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Security Components of Globalization

Florin Iftode¹

Abstract: The objective of this paper is our intention to present what are the main connections between globalization and international security. In terms of global security we can perceive the globalization as a process by which global state is represented by the UN, with a single world system, represented by major security organizations and with global effects. We will present from the beginning the main theoretical aspects that define the phenomenon of globalization, and then our contribution in assessing the implications of this phenomenon on the regional and global security. The results of our research are materialized in the last part of the paper. They emphasize the personal assessments on how the phenomenon of globalization has direct effect on global security. When talking about government, we think of norms, rules and decision-making procedures in the management of international life. The value that we add to the new scientific interpretation of the definition of globalization is represented, primarily, by the valuable bibliographic used resources and the original approach on the concept that refers to the links between globalization and security. This article may be, at any time, a starting point in an interesting research direction in the field of global security.

Keywords: integrator process; UN; connecting markets and world affairs; multinational.

1. Introduction

If we were to define the globalization process according to its extent or scope of deployment we could say that it resembles a transformation process (magnification). In this way, the local, national or regional processes (activities) increase, they become global. In this way we are witnessing a large scale phenomenon due to which the human society is united and works as a whole community. Above all benefits or drawbacks of globalization, reference to that concept must be correlated with the notion of interdependence. Globalization is a subcategory of interdependence, as a means of manifestation for her. Metaphorically speaking, the globalization is defying the territories and borders.

Regarding the role and mechanisms of international organizations, it is useful a brief presentation of political globalization. In this area, globalization “is visible in the spread of constitutional arrangements, in increasing the number of countries which have become democratic also in developing international rules and institutions”.

¹ Associate Professor, PhD, Faculty of Communication and International Relations, “Danubius” University of Galati, Romania, Address: 3 Galati Boulevard, 800654 Galati, Romania, Tel.: +40.372.361.102, fax: +40.372.361.290, Corresponding author: floriniftode@univ-danubius.ro.

The political ideas have the function to influence and, sometimes, to revolutionize systems. The facility with which they are conveyed on the global market opens the opportunity of common markets, values, ideas, development directions. From this level of social, political, ideological, economic contextualization of the states, the sedimentation of common goals becomes natural, and the concerted efforts in regulatory frameworks such as international organizations belong to the cycle of optimizing the approaches of achieving these goals.

The main effect of globalization is that of minimizing the role of borders to their legal status reduction of geographical boundary. Related to this process is the deterritorialization and dynamics – the isolationism is no longer a viable option, or even possible.

Globalization affects all spheres, so that states are obliged to operate in a global strategic environment: as capital, trade or any means of communication operates in a global world, also the security or insecurity is subject to globalization, in the sense that they cannot be defined by reference to clearly defined territories. (Naghi, 2010, p. 60)

2. Theoretical Approaches on the Globalization's Occurrence and Types of its Manifestation

We will try without being excessive in the multitude of approaches to define globalization as contemporary global process, from several points of view. Thus, in a first sense “by this term we understand the development of global financial markets, the increase of transnational corporations and their growing dominance over the national economies”. (Frunzeti, 2009, p. 122) In his work Teodor Frunzeti (2009) shows that in the IMF acceptance, the globalization is “increasing international integration of markets for both goods and services and capital.”

Others think that globalization is “one of the major political achievements of the late XXth century, having as movement forces the steadily falling costs of communication and transport, transformation into producers and consumers of billions of people in the world, and the tendency of adopting the principles of market economy all over the world. But despite the low costs of communication and access to information, nothing would have happened without a globalization of economic liberalism that took place in the last 30 years.” (Bonciu & Baicu, 2010, p. 47)

Also globalization “can be defined as a set of structures and economic, social, technological, political and cultural processes arising from the changing nature of production, consumption and trade in goods. There have been many changes in the world economy, otherwise we can consider globalization as a result of the creation of the world market.” (Frunzeti, 2009, p. 122)

However “globalization is intensifying process of connecting markets and world affairs. This process has accelerated dramatically in the last two decades as technological progress facilitates the movement of people, communication and international affairs. Globalization reduces the relevance of borders between states, at least in terms of economic processes and, in particular, the trade”. (Geantă & Geantă, 2009, p. 13)

World trade continues to grow at a much faster rate than production: opening their economies and the mutual dependence are growing. The large scale imbalances may arise when it will be required an international cooperation and also the development and further strengthening of the international monetary system.

Most of the foreign direct investments continue to flow towards the developed world. The advantage that the United States of America have, compared to other countries and regions in terms of

productivity and competitiveness, as well as research and technology, will remain and it may even increase. The world is in a demographic dynamics almost out of control. The World population can be fed? It has increased to seven and a half billion. At the same time food is already scarce in some regions, and they matter more and more as a strategic product. Uneven development, backwardness of certain regions, such as Africa, rising unemployment and increasing differences in income are sources of tension. The dissatisfaction of those who lose in the redistribution at the global level of the workforce could weaken the political base of democratic political systems.

Globalization, manifested by emphasizing multiple interdependencies between states, and the liberalization of global flows of goods, services, capital and information, internal and external risks could generate and enhance each other. Amid an increase in the complexity and unpredictability degree of international threats, improving international security environment requires for the internal crisis management measures to be better coordinated, and the strategic information exchange between the countries involved should take place in real-time. (Naghi, 2010, p. 57)

To be able to continue the process of European integration, the EU must meet the economic challenges of global security and environmental challenges. The EU should deal with threats stemming from regional conflicts, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime and illegal migration. It must keep pace with the dynamism of the American economy and the Asian region. Today, the EU is one of the major trading powers, exporter and importer of capital, first aid provider and the main advocate of environmental protection, with a currency that is a serious competitor for the dollar. It is one of the main actors in shaping global trade rules. However, its economic strength, for the moment, is not accompanied by a corresponding political role. It can keep its global economic influence and strengthen its political global role, the implementation of employment and economic growth objectives, policy development and community institutions.

