georgia).

---

<sup>2020</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *A chronology of Romania - NATO relationship* [online]. 2009d. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited 23 Jan. 2009]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=11154&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

<sup>2021</sup> Stoica, Stan. *Romania 1989-2005. A Chronological History*. Trans. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica* by Barbu, Ileana and Dolgu, Daniela. Bucureşti: Editura Meronia, 2005a.

<sup>2022</sup> Ionescu, Mihail E. (coord.). *România - Uniunea Europeană: cronologie: 1989-2005* (Romanian - European Union: Chronology 1989-2005). Bucureşti: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară - Editura Militară, 2006.

Actually, Romania takes part in:

- European Union Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR – Althea),
- European Union Rule of Law mission in Kosovo (EULEX – Kosovo),
- European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia (EUMM Georgia ),
- European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM-BiH),
- European Union EU Police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan),
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Mission in Kosovo (OMIK),
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSCEBIH),

## **Appendix – European Union**

### **1990**

March 20, 1990 – Letter to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe and the president of the Committee of Ministers of the European Council.

May 29, 1990 – Romania signed the Constitution of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development – 4,800 shares for 48 millions of Ecu.

June 7-8, 1990 - Starting negotiation between Romania and EC for a commercial and cooperation agreement.

June 1990 - Opening of a permanent delegation of the European Commission.

September 17, 1990 - European Commission adopt regulation to extend the PHARE program to the other CEECs as well Romania.

September 18-19, 1990 - In Snagov, Meeting of the Ministers for Reforms from CEECs with EC representing.

October 22, 1990 - Signature of the Agreement of Economic and Commercial Co-operation between the EEC and Romania

### **1991**

January 30 – February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991 - The Parliamentary Commission of the European Council gave the special guest statute to Romania.

February 19, 1991 - Signature of the Agreement of Economic and Commercial Co-operation between the European Economic Community and Romania.

March 11-12, 1991 - Indicative Program of PHARE assistance for Romania.

May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991 - The Romania-European Community agreement enter in vigor.

May 30, 1991 - The first Romania-European Community mixed commission session.

July 10, 1991 - Finance ministers of the European Community approved a credit of 125 millions of Dollars for Romania.

October 3d, 1991 - European sentence against the Mineriad.



October 31, 1991 - WEU makes a working visit with the Secretary General, Dr. Willem van Eeckelen.

December 13th, 1991 - Authorization to start preliminary negotiation from the EEC.

December 18-19, 1991 - Signature of the Cultural European Convention.

## **1992**

May 1992 - Strasbourg's session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council underline that Romania cannot be a full member with rights.

June 18-19, 1992 - In Brussels spreads out the first round of negotiation for the Treaty of Association.

June 26-27, 1992 - In Lisbon the European Council stated that the Union would assist "their efforts to prepare the accession to the Union which they [(CEECs)] seek".<sup>2023</sup>

September 14, 1992 - In Brussels, the Commission spreads out the second round of negotiation for the Treaty of Association.

November 17, 1992 - The sign of the European Association Agreement between CEE and Romania.

## **1993**

February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1993 - Romania signed the Agreement for Romania's Association to the EEC.

February 13-14, 1993 - The first Romania-EU Business Forum in Brussels.

May 1993 - Interim Trade and Cooperation Agreement.

May 12, 1993 - Romania signed the PHARE program for Romania (1993-1995).

---

<sup>2023</sup> Laursen, Finn and Vanhoonacker, Sophie. *The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty: issues, debates, and future implications* Vol. 2010. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994. (European Institute of Public Administration). p. 394-395.

## **Appendix – European Union**

June 21-22, 1993 – In Copenhagen, the European Council stated with the European Agreement that “the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union.”<sup>2024</sup>

September 8, 1993 - Karen Fogg arrived as the first permanent chief of the permanent mission of EEC in Bucharest.

September 21, 1993 - Teodor Melescanu took part in an EEC and CEECs Foreign Ministers meeting.

October 1993 – Romania became a member of the Council of Europe.

November 26, 1993 - Agreement’s sign

December 21, 1993 - Annexe to the Interim Agreement between EEC and Romania

### **1994**

May 9, 1994 – Romania is granted the status as an associate partner of the European Union.

January 18, 1994 - Meeting between EU and Romania in Athena.

May 9, 1994 - The Kirchberg Declaration which emphasises on the establishment of a Status of Association with WEU for CEECs within Romania.

May 9-11, 1994 – A conference organize by the European Delegation in Bucharest. The EU Inaugurated the Information European Center in Bucharest.

May 16-17, 1994 – The visit of Egon Klepsch, President of the European parliament, in Bucharest.

May 21-28, 1994 – The visit of André Middelhock, President of EU Court of Auditors, in Bucharest.

---

<sup>2024</sup> European Parliament. *Copenhagen European Council - Conclusions of the Presidency - 21-22 June 1993*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Communities, 1993. [cited 23 May 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf)>. p. 13.

June 1994 - Ratification of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights.

June 24-25, 1994 – In Corfu, the European Council states that “full potential [of Agreements] must now be exploited with a view to preparing for accession.”<sup>2025</sup>

October 1994 – The Second Commission Romania-EU.

October 3rd, 1994 – A EU Delegation in Bucharest

October 25, 1994 - EU grant 25 millions ECU to Romania for transport infrastructure.

October 31, 1994 – The Kirschberg Summit

December 9, 1994 – The Minister of Agriculture, Valeriu Tabara went for a negotiation meeting in Brussels.

December 9-10, 1994 - In Essen, the European Council states that “accession of all European countries with which it has concluded Europe Agreements”.<sup>2026</sup>

December 22, 1994 – Signing of an additional agreement between EU and Romania.

## **1995**

January 1995 – Creation of the Department of European Integration in Romania’s government.

February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1995 - Entry in force of the European Agreement of Association between EU and Romania.

February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1995 - Romania signed a convention on the protection of national minorities.

February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1995 - Ratification the Council of Europe’s Framework Agreement on Minorities, signed by Romania

---

<sup>2025</sup> European Parliament. *Corfu European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 24 and 25 June 1994* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1994a. [cited 27 May 2008]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/cor1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/cor1_en.htm)>. p. 9.

<sup>2026</sup> European Parliament. *Essen European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 9 and 10 December 1994* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1994b. [cited 27 May 2008]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ess1\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ess1_en.htm)>. p. 7.

## ***Appendix – European Union***

February 20-21, 1995 –An EU delegation discussed about harmonization of Romanian legislation with EU norms.

March 20-21, 1995 - PSCE Summit is hold in Paris. A Romanian delegation attends the Summit.

April 19-20, 1995 - Creation of the Romanian-EU Mixte Parliamentary Committee. They hold two sessions per years.

June 22, 1995 - Romania submitted the application for its accession to the European Union.

July 17, 1995 – The Council of Ministers implemented the procedure laid down in Article O of the Treaty.

September 3, 1995 – The visit of the European Parliamentary Reporter, Arie M. Oostlander in Romania.

September 14-15, 1995 – Meeting of Association Committee (Romania-EU).

September 16-17, 1995 - Meeting of Parliamentary Association Committee (Romania-EU).

October 12-13, 1995 – The first session of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU) in Bucharest.

October 16-17, 1995 - Second meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

### **1996**

February 23, 1996 - New meeting of the Romanian Ministerial Committee for European Integration with Karen Frogg, the chief of European permanent commission.

February 27-28, 1996 - Second meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

April 26, 1996 - The European Commission send to Romania a questionar to prepare the documentation for Romanian Admission in EU.

May 29-31, 1996 - Third meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

May 31, 1996 - Romanian is admitted in the ICE.

July 12, 1996 - Debate in the Interministerial Committee for European Integration about the European Commission's questionar.

July 25, 1996 - The European Commission's questionar is send to Brussels.

September 9, 1996 - Sign of two PHARE program documents in Romania for the period 1996-1999.

## **1997**

July 1997 - The Commission published an "Opinion on Romania's Application for Membership of the European Union". In the following year, a Regular Report on Romania's Progress towards Accession" was produced.

January 1997 - Creation of the Ministry of European Integration in the Romanian's government.

January 1997 - Partipating in Socrates, Leonardo and Youth for Europe programs.

March 6-7, 1997 - The visit of Hans van den Broek in Bucharest.

March 10-20, 1997 - The fourth meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

March 24, 1997 - The third meeting of the Romanian-EU Association Council in Brussels.

April 10-11, 1997 - The visit of the President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, in Bucharest.

April 12, 1997 - Romania signed the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA) Agreement.

May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1997 - Ratification, in Strasbourg, of the European convention for the repression of terrorism.

July 17, 1997 - The Commission's opinion for Romania's application to the EU membership is negative.

September 24-26, 1997 - The fifth meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

## **Appendix – European Union**

December 12-13, 1997 –The European Council in Luxembourg is historical moment for the EU and CECS with the decision “to launch of the overall enlargement process”.<sup>2027</sup>

### **1998**

February 1998 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee

March 1998 - Presentation of the National Programme for Adoption of the Aquis (NPAA).

March 30, 1998 – The Accession process was formally launched between EU and CEECs. An Association Partnership was adopted with Romania.

April 3d, 1998 – The analytical examination of the acquis (screening) started.

April 1998 - Meeting of the Association Council (Romania-EU)

October 1998 - A meeting is holded for the Association Committee (Romania-EU).

November 1998 - The European Commission presents the first Report on Romania’s progress towards the fulfilment of accession criteria.

### **1999**

April 1999 - Meeting with the Association Council (Romania-EU).

April 1999 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

May 1999 - Ratification of the European Social Chapter by Romania.

June 1999 - Presentation of a revised NPAA.

September 1999 - Meeting with the Association Committee (Romania-EU).

---

<sup>2027</sup> European Parliament. *Luxembourg European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 12-13 December 1997*. [online]. Brussels: Council of the European Union, 1997. [cited 27 April 2006]. Hypertext Markup Language. Available from: <[http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm)>. p. 1.

October 1990 – A second "Regular Report" on Romania is published and the Commission recommended starting accession negotiations with Romania (conditional on the improvement of the situation of children in institutional care and the drafting of a medium-term economic strategy).

October 1999 – The Commission's conditional recommendation started accession negotiations.

December 10-11, 1999 - The Helsinki European Council's decision to invites Romania to start accession negotiations in 2000.

## **2000**

February 15, 2000 – Following the Helsinki European Council's decision in December 1999, accession negotiations started with Romania.

March 20, 2000 – Presentation to officials in Brussels of *Romania's Economic Development Strategy* by the Prime Minister Mugur Isarescu and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Petre Roman. During the meeting, questions arose about the street children, the Schengen visas for Romanian citizens and the control at the border with the Republic of Moldova.

March 2000 - Meeting of the Association Council (Romania-EU).

May 2000 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romanian-EU).

June 14, 2000 - First round of negotiations held with Romania.

October 2000 - Meeting of the Association Committee (Romania-EU).

## **2001**

January 2001 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romanian-EU) in Brussels.

March 2001 - Meeting of the Association Council (Romania-EU).

October 2001 - Meeting of the Association Committee (Romania-EU).

December 7, 2001 – The EU Council for Justice and Internal Affairs sanctions as of January 1st, 2002, the suppression of visas needs for Romanian citizens travelling in the Schengen space.

## **Appendix – European Union**

December 14-15, 2001 – In Laeken, the European Council decided that “[t]he accession process which is now irreversible”.<sup>2028</sup>

December 2001 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romanian-EU) in Bucharest.

### **2002**

January 2002 - A revised Accession Partnership was adopted for Romania.

March 2002 - Meeting Association Council (Romania-EU).

April 15-16, 2002 - 13th Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romanian-EU) in Brussels.

June 21-22, 2002 – In Seville, The European Council encouraged Romania to pursue their efforts.

June 28, 2002 - 3rd Association Conference Romanian-EU in Brussels

June 2002 – Adoption of the National Program for Romania Accession to the European Union (PNAR 2002).

July 30, 2002 - Accession conference Romania-EU in Brussels.

July 2002 - Transfer of the SPARD program to Romanian management.

October 9, 2002 – The European Union release the reports on the evolution on Romania. This report underlines that Romania failed to meet the functioning market economic criterion, the weaknesses of the Romanian administration and corruption problems.

October 29, 2002 - 3rd annual meeting of the Joint Monitoring Committee (Romania-EU) in Bucharest.

November 8, 2002 - Agreement signed for the Romanian participation to the EUPM in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

---

<sup>2028</sup> European Parliament. *Laeken European Council - Presidency Conclusions - 14 and 15 December 2001* [online]. (European Council). Brussels: Council of the European Union, 2001. [cited 27 May 2007]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/background/docs/laeken\\_concl\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/background/docs/laeken_concl_en.pdf)>. p. 2.



November 2002 - Meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU) in Bucharest.

November 2002 - Romania adopted an Accession roadmap.

December 2002 - Meeting of an Association Committee (Romania-EU).

December 2002 - Meeting of a Joint Consultative Committee (Romania-EU) in Bucharest.

December 12-13, 2002 – The European Commission Summit in Copenhagen established a new road map for Romania setting as an objective their accession to the European Union in 2007.

### **2003**

May 2003 - Meeting of the Association Council (Romania-EU).

May 2003 - The Council adopted a revised Accession Partnership.

June 2003 - Meeting of an Association Committee (Romania-EU).

June 2003 - The European Council in Thessaloniki expresses support for the closing of Romania's accession negotiations in 2004.

19 and 20 June 2003. -

August 23, 2003 – The Romanian government adopts the *Economic EU Pre-accession Program*.

November 2003 - Meeting of a Joint Consultative Committee (Romania-EU).

November 2003 - Meeting of a Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

November 5, 2003 – The European Commission release the regular report on Romania that shows that the country “can be

## **Appendix – European Union**

considered as a functioning market economy once the good progress made has continued decisively".<sup>2029</sup>

December 12, 2003 – The European Council states that the admitting of Romania on January 1, 2007 as EU members, if they fit the criteria is the common objective of the Union's states members

### **2004**

January 15, 2004 – President Ion Iliescu chairs a government meeting to discuss on Romania's EU accession program and especially on the 8 chapters in negotiation until the end of the year.

April 2004 - Meeting of a Joint Parliamentary Committee (Romania-EU).

June 2004 - Meeting of an Association Committee.

July 2004 - Treaty draft between Romania and EU.

October 6, 2004 - The European Commission presents the annual report on Romania for 2004, as well as the Strategy Document concerning the perspectives of the enlargement process. The documents assert the firm support of the European Commission for the close of accession negotiations with Romania by the end of 2004.

December 14, 2004 - Closure of the accession negotiations.

December 16-17, 2004 – During the summit of the heads of states and government of the EU member states, the completion of the Romania and Bulgaria's accession negotiations is confirmed. It is decided that the accession will be on January 1st, 2007.

### **2005**

April 13, 2005 - Romania receives the Assent of the European Parliament for the signing of the Accession Treaty.

April 25, 2005 – The ceremony of signing the EU accession Treaty for Romania took place in Luxembourg. A large delegation of

---

<sup>2029</sup> European Commission. *Regular Report on Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2003. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNTC/UNPAN012661.pdf>>. p. 44.

Romanian official was present as President Traian Basescu, Prime Minister Calin Popescu-Tariceanu, Foreign Minister Mihai Razvan Ungureanu, more than ten ministers, as well the former presidents Emil Constantinescu and Ion Iliescu.

June 16-17, 2005 - First European Council in which Romania participates in her new capacity as observer.

June 21, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by Slovakia.

September 26, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by Hungary.

September 29, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by Slovenia.

October 25, 2005 – The European Commission releases the Regular Report for Romania. This report confirms that Romania has met the political criteria and is a functioning market economy. However, the report underlines that Romania needs to make effort on some European requirements thru fighting corruption, securing border, transparency in public procurement...<sup>2030</sup>

October 27, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by the Republic of Cyprus.

November 2, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by Greece.

November 16, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by Estonia.

December 6, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty by the Czech Republic .

December 14, 2005 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Spain.