By globalization we understand that notion expressing the changes in the society and in the world economy, caused by intense commercial and cultural activities worldwide. Globalization highlights the increase of trade and investments due to the interdependence between the states of the world. Basically the globalization is an obvious highlight the conditionality on many levels globally, due to the free flow of information, goods, services and last but not least the capital. All these interdependencies between world states are implemented by a variety of transnational organizations in various fields. We see such organizations in the economic, financial, social, political, and military domains.

3. Risks and Threats to Security in the Context of Globalization

Security issues are as old as the history of human interaction in time and space, where the coercive force or threats occur. As politics, security is a phenomenon that continues to be created by the human intention or action. Its evolution as a problem may coincide with politics when it comes to a situation of “pure war.” Most conflict exchanges between humans and their agents who enter into politics sphere they do not directly involve violence or imminent use of it. Most political exchanges where the disputes arise are solved nonviolently, they are not security problems in the sense assumed in the current paper. These transactions much like the economic exchanges in world markets or interstate cooperation in order to tackle the global warming, fall under the broader sphere of international relations and world politics. They regain their security issues, in the absence of a voluntary agreement of the results, when one or all actors involved in the transaction resort to force or threats in order to obtain what they want.

Security involves the lack of threats. Some analysts see it as an absolute condition: either you are alone or you're not. Others, however, see it as a relative condition: there are different degrees of security. It is possible that this will be seen in a subjective and objective manner. The objective refers to the reality of the situation of a person, if he is really threatened and he is protected adequately; the subjective perception refers to a person's situation and his wish of not being partially but totally free from threats. Of course, some may say that those who feel threatened when there is really no such thing, but at least misinformed. However, misperceptions are common and they cause the transition of human behavior in the security sphere. The concept of security as lack of threats is clear, however, it raises a number of questions. Who and what is protected and by what threats? Mainly, the security can be applied to everyone and everything. Is there a global security, international security, national security, regional security and safety organizations, groups and individuals? Similarly, the concept can be applied to any kind of threats. "In the broadest terms, security means survival. States want to protect themselves against the overturning or foreign invasions; individuals want to protect themselves against those who might threaten their lives and the loved ones. They want not be threatened their property (in the case of territory or sovereignty), core values and welfare. Based on the last question listed, some commentators define security less negative – the absence of the threat - and more positively - to promote the well-being and quality of life." (Robinson, 2010, p. 194)

Security is a particular type of problem. It includes all those changes between people and their agents - states, international organizations, corporations, associations, etc. - where players not only pursue some results, but they are even willing to use coercive violence and intimidation in order to obtain what they want. These exchanges operate according to a certain type of human logic, most clearly exposed by the founders of security theory. The same author considers that exchanges leading to a voluntary agreement between the players fail the security test; however, when a mutual cooperation agreement is not working - for instance, is rejected or violated an agreement in the commercial field or that of arms control - a relationship that was not part of security, is vested with the attributes of security issues, which must be solved simultaneously and synchronously with the substantive aspect of the debate.

At international level, the end of the Cold War has led to a fragmentation of efforts in the areas of security, with direct implications on the need for further coordination efforts of the international community. In this era of profound change and transformation it is no longer possible the isolationist policy of security type, but only in the broader context of interdependencies and relationships between the general trends and threats or challenges specific to a particular area or geographic areas. (Naghi, 2010, p. 54)

Global security challenges currently can be identifiable in the economic and social tensions, extremist ideologies, ethnic exclusion, international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, natural disasters caused by the man and public health risks and epidemics, illegal drug and arms trade. In the same context we can speak of international organized crime.¹ Their

¹ **Organized crime** has no universally accepted definition. The term suggests the criminal activities involving two or more people, but usually much more, the activity taking place in an organized social system. It must have some hierarchy, division of labor, the group rules and a common goal. The Organized crime is increasingly seen as a threat to national and international security. This applies in particular to the transnational criminal organizations whose members operate in several countries. The characteristic activities of criminal organizations are trafficking in drugs and people, kidnapping, extortion, fraud, money laundering, gambling, prostitution and trafficking in arms. These are supplemented by violence or even murder. At a lower level, they are only a law enforcement problem. At some point, however, they can become national or international security issues. Firstly, some criminal organizations have gained enormous wealth. With it, they can undermine the state authority by massive bribing of state officials. Corruption is so high to the point that government organizations, even security services cannot do the job effectively. Secondly the criminal organizations can provide support for terrorism and

effects can be exacerbated by the risks arising from the failure of states. The traditional threats continue to be a significant risk in some regions, while they were reduced in other places. The risk of any traditional military threat in Europe - and North America is low on the medium term. It is necessary to react, but to threats from other parts of the world, traditional conflicts affecting residents of states in a given region, and indirectly the entire Euro-Atlantic area.

Currently, globalization is a beneficial by economic dynamics and flows, information, capital. But simultaneously it creates a network of links that predispose to the vulnerability of the international system. It is this flow, determining the interdependent nature of these networks, highlights the fact that these developments are capable and prone towards the globalization of insecurity. So globalization is more than dependence, it is even change at the level of internal structures. (Naghi, 2010, p. 61)

Optimizing security policies require a permanent updating of the strategic needs. Given the deterritorialization, the most viable option seems to be to adopt a strategy aimed at solving crises outside Europe “under the new conditions of globalization of insecurity, it is crucial solving possible internal crisis in the foreign state entities: failed states, a state involved in a civil war, even at the level of an ethnic tribe from which such danger may arise.” In these circumstances, it is not very clear the intent of the international assistance - it cannot be separated from selfish intentions of states to protect their own interests.

In economics, the economic globalization will continue and it will deepen, continuing to deepen the competition for resources. The economy of the Asian countries will increase significantly (China and India will continue their economic growth, the success in both countries will depend on the pace of reforms and securing energy resources). Although economic growth will be felt directly on GDP growth, its per capita distribution will create large inequities. (Naghi, 2010, p. 62)

4. Globalization - Implications in Defining a New International Order

The imperative of globalization is defined in terms of the designing the process of foreign policy and security strategy: in these processes, the democracies must “perceive, think and act in global terms.”

The new cold war between the US and the EU on the one hand and Russia on the other hand has forced Moscow to sell cheap the natural resources to China, thus fueling the rise of a regional superpower that has an interest for in Asia no to dominate neither the US or Russia.

For the US, the conflict between the West and Russia has crossed the borders of the territorial battle and it has turned into a struggle for maintaining the international order that the US is building since the end of the first Cold War, but Washington seems to have reflected very little on the consequences that the conflict will have on a long-term upon China, which, as the late 19th century America, it wants to become a dominant regional power.¹ From this new Cold War created by the economic and political sanctions imposed by the EU and the US Russia and the possible arming of Ukrainians by the Americans, the unwittingly winner could be China, writes *The Washington Post*.

terrorists may finance their activities of organized crime, so that the two activities are often confused. Thirdly, the transnational criminal organizations can smuggle weapons abroad, including weapons of mass destruction, the weapons fall into the hands of terrorists, insurgents or other groups that seek to undermine the national security. Fourthly, the States Parties may engage in organized crime to finance arrangements or to have access to weapons. Assertions according to which the North Korea had forged dollars are widely eloquent in this case. (Robinson, 2010, p. 66)

¹ ASAGRI (The Romanian Association of Strategic Analysis, Geopolitical Analysis and International Relations), The Triangle of geopolitical forces US-China-Russia.

China surpassed the United States and it is now the largest economy in the world by purchasing power parity criterion, according to the IMF. Also, China is in the process of developing the military capabilities and, like other large emerging powers throughout history, it seeks to become a dominant power in the Far East. (Tănase, 2015)

Russian economy is in turmoil following the collapse of oil prices and sanctions imposed by the West and the World Bank estimates that Russia's GDP will contract by 2.9% in 2015. EBRD forecasts that the Russian economy will shrink by about 5% this year. To protect themselves from a potential economic disaster, the government of the Kremlin turned its attention to the Asian market to obtain funds to sell their natural resources and to establish new military contracts. For example, in May 2014, Moscow and Beijing signed a contract for 400 billion dollars for the delivery of natural gas to China, and in November 2014, another agreement was signed for delivery of gas. In September 2014, the US Secretary of Defense of that time, Chuck Hagel said that Russia is working with China to develop new weapons systems. The trade relations between Russia and China could increase in 2015 to 100 billion dollars, with \$ 0 billion in addition to amount of the last year. The logic of these bilateral relationships is elementary: China needs resources that Russia has, and Russia needs markets, foreign investment and capital that China has.

Also, the Chinese do not want the South China Sea to be dominated by the US, and Russia does not want for Europe and the United States to penetrate what Moscow considers to be “the sphere of influence”. In short, neither of the two countries wants to coexist in a world dominated by Americans, and this principle gets them closer.

However, China and Russia are geopolitical rivals, even if Russian ties with the Chinese are a Faustian pact. In the short term, Russia gains from the sale of oil, gas and other natural resources to China. On the other hand, on a long-term, this collaboration strengthens China's rise, which seems destined to be Russia's competitor. In the long term, the United States must anticipate how to be a triangular superpower. Most American strategists agree that not Russia but China is the biggest geopolitical challenge for the 21st century for Washington, and the strategic thinking basis shows that Russia is a counterweight for China's ascension. For now, however, the European and US policies are pushing Russia directly into the open arms of China, a geopolitical error, which if it is not going to be straighten, China will be involuntarily winner of this fight. (Tănase, 2015, p. 3)

The political challenge is to turn the potential benefits of globalization phenomenon into real gains, reducing at the same time, the social costs. The measures to improve the functioning of EU markets and to boost innovation performance will contribute to the reduction of the duration of the adjustment process, while some active measures, such as those funded by the European Globalization Adjustment Fund, will assist the affected workers.¹

5. Final Considerations on the Topic

The answers that the international community can provide to security the need represent the collective defense. *NATO represents such a global or regional mechanism*, which over time has proven its viability. Gradually, *the EU can develop a similar mechanism*, for the effectiveness of which an essential element will be represented by the transparent cooperation, peer to peer, with the North-Atlantic Alliance. We can conclude that:

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/international/globalisation/index_ro.htm.

- in a time when states are no longer the only important actors in the international arena, the tendency for some to dominate others is kept and it increases, *the war for resources* is still available, and the competition for power and supremacy is increasingly fierce;
- There can be no national security without reference to *regional or global security*, and vice versa, it cannot ensure regional security and then global, without starting from the national security of each actor;
- under the conditions where the dynamics of international relations favor efforts to build a new international balance, it is imperative to have a system for managing issues of insecurity and timely warning about the materialization of indicators that predict the threats and risks, amplified by the existing vulnerabilities at national, regional and global levels;
- as the globalization phenomenon did not happen overnight, most certainly the solving of *the current economic crisis and global security* with all the consequences that generate vulnerabilities on the international security, it will not find resolution instantly;
- as the globalization is a *surprisingly global process*, which waits no longer, Romania will have to integrate as quickly as possible and affordably on the international markets for goods and services and capital, that can decisively influence Romania's security.

European leaders are rightly alarmed by the situation in Ukraine: the victims' number increases daily and the Ukrainian economy is on the verge of collapse. A solution must be found as soon as possible. At the Washington there are debates about the "post-Soviet space" (former republics of the Soviet Union who have won their independence after the fall of the Iron Curtain). The American and European authorities must remember that post-Soviet space is the same as the pre-Soviet space, i.e. the Czarist Russian Empire. The Russians still consider themselves as the dominant power in an area where culture and traditions give rise to a particular interest on their part. Despite the reasonable charges against Russian actions, the negotiations with the Russian officials should continue.