---

<sup>2030</sup> To see: European Commission. *2005 Regular Report on Romania* [online]. Brussels: European Commission Enlargement, 2005. (Enlargement Archives). [cited 26 March 2008]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <[http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy\\_documents/2005/sec1354\\_cmr\\_master\\_ro\\_college\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archivesy_documents/2005/sec1354_cmr_master_ro_college_en.pdf)>.

## ***Appendix – European Union***

### **2006**

January 24, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Malta.

January 26, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Latvia.

February 16, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by United Kingdom.

March 8, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Portugal.

March 30, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Poland.

May 9, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Sweden.

May 11, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Austria.

May 16, 2006 - European Commission issues the Monitoring Report on Romania and Bulgaria.

June 13, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by the Netherlands.

June 19, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Finland.

June 21, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Ireland.

June 29, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Luxemburg.

September 26, 2006 - European Commission issues its last Monitoring Report on Romania and confirming the January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 as the accession date for the country.

October 3, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by France.

October 13, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Belgium.

## **Appendix – European Union**

March 30, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Lithuania.

November 21, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Denmark.

November 24, 2006 - Ratification of the Accession Treaty to the EU by Germany.

December 2006 - The European Council of 14-15 December in Brussels confirms the accession of Romania to the EU on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007.




### **2007**

January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 - Romania becomes full-fledged Member of the European Union.

## **Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

We listed the country where Romania holds diplomatic relations and embassies. This list was built with information found on the official web site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This information could be not exhaustive even if we took attention to build it.

### **Africa**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Formal Relation</b>	<b>General Informations</b>
People's Democratic Republic of Algeria 	April 14, 1962	Algeria has an embassy in Bucharest open in May 5, 1963. Romania has an embassy in Alger and one Consulate-General in Alexandria.  Both countries are full members of the Union for the Mediterranean and of the Francophonie.
Republic of Angola 	December 13, 1973	Romania has an embassy in Alvalade.
Republic of the Congo 	August 21, 1968	Romania has an honorary consulate in Brazzaville.

## ***Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country***

---

Democratic Republic of the Congo

October 14, 1966

The Democratic Republic of the Congo has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Kinshasa.



---

Arab Republic of Egypt

April, 1906

Egypt has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Cairo and one Consulate-General in Alexandria.



---

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

July 2, 1957

Romania has an embassy in Addis Ababa.



---

Gabonese Republic

Sept. 12, 1972

Gabon has an embassy in Bucharest from 1973 to 1989.  
Romania has an embassy in Libreville from 1974 to 1982.



---

Republic of Kenya

June 22, 1968

Romania has an embassy in Nairobi opened in 1974.



## **Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

Great Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	February 14, 1974	Libya opened an embassy in Bucharest in 1975. Romania opened an embassy in Tripoli in 1974.
---	-------------------	---



---

Kingdom of Morocco	April 20, 1962	Morocco has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Rabat and three honorary consulates (in Casablanca, Marrakech, Tanger).
--------------------	----------------	--



Both countries are full members of the Union for the Mediterranean and of the Francophonie.

---

Federal Republic of Nigeria	November 12, 1966	Nigeria has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Abuja.
-----------------------------	-------------------	---



---

Republic of Senegal	November 5, 1965	Romania has an embassy in Dakar and a honorary consulat in the regon of Kaolack.
---------------------	------------------	--



---

Republic of Somalia	July 11, 1965	Somalia opened an embassy in Bucharest in 1988. Romania opened an embassy from 1983 to 1990 in Mogadiscio
---------------------	---------------	---



Due to civil war, both country have close their embassy.



## **Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

Republic of South Africa



November 21, 1991

The Republic of South Africa has an embassy in Bucharest.

Romania has an embassy in Pretorie and one Consulate-General in Cape Town.

Under the recommandation of UN, Romania avoid relation with South of Africa for a period of tima, before the South of Africa 'Revolution'.

---

Republic of the Sudan



January 17, 1956

The Republic of Sudan has an embassy in Bucharest.

Romania has an embassy in Khartoum.

---

Tunisian Republic



December 16, 1963

Tunisia has an embassy in Bucharest and an honorary consulate in Timisoara.

Romania has an embassy in Tunis.

Both countries are full members of the Union for the Mediterranean and of the Francophonie.

---

Republic of Zwimbadwe



April 18, 1980

Romania has an embassy in Harare.

---

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

### America

Country	Formal Relation	General Informations
Argentine Republic 	1880	Argentina has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Buenos Aires.  Both countries are members of Latin Union.
Plurinational State of Bolivia 	October 18, 1969	Bolivia closed temporary its embassy in Bucharest in June 30, 2000. Romania closed temporary its embassy in La Paz in March 31, 2000.
Federative Republic of Brazil 	January 7, 1928	Brazil has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Brazilia, a general consulate in Rio de Janeiro and a honorary consulate (in Belo Horizonte).
Canada 	August 16, 1919	Canada has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Ottawa, three general consulate (in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver) and one honorary consulate in Moncton.  Both countries are members of NATO, OSCE and the Francophonie. According to the Canadian Census data of 2006, there are almost 200,000 Romanian-Canadians. <sup>2031</sup>

<sup>2031</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *2006 Census Release Topics* [online]. 2009c. Statistics Canada. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/rt-td/index-eng.cfm>>.

## **Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

Republic of  
Chile



February  
5, 1925

Chile has an embassy in Bucharest and honorary consulates in Brasov and Cluj-Napoca. Romania has an embassy in Santiago.

In 1965 the diplomatic relations were renewed. Even though most of the Eastern European countries broke their relations with Chile after 1973. Romania and the former Yugoslavia kept their representations in Santiago and the Chilean government didn't close their offices in Belgrade and Bucharest. Approximately 3,000 Chileans looked for asylum in Romania during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship. Both countries are members of Latin Union.

---

Republic of  
Colombia



November  
15, 1967

Colombia has had an embassy in Bucharest closed in November, 2002. Romania has an embassy in Bogotá and 3 honorary consulates (in Barrenquilla, Cali, Medellin).

---

Republic of  
Costa Rica



July 4,  
1970

Costa Rica has an embassy in Bucharest closed in 1999. Romania has an embassy in San José and temporary closed in May 2000.

---

Republic of  
Cuba



April 13,  
1927

Cuba has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in La Havana.

---

Republic of  
Ecuador









November  
11, 1968

Ecuador has had an embassy in Bucharest temporary closed in May 31, 1999. Romania has an embassy in Quito temporary closed in May 21, 2000.

---

## ***Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country***

---

Republic of El Salvador	December 17, 1979	Romania has had an embassy in San Salvador from 1992 to 1994.
		
United Mexican States	July 20, 1935	Azerbaijan has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Mexico City.
		
Republic of Panama	October 5, 1971	Pamana has an embassy in Bucharest from July 1993 to September 7, 1994. Romania has not open an embassy.
		
Republic of Peru	Sept. 20, 1939	Peru has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Lima.
		
United States of America	June 14, 1880	The U.S. maintains an embassy in Bucharest. Romania maintains an embassy in Washington, DC 4 general consulates (in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York) and 20 honorary consulates.  The Romanian-American population is estimated at approximately one million people. It is a large numbers of Romanian Churches in the U.S.
		
Oriental Republic of Uruguay	1880	Venezuela has an embassy in Bucharest closed from February 28, 2003 to April 2008. Romania has an embassy in Montevideo.
		

---

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	December 30, 1935	Venezuela has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Caracas.
--	----------------------	--









### Asia

Country	Formal Relation	Général Informations
People's Republic of China	October 5, 1949	<p>China has an embassy in Bucharest and a consulate general in Constanta. Romania has an embassy in Beijing and 2 consulate general in Hong Kong and Shanghai.</p> <p>Both countries exchanged ambassadors for the first time in March 1950. At the 26th UN General Assembly held in October 1971, Romania, as a co-sponsor country, voted in favor of the resolution calling for the restoration of all the legitimate rights of China in the United Nations (UN). In the early 1970s, Romania made a lot of contribution to the improvement of Sino-US relations. For a long time, China and Romania have maintained a close relationship of friendship and cooperation.</p>
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	October 26, 1948	North Korea has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Pyongyang City.

## ***Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country***





---

Republic of Korea	March 30, 1990	South Korea has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Seoul and 2 honorary consulates (in Pusan and Seoul).
		Both countries signed 23 agreements
Republic of India	December 14, 1948	India has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in New Delhi, a general consulate in Numbai and an honorary consulate in Calcutta.
		