Globalization is a very large phenomenon, with objective determination and a lot of nuances objective and subjective involvement. In our opinion, based on the study and documentation, we believe that by globalization it could be understood as the set of long-term, dynamic, continuous, variable and complex processes. Factors such as technological progress, lower transport costs and policy liberalization in the European Union and in other third countries have led to increasing trade exchanges and movement of funds between countries. It has important consequences for the functioning of the EU economy. The globalization phenomenon, although a source of great benefits and opportunities implies that Europe has to face fierce competition from low-cost economies like those of China and India, as well as the innovative economies, as the United States.

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Innovation in Developing Countries - a New Approach

Dagmara Bubel¹, Zuzanna Ostraszewska², Tomasz Turek³, Agnieszka Tylec⁴

Abstract: Currently the enterprises' development and competitive positions are determined by innovation. The importance of innovation in corporate management is a result of changes in corporate environment, as well as of preferences and changing needs of customers. These changes are accompanied by a new approach to innovation: they are no longer limited to developed countries, but also emerge in developing countries. Moreover, a reverse in the direction of innovations occurs, which means that developing countries are often not only the recipients of innovative products, but also creators and „exporters”. Given the current trends, the paper begins with the concept of innovation and deals with the subject of innovation in developing countries. The conclusion of the paper presents examples of innovative solutions originated from Poland. Although Poland ranks rather „tail end” in innovation rankings, but also deliver products that have a good chance to conquer the global market. By highlighting the importance of this reverse innovative trend, this article provides the conceptual grounds for further systematic research.

Keywords: cost innovation; good-enough innovation; frugal innovation; reverse innovation; emerging markets

1. Introduction

The scientific discourse conducted in the literature on innovation indicates new directions for the development of enterprises and emphasizes that being innovative these days does not have to involve considerable expenditures for research and development. Previous enterprises research on innovativeness was conducted from the point of view of expenditures and with an assumption, that more expenditures mean the more innovative enterprise. The innovation types presented in the article disproves this thesis. Many examples from global literature of the subject suggest that the innovativeness does not have to rely on high costs, but on idea, ingenuity, and sometimes even improvisation. Innovations related to emerging markets are the potential for disruptive innovations.

2. Developmental Gaps between the Economies of Individual Countries as a Source of Innovation

According to Oslo Manual *“an innovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organizational method in*

¹ PhD, University Library, Czestochowa University of Technology. Address: Armii Krajowej 36, 42-201 Czestochowa, Poland, Tel: +48 34 361 44 73, fax: +48 34 365 15 07. Corresponding author: dbubel@bg.pcz.pl.

² PhD, Faculty of Management, Czestochowa University of Technology. Address: Armii Krajowej 19B, 42-201 Czestochowa, Poland, Tel: +48 34 3250 428, fax: +48 34 3613 876. Email: zuzanna@zim.pcz.pl.

³ PhD, Faculty of Management, Czestochowa University of Technology. Address: Armii Krajowej 36B, 42-201 Czestochowa, Poland, Tel: +48 34 3250 391, fax: +48 34 3250 395. Email: turek@zim.pcz.pl.

⁴ PhD, Faculty of Management, Czestochowa University of Technology. Address: Armii Krajowej 36B, 42-201 Czestochowa, Poland, Tel: +48 34 3250 345, fax: +48 34 3613 876. Email: atylec@zim.pcz.pl.

business practices, workplace organisation or external relations”¹. The precursor of innovation in economic sciences was J.A. Schumpeter (Schumpeter, 2012), according to whom innovation and the creative destruction activities are common practice, which allows to overcome the obstacles emerging in the cyclical development of the economy. The concept of creative destruction consists of the continuous destruction of old structures and creation of new ones, ever more effective. In classic Schumpeter approach innovation that equal development can be classified into following five cases:

- introducing a new or modified product on the market;
- using a new production method or sale technique;
- entering a new market;
- using a new source of raw materials or semi-finished products;
- introducing a new organization of some industry.

The approach proposed by Schumpeter primarily emphasizes innovation as market experiments and large, wide-range changes, that alters in a fundamental way the structure of whole sectors and markets.

The perception of innovation evolved over the years, which was caused by changes emerging in the worldwide economy, i.e. through the liberalization of trade, opening the borders for free movement of goods, services, and capital, development of technologies, as well as the change in enterprises’ operation models. Developing countries, seen so far as the recipients, or the followers of innovation, now became their source or creator due to the potential of purchasing power of their market and the differences between them and the economies of developed countries. Govindarajan and Trimble (Govindarajan & Trimble, 2012) identified five gaps between developing and developed economies, and indicate those gaps as the most promising areas for enterprises innovativeness:

- performance gap;
- infrastructure gap;
- sustainability gap;
- regulatory gap;
- preferences gap.

Due to the level of income, customers from poorer countries accept the significant decrease in the quality of offered products in exchange for lower price. Eg. the accepted performance to price ratio can be the decrease in technological features by 50% with 15% decrease in price. This phenomenon results from the performance gap.

The infrastructure gap is mainly connected with the fact, that investment processes are affected by the infrastructure level, which is of course not sufficiently developed in emerging markets. It can be an advantage for innovativeness development, as the construction of infrastructure not always has to be just a copy of existing solutions. This gap can inspire creative and modern approaches to solving the problems. The sustainability gap refers to problems related to the environmental protection are the most visible and troublesome in developing countries (e.g. Beijing smog). Hence focusing on investment that also support technology and solutions that are environment friendly can prompt their implementation in developing countries.

Developed countries have advanced regulatory systems, which on one hand allow for an effective use of market rules, providing safety for consumers and employees, but on the other hand form a barrier for innovation. Hence the assumption that the lack of given regulations - the regulatory gap - can

¹Oslo Manual. The measurement of scientific and technological activities. Proposed Guidelines for Collecting and Interpreting Technological Innovation Data. European Commission and Eurostat, 2005, p. 9.

support certain innovation. Cultural and moral diversity of customers all over the world can also positively affect the innovation process. This variety is included in the preferences gap.

3. Innovation in Developing Countries

Recently the focus of corporate management and numerous researches were aimed at innovativeness in developing countries. It is vital to present different approaches to developing countries innovativeness that can be found in the literature of the subject, as it allows understanding the essence of reverse innovation. The concept of innovation coming from developing countries includes:

- disruptive innovation;
- cost innovation;
- Ghandi innovation;
- Juggad innovation;
- frugal innovation;
- good-enough innovation.

Disruptive innovation was introduced to the literature of the subject by Christensen (Christensen, 1997), who identified them as new technologies that change the previous course of enterprises' development. The answer to the question why certain well-managed enterprises fail on the market allowed the author to distinguish two types of innovation: continuation and radical. The development of continuation innovation is an easy task for well-managed enterprises, as through the observation of their customers they invest in technologies allowing them to properly adapt products to their needs. However such activities not always result in the expected value for the enterprise in long term and do not guarantee to maintain the market position. A completely different perspective on existing products, highlighting those features that were previously of little interest for customers, can contribute to radical product changes. Hence disruptive innovation is not reserved only for developed markets, but can be considered from the developing markets perspective. First, business models designed in the low income markets are suitable for transport, which means they can be applied in many other places than models developed in the high income markets. The second reason is the possibility to offer the product or service to people, who were previously completely ignored or the offered products were not adapted to them. Hence offering them something less impressive, yet specially „for them” results in the increase, especially for new companies, with unestablished market position, which find it hard to reach experienced customers in developed markets. Therefore it can be stated that it starts the changes and innovation found on emerging markets are a kind of disruptive innovation.

Williamson (Williamson, 2010) states that the innovation is traditionally related to the development of new products and services or their modernisation through adding more features. However the market competition makes the huge funds spent for high technology and research development not sufficient. Enterprises introducing cost innovation based on emerging economies can offer the customers products adapted to their needs at much lower prices in a completely new way. Clearly, the starting point for that innovation is the lower labour costs of qualified workers, but it is not their only strength in building competitive advantage. Williamson (Williamson, 2010) notices that we should rather talk about a change in the business model, that allows enterprises to supply large markets with low margins, instead of focusing on high class markets and expecting benefits from high margins.

The radical problem solving is also associated with Gandhian innovation. This term was proposed in the literature of the subject by Prahalad and Mashelkar (Prahalad & Mashelkar 2010). The authors

suggest that this type of innovation is similar to Jugaad innovation but based on different motivation. The core of Gandhian innovation consists of Mahatma assumptions, which read: “*I would prize every invention of science made for the benefit of all*” and “*Earth provides enough to satisfy every man’s need, but not every man’s greed*”. Hence Gandhian innovations focus not only on the price, but also on sustainable development and affordability. Gandhian innovations aim at simplicity and economy of offered product, but also put more pressure on the creation and modification of internal and external features through technology (Brem & Wolfram, 2014). The challenge for Indian enterprises is to divert the perception of their products, from cheap and low performance to cheap and high performance. An important aspect of that innovation is the use of technology solutions and the knowledge of developed countries. This is a point where Gandhian innovations contribute.

Jugaad innovation is the transformation of waste into an useful product. Creative and ingenious ideas of slum dwellers contributed to the development of small enterprises in India (Brem & Wolfram, 2014). Radjou, Prabhu & Ahuja (Radjou, Prabhu & Ahuja, 2012) define Jugaad innovation as “*an innovative fix; an improvised solution born from ingenuity and cleverness*”. The postulate „more for less” in case of Jugaad innovation is met, but is viewed from the perspective of art, culture, mentality, and not a process or result. On one hand those enterprises use improvised approaches to solve problems and quickly satisfy the needs at low cost, but on the other hand the whole activity lacks discipline and systematics (Lacy, 2011; Brem & Wolfram, 2014). In case of Jugaad innovation Prahalad and Mashelkar (Prahalad & Mashelkar 2010) clearly state that this is radical innovation. That innovation consists in searching for alternative solutions and improvisations, which overcome the lack of resources, and are able to solve seemingly insoluble problems. The authors also stress that this term, not directly by its definition, is associated with poor quality of solutions being used. Proposed innovative and radical solutions for problems are mainly based on simple assumptions, aimed at the provision of uncomplicated products at low costs that give large benefits. These products are offered to the poorest people, making the Jugaad innovation a result of poverty and the urgent need.

The concept of frugal innovation itself does not mean re-designed solutions, but the use of limited resources available in given environment for originally designed products and services (Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann, 2014). They are often based on a new product architecture, which brings about new features, allowing for destructive application, eg. by changing previously stationary products into portable products. Gupta (Gupta, 2011) states that “*frugal innovation is a new management philosophy, which integrates specific needs of the BOP markets as a starting point and works backward to develop appropriate solutions that may be significantly different from existing solutions designed to address needs of upmarket segments*”. What is important in frugal innovation – it is not aimed only at using cheap workforce, but at the reconstruction, modernisation of products and processes in such a way that it does not create unnecessary costs (Woolridge, 2010). As Zeschky, Winterhalter and Gassmann (Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann, 2014) suggest, frugal product innovation is new and innovative, both from technological and market points of view – they are not only cheaper, but also re-designed.