Republic of Indonesia	July 5, 1958	Indonesia has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Jarkata.
		
Japan	August , 1917	Japan has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Tokyo and 4 honorary consulates (in Atami, Osaka, Nagoya and Yokohama).
		
Republic of Kazakhstan	July 15, 1992	Kazakhstan has an embassy and an honorary consulate in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Almaty.
		There are around 20,000 Romanians living in Kazakhstan.
Republic of the Philippines	March 10, 1972	Philippines has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Manila.
		

---

## **Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

Malayzia 	March 22, 1969	Malayzia has an embassy in Romania. Romania has an embassy in kuala Lumpur.
Mongolia 	April 29, 1950	Mogolia has an embassy in Buchrest closed in 1997. Romania has an embassy in Ulan Bator closed in 1995.
Islamic Republic of Pakistan 	October 15, 1964	Pakistan has an embassy in Bucharest and one honorary consulate in Iasi. Romania has an embassy in Islamabad and 2 honorary consulates (in Karachi, Lahore).
Republic of Singapore 	May 30, 1967	Singapore does not have any representation in Romania. Romania has an embassy in Singapore.
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka 	1957	Sri Lanka has an honorary consulate in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Colombo.
Kingdom of Thailand 	June 1, 1973	Thailand has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Bangkok.

---

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Socialist Republic of Vietnam	February 3, 1950	Vietnam has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Hanoi.
-------------------------------	------------------	--



### Caucaz and Central Asia

Country	Formal Relation	General Informations
Republic of Armenia	December 17, 1991	Armenia has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Yerevan. Both countries are full members of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. There are around 1,750 people of Armenian descent living in Romania.  In 2007, the Romanian Minister of National Defense, Teodor Melescanu "noted that the Armenian-Romanian friendship was deeply rooted in history and it was not by accident that Romania was the first State to recognize the independence of the Republic Armenia." <sup>2032</sup>
Republic of Azerbaidjan	June 21, 1992	Azerbaidjan has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Baku.  The two countries have signed over fifty separate agreements.

---

<sup>2032</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *RA Prime Minister Serzh Sargsyan received the delegation headed by Minister of National Defense of Romania Teodor Meleshkanu.* [online]. 2007h. The Government of the Republic of Armenia. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.gov.am/en/news/item/2301/>>.



## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Georgia



June 25,  
1992

Georgia has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Tbilisi.

Both countries are full members of the BSEC, the Black Sea Forum for Partnership and Dialogue, and the Community of Democratic Choice. There are 41 ratified agreements between the two countries.<sup>2033</sup>

---

Republic of  
Kazakhstan



December  
17, 1991

Kazakhstan has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Astana.

---

Republic of  
Turkey



November  
4/16, 1878

Turkey has an embassy in Bucharest and a consulate-general in Constanta.  
Romania has an embassy in Ankara and two consulates-general in Istanbul and Izmir.

The two countries maintain longstanding historical, geographic, and cultural relations and their relation have developed rapidly since the 1989 Revolution. Both countries are full members of NATO, the BLACKSEAFOR and BSEC. Romania supports Turkey's membership in the EU and there are approximately 17,000 Turkish citizens living in Romania.<sup>2034</sup> Also, The Turks are an ethnic minority in Romania, numbering 32,098 people according to the 2002 census and hence making up 0.2% of the total population.

---

---

<sup>2033</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania - Chronology of Diplomatic Relation* [online]. 2010h, June 29, 2010. Embassy of Georgia to Romania and the Republic of Moldova. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://romania.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang\\_id=ENG&sec\\_id=392](http://romania.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=392)>.

<sup>2034</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Turkey's Political Relations with Romania* [online]. 2010j, s.d. Republic of Turkey - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey\\_s-political-relations-with-romania.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-romania.en.mfa)>.

## ***Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country***

---

---

Republic of  
Turkmenistan

July 21,  
1991

Romania has an embassy in Ashgabat.



---

Republic of  
Uzbekistan

October 6,  
1995

Romania has an embassy in Tashkent.






Both countries signed 15 agreements. From May 2006 to December 2009, Romania applied the EU sanction.

---

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

### Europe

Country	Formal Relation	General Informations
Republic of Albania 	December 15/28 , 1913	Albania has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Tirana.  Both countries are members of the Francophonie.
Austria 	October 5, 1921	Austria has an embassy in Bucharest and an honorary consulate in Timisoara. Romania has an embassy in Vienna and 4 honorary consulates (in Eisenstadt, Graz, Linz and Salzburg) Both countries are full members of NATO and the European Union. In 1918, Romania obtained the Suceava County, Transylvania and Partium from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire now dissolved. Both countries have signed 52 bilateral treaties. <sup>2035</sup>
Belarus 	February 14, 1992	Belarus has an embassy in Bucharest from 1995. Romania has an embassy in Minsk from 1992.

---

<sup>2035</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilaterale Staatsverträge. Österreich - Rumänien* [online]. (Bilateral Treaties. Austria - Romania). s.d.-d. Das Aussenministerium. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv\\_staats=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb\\_vp\\_id=142&chash=5ea2772ceb](http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv_staats=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb_vp_id=142&chash=5ea2772ceb)>.

## Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country

Belgium



February  
16, 1880

Belgium has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Brussels and 5 honorary consulates (in Antwerp, Brugge, Liege, Mechelen and Tournai).

In 1838, Belgium established its first consulate in Galati, moved to Bucharest in 1842 and converted in 1870 into diplomatic agency. After 1855, it was set up consulates and vice-consulates in Braila, Craiova, Iasi, Constanta and Sulina.

With the recognition of independence by Belgium of Romanian principalities, diplomatic relations between the two countries were established by Royal Decree on February 16/28, 1880, followed by the establishment of the Romanian Legation in Brussels on March 17/29, 1880.

However, in 1919, was established in Brussels Belgo-Romanian Chamber of Commerce.

Both countries are full members of Francophonie, NATO and of the European Union.

Both countries were allies during World War I.

Bosnia and  
Herzegovina



March 1<sup>st</sup>,  
1996

Bosnia and Herzegovina has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Sarajevo.

Romania recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina’s independence on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996, and both countries established diplomatic relations on the same day.

Relations were described as ‘excellent’ by the foreign ministers in 2006, ahead of the opening of the Bosnian embassy in Bucharest.<sup>2036</sup>

Both countries are full members of the SECP, SPSEE, OSCE and of the Council of Europe.

---

<sup>2036</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Bosnia-Romania relations 'excellent' - foreign ministers* [online]. 2006b. The Center for SouthEast European Studies. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.csees.net/index.php?page=news&news\\_id=52111&country\\_id=6](http://www.csees.net/index.php?page=news&news_id=52111&country_id=6)>.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Bulgaria

1879

Bulgaria has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Sofia and 2 honorary consulates (in Burgas and Silistra).



Diplomatic relations between Romania and Bulgaria were established in 1879 with diplomatic representative offices.

Subsequently, the bilateral diplomatic representation was raised at the consulates, consulates general, legations, and after 1944, the embassies. Romania and Bulgaria have never had any serious conflicts, other than a territorial dispute over the Dobruja region in 1913-1940, ended with the Craiova Treaty.

Both countries share 608 km of common borders, mostly along the Danube. The census of 2001 were registered in Bulgaria 10 556 Aromanian and 1088 Romanian.

Both countries are full members of the same regional organizations: NATO, European Union, the Francophonie, BSCE, OSCE, ...

---

Croatia

August 29,  
1992

Croatia has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Zagreb and a honorary consulate (in Rejeka).






Both countries have signed 43 bilateral treaties.<sup>2037</sup> Around 170 acknowledged speakers of the Istro-Romanian language, a Romanian minority in Croatia.

---

<sup>2037</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *List of bilateral treaties between Cyprus and Romania* [online]. Nicosia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, s.d.-b. Portable Document Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/9C7139024C6BFFBDC22571E1003AC10E/\\$file/Romania.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/9C7139024C6BFFBDC22571E1003AC10E/$file/Romania.pdf?OpenElement)>.

## Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Cyprus 	August 16, 1960	Cyprus has an embassy in Bucharest (in 2007) and 1 honorary consulate (in Constanta). Romania has an embassy in Nicosia since November 1960.  Cyprus joined the European Union as a full member on May 1, 2004, while Romania joined on January 1, 2007. Both countries have signed 17 bilateral treaties. <sup>2038</sup>
Czech Republic 	December 18, 1992	The Czech Republic has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Prague. Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union as some other organizations.  Romania and the former Czechoslovakia established diplomatic relations on April 6, 1919. After the splitting of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic and Romania established diplomatic relation on 18 December 1992. There is a Romanian minority in Czech Republic (4,021).
Kingdom of Denmark 	April 13, 1917	Denmark has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Copenhagen and a honorary consulate in Torring. Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union.  The first official relations between Romania and Denmark were established in 1879, sanctioned by visiting the former Romanian officials with diplomatic status in the Danish kingdom Gregory Basarab Brancoveanu and Mayor city Ion Barcanescu. The two Romanian officials were direct representatives of

---

<sup>2038</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilaterale Staatsverträge. Österreich - Rumänien* [online]. (Bilateral Treaties. Austria - Romania). s.d.-d. Das Aussenministerium. [cited Jan 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv\\_staat=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb\\_vp\\_id=142&cH\\_ash=5ea2772ceb](http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/voelkerrecht/staatsvertraege/bilaterale-staatsvertraege.html?dv_staat=140&mode=country&submit=1&vb_vp_id=142&cH_ash=5ea2772ceb)>.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

		King Charles I and had the mission to notify to the Danish king the independence of Romania. In 1880, it was established the first Danish Consulate in Bucharest.
Estonia	February 26, 1921	Estonia has an honorary consulate in Bucharest. Romania has an honorary consulate in Tallinn.  Romania recognised Estonia's independence on 26 February 1921. Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Estonia and Romania were restored on 13 September 1991. Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union. Both countries have signed 7 important bilateral agreement. <sup>2039</sup>
Finland	April 8, 1920	Finland has an embassy in Bucharest and two honorary consulates (in Bucharest and Constanta). Romania has an embassy in Helsinki.  Romania recognised Finland on April 8, 1920. Diplomatic relations established June 28, 1920 and again on October 14, 1949. Both countries are full members of the European Union and the OSCE.
France	February 20, 1880	France has an embassy in Bucharest and three honorary consulates (in Craiova, Constanta and Brasov). Romania has an embassy in Paris, three general consulates (in Lyon, Marseille and Strasbourg) and four honorary consulates (in Nantes, Bordeaux, Nice and Brest).  There have been diplomatic relations between the two countries since 1396. <sup>2040</sup>

---

<sup>2039</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Estonia and Romania Bilateral Relations* [online]. (Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2010e, June 8, 2010. Välisministeerium. [cited June 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.vm.ee/?q=en/node/78>>.

<sup>2040</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Scurt istoric al relațiilor franco-române* [online]. (Short History of the Relations between France and Romania). 2010i, June 29, 2010. Ambasade României. [cited June 29, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://paris.mae.ro/index.php?lang=ro&id=13067>>.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

		<p>Romanians had registered a large presence on France's soil since long ago, this is a significant community and well know people.</p> <p>Both countries are full members of NATO, the European Union and the Francophonie.</p>
<p>Germany</p> 	<p>February 27, 1880</p>	<p>Germany has an embassy in Bucharest and 2 consulates (in Sibiu and Timisoara). Romania has an embassy in Berlin and 2 consulates-general (in Bonn and Munich).</p> <p>Both countries have - due to a formerly significant number of Germans of Romania - also cultural relations. According to the 2002 census, the German minority in Romania still numbers over 60,000.<sup>2041</sup></p>
<p>Greece</p> 	<p>February 20, 1880</p>	<p>Greece has an embassy in Bucharest and a consultat in Constanta. Romania has an embassy in Athen and a consultat in Salonic.</p> <p>Diplomatic relations were established on February 20, 1880, at the legation level and than were raised to embassy level on January 1st, 1939.</p> <p>There has been a Greek presence in Romania for over hundred of centuries. The level of Romanian-Greek bilateral relations are considered exceptionally good as the two countries share numerous cultural and historical connections, and because Greece has warmly supported and contributed to Romania's entry into NATO and prompt accession into the European Union.<sup>2042</sup></p> <p>About 6,500 ethnic Greeks live throughout Romania and there is 100,000 Aromanians in Greece<sup>2043</sup>. Both countries are full members of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the NATO and the BSEC.</p>

---

<sup>2041</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Romania* [online]. 2010g. Auswärtiges Amt. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Laenderinformationen/01-Laender/Rumaenien.html>>.




<sup>2042</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Ibid.

<sup>2043</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Aromanians* [online]. 2010d. Organization for the European Minorities. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/minority-detail.asp?id\\_minorities=296](http://www.eurominority.eu/version/eng/minority-detail.asp?id_minorities=296)>.



## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---





Holy See	1920	<p>The Holy See has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy to the Vatican.</p> <p>From May 7, 1999 to May 9, 1999 Pope John Paul II made an official visit to Romania. It was the first papal trip to a predominantly Orthodox country in more than 1,000 years. He attended an Orthodox liturgy on May 9, 1999, marking the first time a pope has ever attended an Orthodox service.</p>
		
Republic of Hungary	1920	<p>Hungary has an embassy in Bucharest, 3 general consulates (in Cluj-Napoca, Miercurea-Ciuc) and 3 honorary consulates (in Constanta, Iasi and Timisoara).</p> <p>Romania has an embassy in Budapest and 2 general consulates (in Gyula and Szeged).</p> <p>Relations between the two states date back from the Middle Ages. Romania has developed strong relations and chaotic relations with Hungary. Romania has signed in political, economic and security relations fields more than 150 agreements, treaties and conventions. According to the 2002 census, there is a minority of 1,4 million Maghiar represented 6,6 % of the population. In Hungary, 7,955 people declared to be from romanian descendant.<sup>2044</sup> Both countries shares 443 km of common border and are full members of NATO and of the European Union.</p>
		
Republic of Ireland	April 18, 1990	<p>Since August 15, 2005 Ireland has an embassy in Bucharest .</p> <p>Since May 20, 1994 Romania has an embassy in Dublin.</p> <p>Both countries are full members of the Council of Europe, the OECD and the EU. In 2006 there were around 30,000 to 40,000 Romanians living and working in Ireland.</p>
		

---

<sup>2044</sup> Direcția Europa Occidentală-Europa Centrală. *Republica UNGARĂ* [online]. (Republic of Hungary). 2010, Feb. 2010. Romania - Ministerul Afacerilor Externe. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5754&idlnk=1&cat=3>>.

## Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---


Italy 	November 24, 1879	<p>Italy has an embassy in Bucharest, a general consulate in Timisoara, and 4 honorary consulates (in Cluj-Napoca, Constanta, Craiova and Piatra Neamt).</p> <p>Romania has an embassy in Rome, a general consulate in Milan and 3 honorary consulate (in Florence, Genoa and Treviso).</p> <p>Both countries are full members of the Latin Union, of NATO and of the European Union. The number registered Romanians is difficult to estimate, but the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network suggested that in 2007 that there might be around a million (796,477 in 2009).<sup>2045</sup></p>
Latvia 	January 3, 1920	<p>Romania has an honorary consulate in Riga.</p> <p>Romania recognized Latvia on August 26, 1991. Both countries re-established diplomatic relations on September 13, 1991. Also both countries are full members of NATO, the European Union, and the OSCE. There are 7 ratified agreements and treaties between the two countries.</p>
Lithuania 	August 26, 1924	<p>Lithuania has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Vilnius opened in 1992.</p> <p>Diplomatic relations between both countries resumed on September 13, 1991. Both countries are full members of NATO, the European Union and the OSCE. There are 10 ratified agreements and treaties between the two countries.</p>
Moldova 	August 29, 1991	<p>Moldova has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Chisinau and two general consulates (in Balti, Cahul).</p> <p>Historical region of one of three principalties,</p>

---

<sup>2045</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Italy Sends Romanians Home [online]. Nov. 8, 2007, Nov. 8, 2007. Sarajevo: Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, 2007a. [cited Feb. 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <<http://birn.eu.com/en/111/15/5745/>>.