Good-enough innovation is innovation focused not only on low price, but also on greater functionality of offered products. Similarly as price innovation, good-enough innovation try to keep the profitability level low, but use better local conditions of supply. It allows adapting products or re-designing them in such a way they match specific customer needs from low income segment (Zeschky, Widenmayer & Gassmann, 2011). Good-enough innovation usually require a certain level of novelty in offered products. The product is often created as a result of focusing on basic features, is more durable, easy to use, but has no automated processing. The target of this product offer were at first the price-sensitive

customers from emerging markets, but there are also examples of Western companies that modernize products resulting from good-enough innovation.

4. The Concept of Reverse Innovation

In the modern world it is a novelty, that innovation is not only limited to developed countries' economies. Currently, the enterprises of developing countries' economies are also focused on the innovativeness and want to be leaders in that domain. This way the concept of reverse innovation has been recently established in the literature of the subject. The concept of reverse innovation bases on research on innovations implemented in poor, developing countries, what generates incomparably lower costs than in the case of laboratories held in developed countries. The main idea of the concept is final transfer of the product and its adaptation, then its use and distribution on highly developed markets. This is the opposite of the traditional approach to innovation, which is used in knowledge-based economies in the developed world.

The definition of reverse innovation was presented by Immelt, Govindarajan & Trimble (Immelt, Govindarajan & Trimble, 2009). According to those authors, reverse innovativeness consists in developing ideas on emerging markets, and then introducing them on developed countries' markets. Simply saying it is "towing against the current". The important feature of reverse innovation is not only the focus on the product price, but also on its quality. In the result the manufactured product is not only cheaper but also of high quality. Reverse innovation is the result of various types of innovation emerged on developing markets, in particular of frugal innovation. Frugal innovations provide for low income customers in developing countries. On the other hand reverse innovations are created by transferring frugal innovations to developed countries, allowing for altered propositions (Hossain, 2013). Trimble (Trimble, 2012) defines reverse innovation as follows: "*a reverse innovation is any innovation that is adopted first in the developing world. To be clear: what makes an innovation a reverse innovation has nothing to do with where the innovators are, and it has nothing to do with where the companies are. It has only to do with where the customers are*".

Such approach to innovation assumes different than so far role of developing countries. They are not only the market for consuming innovative products, but the market where new, innovative products are created, and technology solutions are developed. Emerging markets will offer many possibilities for technology innovation, which is important from the point of view of entrepreneurship development, as there is a high demand for good quality products / services at affordable price (Hang & Garnsey 2011). Hence, many multinational corporations consider entering the market of emerging economies not only as goods and services exporters but also as beneficiaries of innovation developed on that market.

The economic rise of emerging markets, especially in China and India, has created a new market segment, called the middle market. A new environment for innovation was presented by Prahalad (Prahalad, 2004; Prahalad, 2012). In his publications the author identified innovation possibilities for markets being at the bottom of the economic development pyramid (BOP). According to presented data he noticed, that the BOP amounts for 4 billion people, living on less than USD 2 a day, coming from different cultures, ethnic groups, with diverse needs and abilities. Multinational corporations have not perceived this market as a target consumer market so far, therefore what makes the reverse innovation a chance for development and competitiveness of enterprises is a large purchasing power and also differences between developed and developing countries' economies.

Strong competition among companies competing for the bottom-of-the-pyramid consumers in these areas becomes a „global battle for the consumer” (Gadiesh, Leung & Vestring, 2007). However, despite increasing incomes, the financial resources of consumers from emerging markets are extremely low in comparison to the consumers from the West. Also they often suffer from additional limitations, such as inadequate private and public infrastructure, or poor access to services. In result the companies started to develop solutions specific for their markets, which are characterized by high value and low cost.

Those solutions that attract the attention of both managers and researchers, are mostly based on previously presented cost, good-enough, frugal, and reverse innovations. These innovations are structurally different from each other with respect to the primal cause of their formation, value proposition, and value creation mechanisms. For example, while some solutions may result from the reconstruction of the existing product, in order to make it much cheaper, others may be completely new and lead to the creation of new markets. However both researchers and practitioners often use those terms interchangeably, hiding the important strategic significance of the differences between them. In fact, according to Zeschky, Winterhalter, and Gassmann, based on the literature study and numerous case studies, one can argue that there are only three types of innovations determined by the limited resources of emerging markets: cost, good-enough, and frugal innovations (Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann, 2014). Those three types differ from each other in terms of technology and market novelty, thus significantly affect the approach and development of enterprises, as well as their project solutions. The authors mentioned above, to prove their thesis, concluded the research which at first involved the creation of the database including 85 cases of innovations gathered in 2009-2013, and analyzed in the next step for strategic effectiveness. Due to the fact that all innovations gathered in the database were characterized by extremely low prices or operational costs (in comparison to Western markets products), their evaluation was concluded using the Ansoff matrix as an analytical tool for the cases classification. The Anshoff matrix is a 2x2 specification of possible solutions for firms, if they are interested in improving their revenues or profitability (Meldrum & McDonald, 2007).

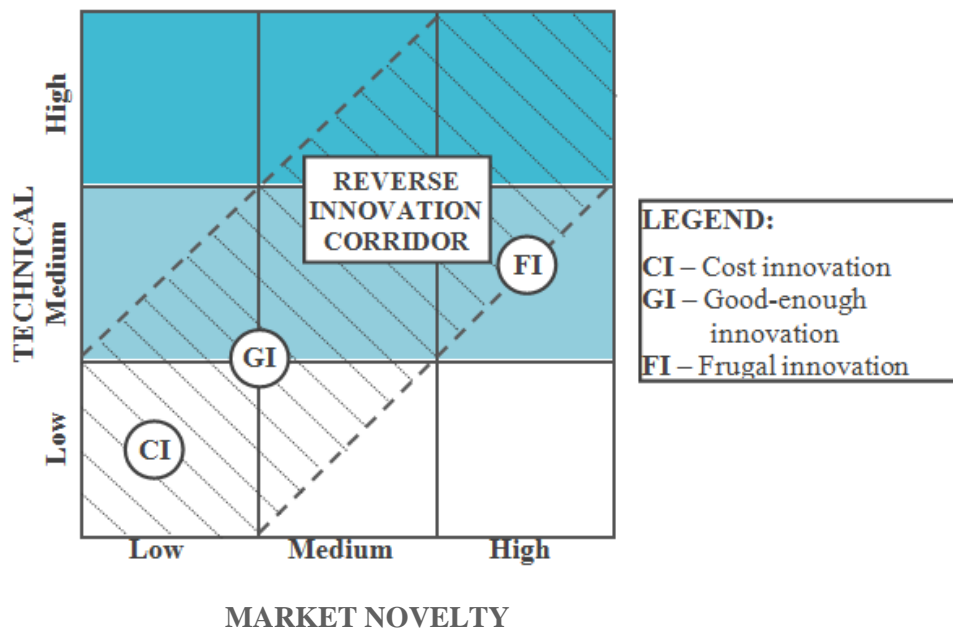


Figure 1. The innovation matrix
 (source: Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann, 2014)

With the use of the Ansoff matrix, 13 most representative innovations were classified according to their technical and market novelty – consequently the matrix categorized gathered innovations whether they were market solutions based on existing technologies, innovative product development activities for present markets, or newly developed products for completely new markets. One used 3 cases of good-enough, 3 frugal, and 7 cost innovations. Innovations, which had cost, good-enough, or frugal innovation characteristics at the same time, were classified as reverse innovations. Cost innovations were solutions or products that scored low results on both the technical and market novelty areas, good-enough innovations were those, which scored low to medium, frugal ones scored medium to high, while reverse innovations score low to medium on technical novelty dimension and low to high on market novelty dimension. Results were presented in Figure 1 and showed that reverse innovation were not similar to other types of innovation. The main trend is that reverse innovation go through the corridor of the other categories and they always come from cost, good-enough, or frugal innovations that were transferred from the emerging-market environment to developed-country markets. As Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann claim *“reverse innovation, as a market innovation rather than a product innovation, were based on any one of these innovation types”* (Zeschky, Winterhalter & Gassmann, 2014).

5. Examples of Innovative Solutions Originated from Poland

Globalization processes, as well as crises emerging in the economy, significantly affect the operation of enterprises and countries, forcing them to look for sources of competitive advantage. Therefore knowledge and human capital, and as a result innovative behaviour and products became the key issues for the state policies and business entities activities. As indicated above, until recently the pro-innovation approach was specific for developed countries. At the moment, however, in ever more cases the developed innovation policy becomes a phenomenon in developing countries. Thus the question is: do reverse innovations originate or may originate also from Poland? The first important issue is to classify Poland as a developing country. It has to be noticed that there is no single generally accepted definition of a developed country, and therefore also of a developing country. The significant measure to differentiate them is GDP per capita. According to this criterion – adopted by the International Monetary Fund – Poland is classified as an emerging and developing market¹. Thus it can be considered as a place to generate reverse innovations. Despite the inflow of capital from the European Union structural funds and numerous activities undertaken in the area of improving the quality of human resources, unfortunately Poland is not one of the leaders in innovation. Studies on the innovation of Polish economy in comparison to the European Union countries indicate that the position of Polish economy in the European Union in terms of innovation is one of the weakest. This conclusion results both from the formation of the synthetic innovation ratio², as well as from the level and structure of R&D expenses financing. In Poland those expenses are financed mostly by the public sector, which illustrates too weak contribution of enterprises to research and development financing. There are, however, some areas in which Poland is not classified in the last positions among the

¹ World Economic Outlook. Legacies, Clouds, Uncertainties. International Monetary Fund, Washington DC, October 2014, p. 50.

² Summary Innovation Index (SII) – a ratio used by the European Commission to evaluate the level of innovation, which includes three components: innovation potential (enablers – i.a. human resources, research resources, and project financing opportunities and government support for innovative activities), innovative activity of enterprises (firm activities – investment, external connections, entrepreneurship, patents, trademarks) and its results (outputs – including not only new products but also the development of new areas of products and services, changes in the employment structure, export development, or the increase in the share of innovative products in enterprises total sales).

European Union countries. These areas are the quality of human capital (education) and investments of enterprises and economic effects of innovations – though the latter at slightly lower positions (Wojtas, 2013). Therefore, those human resources should be considered as a source of potential reverse innovations in Poland. Despite the unfavourable positions in the innovation rankings there are specific solutions, which potential and attractiveness are appreciated not only in Poland, but also globally – examples of some innovative solutions are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples of innovative products originated from Poland