## **Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

		<p>Moldova has been part of the Romania territory during the Greater Romania period. Since Moldova's independence in 1991, Romania have experienced an extremely complicated relationship due to their special history.</p> <p>Romania remains interested in Moldovan affairs, especially that country's civil conflict with the breakaway republic of Transnistria.</p> <p>There are 7 ratified agreements and treaties between the two countries.</p>
Montenegro	August 6, 2006	<p>Romania has a resident embassy in Podgorica.</p> <p>Romania recognized the republic of Montenegro on June 13 2006.</p>
		
Netherland	February 13, 1880	<p>The Netherlands have an embassy in Bucharest and two honorary consulates in Constanta and Timisoara. Romania has an embassy in The Hague and 3 honorary consulates (in Amsterdam, Leidschendam and Sint-Michielsgestel).</p> <p>Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union.</p>
		
Norway	April 3, 1917	<p>Norway has an embassy in Bucharest and an honorary consulate in Constanta.</p> <p>Romania has an embassy in Oslo and 4 honorary consulates (in Bergen, Kristiansand, Stavanger and Trondheim).</p> <p>In 2002, the two countries signed an agreement on reducing greenhouse gas emissions consistent with the Kyoto protocol.</p>
		
Poland	February 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 1919	<p>Poland has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Warsaw and 3 honorary consulates (in Gdynia, Katowice and Poznań).</p> <p>Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union. A Polish–Romanian Alliance was built in the interwar period thru a series of treaties (Romanian Bridgehead). Romania hold a minorities of Polish resulted from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth extention.</p>
		

---

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Portugal 	August 31, 1917	<p>Portugal has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Lisbon and three honorary consulates (in Estoril, Faro, and Porto).</p> <p>Both countries are full members of the Latin Union, of NATO and of the European Union. There are around 11,000 people of Romanian descent living in Portugal.<sup>2046</sup></p>
Russian Federation 	September 27, 1878	<p>Russia has an embassy in Bucharest and a consulate-general in Constanta. Romania has an embassy in Moscow and 2 consulate-general (in Rostov-on-Don and Saint Petersburg).</p> <p>The two countries maintain longstanding historical, geographic, economical and cultural relations. Dislike of Russia and Russians is deeply integrated into Romanian culture since the end of the 19th century, and has been for most of the modern era.<sup>2047</sup></p> <p>Both countries refused to recognize Kosovo's independence from Serbia and strongly supported it's territorial integrity.</p> <p>About 30,000 Russians live in Romania, mainly in the Tulcea County.</p> <p>About 5,308 Romanians live in Russia, mainly in the Russian Far East. Both countries are full members of the Council of Europe and the OSCE.</p>

---

---

<sup>2046</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *População Estrangeira em Portugal - 2006* [online]. (Foreign Population in Portugal - 2006). Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2007f. [cited May 23, 2010]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <[http://www.ine.pt/ngt\\_server/attachfileu.jsp?look\\_parentBoui=10363731&att\\_display=n&att\\_download=y](http://www.ine.pt/ngt_server/attachfileu.jsp?look_parentBoui=10363731&att_display=n&att_download=y)>.

<sup>2047</sup> To see : Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*. New York, NY: Vicking Penguin, 2000.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Serbia



April 19,  
1841

Romania has an embassy in Belgrade, a general consulate in Vrsac.  
Serbia has an embassy in Bucharest, a general consulate in Timisoara.

There are around 30,000 people of Serbian descent living in Romania<sup>2048</sup> and around 75,000 Romanians living in Serbia.<sup>2049</sup>

---

Slovak  
Republic



January 1<sup>st</sup>,  
1993

Slovakia has an embassy in Bucharest and an honorary consulate in Salonta.  
Romania has embassy in Bratislava.

Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union.

Romania and Czechoslovakia established diplomatic relations on July 30, 1920. During the Interwar period, the Republic of Czechoslovakia was allied Romania.

---

Republic of  
Slovenia



August 28,  
1992

Slovenia has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Ljubljana.

Both countries are full members of NATO and of the European Union and participated in the 2004 Bucharest conference on Danube river basin.

---

---

<sup>2048</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Bilateral Political Relations - Serbia-Romania* [online]. s.d.-c. Republic of Serbia - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Policy/Bilateral/Romania/basic\\_e.html](http://www.mfa.gov.rs/Policy/Bilateral/Romania/basic_e.html)>.

<sup>2049</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *STANOVNIŠTVO : popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u 2002.* [online]. (POPULATION: Census of population, households and dwellings in 2002.). Belgrade: Republic Statistical Office of Serbia, 2003. [cited Jan. 23, 2010]. Portable Document Format. Available from: <<http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/axd/Zip/VJN3.pdf>>.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

Kingdom of Spain



January 5, 1967

Spain has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Madrid, 3 general consulates (in Barcelona, Castellon de la Plana and Sevilla) and 2 honorary consulates (in Murcia and Valencia).

Both countries are full members of the Latin Union, of NATO and of the European Union. There are around 829,715 people of Romanian descent living in Spain in 2010.<sup>2050</sup>

Kingdom of Sweden



November 1st, 1916

Sweden has an embassy in Bucharest and an honorary consulate in Timisoara. Romania has an embassy in Stockholm and an honorary consulate in Gothenburg.

The Romanian-Swedish contacts date back to the 16th century, when Moldavian Princes had frequent contacts with Swedish Kings. Both countries are full members of the European Union. In 2009 Romanian Radio Broadcasting Company was nominated for the Astrid Lindgren Memorial Award.

Swiss Confederation



February 14, 1880

Switzerland has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Bern.



Diplomatic relations between both countries have been established in 1911, first at legacy level, and subsequently raised to embassy level on December 24, 1962.

---

<sup>2050</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Population figures and Demographic Censuses* [online]. 2010f. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. [cited April 23, 2010]. HyperText Markup Language. Available from: <[http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu\\_cifraspob\\_en.htm](http://www.ine.es/en/inebmenu/mnu_cifraspob_en.htm)>.

## Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country

---

Ukraine 	February 2, 1992	<p>Ukraine has an embassy in Bucharest and a consulate in Suceava. Romania has an embassy in Kiev and 2 Consulates-General (in Chernivtsi and Odessa).</p> <p>According to the Ukrainian Census of 2001, ethnic Ukrainians make up 77.8% of the population with 151,100 Romanians (0.3%).<sup>2051</sup> According to the 2002 Romanian census there is a number of 61,091 Ukrainians, making up 0.3% of the total Romanian's population.</p> <p>It has been disputes between Romania and Ukraine over the construction of the Bystroye Channel and the Snake Island.</p>
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland 	February 19, 1880	<p>The United Kingdom has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in London.</p> <p>Both countries are members of the European Union and NATO.</p> <p>The relations between the UK and Romania are very strong.</p>






---

---

<sup>2051</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. *Populația după etnie la recensămintele din perioada 1930–2002, pe județe* [online]. București: Agenția Națională pentru Romi, 2002b. [cited June 23, 2010]. Portable Document Language. Available from: <<http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/statistici/statistici/t1.pdf>>.

## **Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

### **Middle East**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Formal Relation</b>	<b>Général Informations</b>
United Arab Emirates 	August 1, 1989	Emirates has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Abu Dhabi.
Islamic Republic of Iran 	1901	Iran has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Teheran.  Both countries exchanged ambassadors for the first time in 1922.
Republic of Iraq 		Iraq has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Baghdad.
State of Israel 	June 11, 1948	Israel has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy in Tel Aviv and 3 honorary consulates (in Haifa, Jerusalem and Rishon le Zion).
Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 	April 2, 1965	Kingdom of Jordan has an embassy in Bucharest. Romania has an embassy Amman.



## **Appendix – Romania's Foreign Relations by Region and Country**

---

States of  
Kuwait



June 10,  
1963

Kuwait opened an embassy in Bucharest in May 16, 2006.  
Romania has an embassy in Kuwait City from September 1974.

---

Republic of  
Lebanon



January 6,  
1965

Lebanon has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Beirut.

---

State of  
Qatar



October  
22, 1990

Qatar has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Doha.

---

Kingdom of  
Saudi Arabia



Saudi Arabia has an embassy in Bucharest.  
Romania has an embassy in Riyadh and an honorary consulate in Jeddah.

---

Syrian Arab  
Republic



August 9,  
1955

Syria has an embassy in Bucharest and one honorary consulate in Constanta.  
Romania has an embassy in Damascus and 2 honorary consalate (in Alep, Latakia).

---

Republic of  
Yemen




December  
12, 1957

Yemen has an embassy in Bucharest and closed in June 2006.  
Romania has an embassy in Sanaa and closed in July 3, 2003.

---

## ***Appendix – Romania’s Foreign Relations by Region and Country***

### **Oceania**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Formal Relation</b>	<b>Général Informations</b>
Commonwealth of Australia 	March 18, 1968	Romania has an embassy in Canberra, a general consulate in Sydney, a honorary consulate in Melbourne and in Wellington (NZ).

---

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

This list was build with information find on the official web site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as near International Organizations. This information could be not exhaustive even if we took attention to build it.

---

BIS Bank for International Settlements (BIS) – (<http://www.bis.org>)



---

BSEC Black Sea Economic Cooperation – (<http://www.bsec-organization.org>)



Founding member on June 25, 1992, Romania signed in Istanbul at the Summit Declaration and the Bosphorus Statement giving birth to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). With the Charter entry into force on May 1st 1999, the BSEC acquired international legal identity and was transformed into a full-fledged regional economic organization. Romania holds the Presidency of the organization from 2005 to 2006.

---

CE Council of Europe – (<http://www.coe.int>)



Romania joined it on October 7, 1993. On the 115th Session of the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe, Romania took over the chairmanship of the Council for six months from November 17, 2005 to May 19, 2006.

---

CEI Central European Initiative – (<http://www.ceinet.org>)



Romania takes over in 2009 the Presidency of the Central European Initiative (CEI), for the first time since June 1st, 1996, when it became member of the organization.

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

---

**CENCOOP** Central European Nations' Cooperation in Peace Support –  
(<http://www.cencoop.at/>)

Romania has been a member since March 19, 1998 at the Vienna meeting. Romania holds the organization’s Presidency in 2006.

---

**EAPC** Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council –  
([http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_49276.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49276.htm))

Romania has been a member from 1997. The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) replaced the EAPC.



**EBRD** European Bank for Reconstruction and Development –  
(<http://www.ebrd.com>)

On May 29, 1990, Romania ratified the Agreement Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in its capacity as a founder member of the above-mentioned institution. Romania's subscription to the EBRD's equity capital amounts to EUR 96 million.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established in 1991 when communism was crumbling in central and Eastern Europe and ex-soviet countries needed support to nurture a new private sector in a democratic environment. Today the EBRD uses the tools of investment to help build market economies and democracies in countries from central Europe to central Asia.

The EBRD is the largest institutional investor in Romania.

---



**ECE or UNECE** United Nations Economic Commission for Europe - UN agency  
(<http://www.unece.org/Welcome.htm>)

Member from December 14, 1955.



**EEA** European Economic Area - (<http://europa.eu>)

On 1 August 2007, the EEA was enlarged to Romania into the European Economic Area.

---



## **Appendix – List of International Organizations' Membership**

---

EU



European Union – (<http://europa.eu>)  
Romania is member from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007.

---

FAO or ONUAA



Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations - UN agency  
(<http://www.fao.org/>)

---

G-9

Group of 9  
Romania is member of this organization.

---

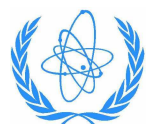
Group of 77



Group of 77 – (<http://www.g77.org/>)  
Romania was admitted to the Group of 77 of developing countries in 1976, thru a solidarity effort of the Latin-American countries, but is no longer listed on the official membership list after its accession to the EU in 2007.

---

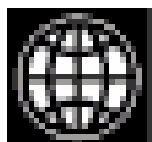
IAEA



International Atomic Energy Agency – UN agency  
(<http://www.iaea.org>)  
Romania is member of this organization.

---

IBRD



International Bank for Reconstruction and Development –  
(<http://www.worldbank.org>)  
Romania became an IBRD member in December 15, 1972, thereby assuming the provisions of Resolution No. 280/28 November 1972 of the Board of Governors, laying down the membership terms and conditions. At present, Romania holds 4,011 shares in the IBRD's equity capital, and subscribed USD 30.5 million in the IBRD's capital stock. Romania is also member of International Finance Corporation (IFC) from 1990 and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) from 1992, organizations of the World Bank Group.

---

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

---

ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization – UN agency (<http://w.icao.int/>)



---

ICC International Criminal Court – UN agency (<http://www.icc-cpi.int>)



---

ICFTU International Confederation of Free Trade Unions - (<http://www.icftu.org>)



Romania is a member thru local organizations.

---

ICRC International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement – (<http://www.redcross.int/>)



---

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development – UN agency (<http://www.ifad.org/>)



---

IFC International Finance Corporation – (<http://www.ifc.org/>)



---

ILO International Labour Organization – UN agency (<http://www.ilo.org/>)



Romania is member of the UN agency from 1919. The UN agency established an office in Bucharest in 1992.

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

---

IMF



International Monetary Fond – (<http://www.imf.org/>)

Romania has been the only Eastern country member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since 1972.

---

IMO



International Maritime Organization – UN agency  
(<http://www.imo.org/>)

Romania has been a member from 1965.

---

IMSO



International Mobile Satellite Organization (Inmarsat) –  
(<http://www.imso.org/>)

Romania assigned the agreement with an entry into force on September 27, 1990.

---

Intelsat



International Telecommunications Satellite Organization –  
(<http://www.intelsat.com/>)

---

ICPO



International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) –  
(<http://www.interpol.int/>)

Romania is a member within representative office in the country.

---

IEC



International Electrotechnical Commision – (<http://www.iec.ch/>)

The standardization activity, covering the whole of the national economy, began in 1928 when Romania became a member of the IEC. Romania is a full member of IEC with on office in Bucharest (<http://www.asro.ro>). The country takes part in technical committees; 106 as permanent member and 55 as observater member.

---

IOC



International Olympic Committee – (<http://www.olympic.org/>)

Romania is a member from 1914 and has an office in Bucharest (<http://www.cosr.ro/>).

---

## Appendix – List of International Organizations' Membership

---

IOM	International Organization for Migration – An UN Agency ( <a href="http://www.iom.int/">http://www.iom.int/</a> )
 IOM • OIM	Romania is an IOM Member State since 1998
ISO	International Organization for Standardization – ( <a href="http://www.iso.org/">http://www.iso.org/</a> )
	The Standardization Commission of the Council of Ministers of Romania was created in 1948 and marked the activity deployed in an organized manner. In 1970, the national standards body was the Romanian Standards Institute (IRS), a specialized institution of the central public administration. The Romanian certification agency (ASRO) has its office in Bucharest ( <a href="http://www.asro.ro">http://www.asro.ro</a> ). Romania participates in 695 technical committees and in 3 committees developing standards as participant member.
ITU	International Telecommunication Union – An UN Agency ( <a href="http://www.itu.int/">http://www.itu.int/</a> )
	Romania has been a member from February 9, 1866.
LAIA	Latin American Integration Association – ( <a href="http://www.aladi.org">http://www.aladi.org</a> )
	Romania has been an observer member since December 15, 1993.
LU	Latine Union – ( <a href="http://www.unilat.org/">http://www.unilat.org/</a> )
	Romania has been a member from February 25, 1980.
MONUC	Mission of the United Nations Organisation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – An UN peacekeeping force ( <a href="http://www.monuc.org/">http://www.monuc.org/</a> )
 MONUC	Romania took part in UN peacekeeping force with 24 military observes and 1 liaison officer

---



## Appendix – List of International Organizations' Membership

---

NAM



Non-Aligned Movement – (<http://www.namegypt.org/>)

Romania was an observer to the Group in 1976, but was no longer listed on the official membership list after its accession to the EU in 2007.

---

NATO

North Atlantic Treaty Organization – (<http://www.nato.int/>)

Romania is an official member of NATO from April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2004.

---

NSG



Nuclear Suppliers Group – (<http://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/>)

---

OAS



Organization of American States – (<http://www.oas.org/>)

Romania is a permanent observer member.

---

OECD



Organization for European Economic Co-operation -

On April 28, 2004, the Government of Romania officially applied for OECD membership.

During the period between 2004 and 2006, Romania developed relations with the organization. In February 2004, OECD Regional Office – Investment Compact for Romania and the Republic of Moldova - was opened in Bucharest. In July 2004, the Regional Co-chairmanship of Investment Compact ended, Romania being the first country within the region to hold, together with OECD and Austria, the Investment Compact (IC) co-chairmanship (December 2002 – July 2004). In May 2005, the Romanian OECD Information and Documentation Centre (RIDC) were officially launched.

Romania is member and full participant of 13 committees and observer in 12 committees and working groups.

---

## Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership

---

OIF International Organization of the Francophonie -  
(<http://www.francophonie.org/>)



Romania became a member on 1993 at the Summit in Mauritius, after being an observer from 1991. The country host the OIF Summit in September 28-29, 2006. It was the first East European Country to host an OIF Summit

---

OPCWP Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons –  
(<http://www.opcw.org/>)



Romania signed the Convention on January 13, 1993. Ratified the Convention on February 15, 1995 with an entry into force on April 29, 1997.

---

OSCE Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe – (<http://www.osce.org>)



Romania admission to the OSCE was on June 25, 1973 with a signature of the Helsinki Final Act on August 1st, 1975 and signature of the Charter of Paris on November 21, 1990.

In 1999, on November 18-19, the representatives of the 54 OSCE member states, convened in Istanbul, adopt a final declaration that accepts Romania’s proposal to assume the chairmanship-in-office in 2001.<sup>2052</sup> Romania was OSCE Chairmen-in-Office from January 1st to December 31, in 2001 represented by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mircea Dan Geoana.

---

PCA Permanent Court of Arbitration – (<http://www.pca-cpa.org/>)



Romania acceded to the PCA founding conventions respectively on September 4, 1900 and April 30, 1912.

---

<sup>2052</sup> Stoica, Stan. *România 1985-2005: O istorie cronologica*. București: Editura Meronia, 2005b. p. 87-95.

## Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership

SECI

Southeast European Cooperative Initiative –  
(<http://www.secicenter.org/>)



SECI was launched as an idea among the Euro-Atlantic cooperation in May 1995 in Vienna. Romania is a member and SECI Center headquarters is located in Bucharest.

On April 15, 1998 in Geneva, the SECI Agenda Committee approved the Romanian delegation’s proposal project “*Prevention and Combating Trans-border Crime*” as part of the Trade and Transport Facilitation Program. On October 2, 2000, Romania and the SECI Center signed the Head Quarters Agreement between the SECI Center and Romania, which has entered into force on April 4, 2001.

Alexandru Farcas, Minister of European Integration of Romania, was the 2nd Chairman of the Joint Cooperation Committee between December 4th, 2001 and April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2004.

SEEBRIG

Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe –  
(<http://www.seebrig.org/>)



Romania was a founding member at the creation of the multinational Peace force on September 26, 1998. Romania holds the commandment of the SEEBRIG from with the Brig. General Virgil Balaceanu appointed the 5th Commander of SEEBRIG/MPFSEE since July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007.to 2009. The Headquarter of the SEEBRIG was hosted in Constanța in Romania from 2003 to 2007.

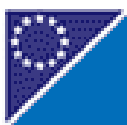
SEECP

South East European Co-operation Process -

Romania was a founding member of the South East European Co-operation Process (SEECP) launched on Bulgaria's initiative in 1996. Presidency was held by Romania from 1999-2000 and from April 2004 to May 2005.

SPSEE

Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe –  
(<http://www.stabilitypact.org/>)



Romania was a founding member of the pact was created at the initiative of the European Union on June 10, 1999 in Cologne. Romania hosted the Regional Table of the South-East Europe Stability

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

Pact in 2006.

---

UN

United Nation (UN) – (<http://www.un.org>)



Romania became member of the United Nations on December 14, 1955.<sup>2053</sup>

Romania hosted a number of UN meeting and Summit over the years.

---

UNAID

The United Nations Joint Program on HIV/AIDS – An UN Agency (<http://www.unaids.org/>)



UNAID open an office in Romania in 1997.

---

UNFPA

United Nations Population Fund – An UN Agency (<http://www.unfpa.org>)



UNWTO

World Tourism Organization - An UN Agency (<http://www.unwto.org/>)



Romania has been a member from 1975.

---

UNCTAD

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development – An UN Agency (<http://www.unctad.org/>)



Romania is also the members of the Trade and Development Board.

---

UNESCO

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – An UN Agency ([http:// www.unesco.org/](http://www.unesco.org/))

---

<sup>2053</sup> Details will be listed in the other appendix : Romania and the United Nations.

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations' Membership**



Romania has been a member from July 27, 1956.

---

UNHCR

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – An UN Agency (<http://www.unhcr.org>)



The UNHCR open a representation in Romania in 1990. The Romanian Forum for Refugees and Migrants (ARCA) ([www.arca.org.ro](http://www.arca.org.ro)), a Romanian non-governmental and non-profit organization established in June 1998, is partner organization in Romania of the UNHCR.

---

UNICEF

United Nations Children's Fond – An UN Agency (<http://www.unicef.org/>)



Established in 1991 in Romania, the UNICEF Country Office works with a wide variety of partners including government, non-governmental organisations, children and adolescents, other UN agencies, and donors.

---

UNIDO

United Nations Industrial Development Organization - An UN Agency



Romania became members in June 21, 1985 with ratification on November 28, 1980.

---

UNIKOM

United Nations Iraq–Kuwait Observation Mission – An UN peacekeeping force (<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unikom/>)



Romania was a member of UNIKOM established on April 9, 1991 following the Gulf War by a resolution of Security Council (n°689-1981) and fully deployed by early May 1991. The mandate of the mission was completed on 6 October 2003.

---

UNMIBH

United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina - An UN peacekeeping force

## Appendix – List of International Organizations' Membership

---

	<p>(<a href="http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmibh/">http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unmibh/</a>)</p> <p>Romania was a member of UNMIBH formed under the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1035 and extended by Resolution 1357. It completed its mandate on 31 December 2002.</p>
<p>UNMIK</p> 	<p>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo – (<a href="http://www.unmikonline.org/">http://www.unmikonline.org/</a>)</p> <p>Romania takes part in the mission established on June 10, 1999 by the Security Council Resolution n°1244.</p>
<p>UpM</p> 	<p>Union for the Mediterranean</p> <p>Romania is a member at the creation date on July 13, 2008.</p>
<p>WEU</p> 	<p>Western European Union – (<a href="http://www.weu.int/">http://www.weu.int/</a>)</p> <p>Romania has been an associate partner since the conference of Kirchberg in 1994. The WEU will be close by June 2011.</p>
<p>WFTU</p> 	<p>World Federation of Trade Unions – (<a href="http://www.wftucentral.org/">http://www.wftucentral.org/</a>)</p> <p>Romania is affiliated thru local organizations</p>
<p>WHO</p> 	<p>World Health Organization – An UN Agency (<a href="http://www.who.int/">http://www.who.int/</a>)</p> <p>Romania is a member and WHO as a representative office in Bucharest.</p>
<p>WIPO</p> 	<p>World Intellectual Property Organization - An UN Agency (<a href="http://www.wipo.int/">http://www.wipo.int/</a>)</p> <p>Romania has signed treaty from January 1st, 1927. The organization is represented thru local organization.</p>
<p>WMO</p>	<p>World Meteorological Organization - An UN Agency</p>

---

## **Appendix – List of International Organizations’ Membership**

---

(<http://www.wmo.int/>)



The organization is represented thru local organization, the National Meteorological Administration (<http://www.meteoromania.ro/>).

---

WEU

Western European Union - (<http://www.weu.int/>)

Romania has an associate partners’ statute from 1994.

---

WTO

World Trade Organization – (<http://www.wto.int/>)



---

Zangger  
Committee

Zangger Committee – (<http://www.zanggercommittee.org/>)



Romania is a member thru a local organization ANCEX (<http://www.ancex.ro/>)

---