Innovative product	Description
3D printers	3D printing is currently one of the fastest growing branch of the economy and the major trend in the new technologies market. Two Polish companies are successful participants of this market: Zortax and Omni3D. Although Zortax located the production in China, the design and programming take place in Poland. The strength of this company is high quality mechanics and electronics, and also user-friendly software created by Zortax programmers, that allows for intuitive device operation. Zortax, located in Olsztyn produce printers that are used by BMW, Audi, Stihl, Dell. Meanwhile the producer Omni3D (from Poznan) introduced its devices in 2014 into Amazon offer.
Drones	The production of drones was undertaken by WB Electronics, Polish defense industry giant, which manufactures drones for the army and police. Drones also tend to be used more by the private sector. PKP Cargo considers using them to protect coal shipments, and Yoberi from Gdynia used them in 2014 to provide high-speed wireless Internet for visitors of the Baltic Sea beaches. Also the film industry is using drones more often.
Games for smartphones and tablets	The wave of international successes of Polish games was initiated by CD Projekt from Warsaw, with their computer game „Witcher”. Over 5 million copies of „Dead Island” game were sold by Techland from Wroclaw. Meanwhile City Interactive from Warsaw distributed 3,5 million copies of „Sniper: Ghost Warrior”. Also mobile game developers made significant success. For example Infinite Dreams from Gliwice created „Jelly Defence” which hit a record of 25 million downloads until 2012. Over 15 million downloads were recorded for a virtual race „Speedx 3D” developed by Gamelion Studios from Szczecin. The same company created „Monster Shooter” which was downloaded over 10 million times. Over 20 million downloads were recorded for games of Polish developer mTay which specializes in simple puzzles and Tetris games.
Metal parcel machines	A success was achieved by Integer, the owner of InPost brand. Parcel machines enabled the decrease of service price, delivery of the parcel, and facilitated its implementation. Recipients do not have to wait for the postman at home. They get the code to the box, where the parcel waits for them, via e-mail or text message. They can pick it up at any time of day or night. Metal parcel machines are getting extremely popular not only in Poland but also abroad, from Russia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, Ireland, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, to Australia, Saudi Arabia, Chile, and Brazil. It is assumed that in the next 4-5 years parcel machines will also appear in both Americas and Asia.
Method of recycling silicon from photovoltaic cells	An innovative method developed by researchers at the Technical University of Gdansk enables the recovery of silicon from used cells faster and cheaper than with the currently used technologies. The researchers also designed a semi-automatic device prototype, that is able to perform the recovery. Due to the fact that photovoltaic modules were not installed in Poland 25-30 years ago, this product cannot be applied in the country, but can be marketed abroad.
HSMG – High Strength Metallurgical Graphene	The original method of manufacturing graphene by the metallurgical method, developed by researchers at the Technical University of Lodz, enables the production of enhanced strength graphene. In the future this material can be applied i.a. in automotive, aerospace, electronics, or so-called smart textiles.
Dream Beam	Mobile application for smartphones that induces dreams, which occupied first places in most popular applications rankings in the US for many weeks. The application uses the motion sensor mounted in the smartphone. Before going to sleep one has to choose between two offered dream topics – Jungle and Sea. A short animation is displayed on the screen of the smartphone, in order to bring up the right mood. Then the smartphone should be placed under the pillow with the screen facing down. With motion sensors the application detects REM sleep – the motion activate the application and it starts to play sounds, which were used before in the animation. The application currently offers two dream topics but the other are about to follow.
Mouse Box – a combination of mouse and computer	The prototype of a computer inside a computer mouse designed by engineers at the Technical University of Opole is still at an early stage of development, but attracts great interest in the country and abroad. The prototype design includes i.a. quad-core 1.4 GHz ARM CORTEX processor, and comes with 128 GB of memory and a wireless modem. The operation of the device requires only a display. It will be possible to plug other devices into the Mouse Box, thanks to two USB 3.0 ports. Scientists also work on the possibility to charge the computer by placing it on the induction pad.

Source: <http://www.polska.pl>; <http://memeslife.pl>; <http://csr.forbes.pl>; <http://www.pcformat.pl> access on 20.03.2015

The above examples indicate that the Polish companies that win global market are mainly IT industry enterprises, related to the Internet and mobile market. However it is not the only area where Polish engineers enjoy successes. For example, innovations from industries other than the IT, and able to conquer the world, include i.a. antibacterial fabric developed in Andropol from Andrychow. With the annihilation of bacteria accumulated on the clothing it has a chance for a wide use, especially in hospitals. The other project is a stove designed by Arkadiusz Brzeski, which burns almost everything: chicken bones, plastic bottles, plastic bags, and other waste dropped in the trash can. It turns trash into mazut, heat, water and flammable gas. There are plenty of such examples (e.g. exoskeleton for arm rehabilitation – robotic arm – a machine which analyzes the muscles work and enhances it, or an electric motorbike constructed by the students of Vehicles and Mobile Robots Scientific Circle at the Technical University of Wroclaw – a motorcycle that weights 47,5 kg, reaches a top speed of 45 km per hour and is able to carry weight up to 200 kg. With the battery charged it can go for about 70 km, and the cost of 100 km travelled is about 1,5 PLN)¹.

Selected examples of innovative products confirm that Poland, though not one of the leaders of innovation, thanks to its human resources potential can be a country that creates, designs, and program inventions that conquer the world.

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Creation, Identity and Reflection

Alina Beatrice Cheșcă¹

Abstract: The paper “Creation, Identity and Reflection” approaches the identification in the “mirror” of reality with creation, in other words seeking the authors’ identity in the reflected images. Reflection means attempting to find oneself, the mirror being the main principle of creation. Many characters become interesting only when they step into the world beyond the mirror, when their faces are doubled by the other self or when their selves are returned by other characters. The narcissistic concept of the mirror, i.e. the reflection in the mirror and the representation of the mirror itself, is a recurrent one in literature, but the reflection of the self which is not the self (as it is a reflection) does not necessarily appear in a mirror or in a photograph or portrait. Sometimes, the not-self is returned to the self by another person or character. As far as Oscar Wilde’s theories are concerned, the main idea is that people are interesting for their masks, not for their inner nature. What Wilde calls “inner nature” is the characters’ un-reflected self and the mask is the reflection, the self in the mirror. Some characters’ relationships develop within a fiction that they dramatically try to preserve and protect with the risk of suffering. They refuse to take off the masks which define them in the others’ minds and hearts; the narcissistic individuals (both artists and characters) seek and love their own image which they project upon facts, thus creating a fictive realm.

Keywords: creation; Narcissus; mirror; reflection; identity; mask; self

Motto: “Art is the most intense mode of individualism that the world has known.”
(Oscar Wilde)

In *Subjective Mythologies*, a fascinating book on the mythical symbols of antiquity, Octavian Paler stated: “Before blaming Narcissus, we should probably understand more thoroughly what he saw in the water he mirrored himself in. By talking about him we are actually interested in what is happening to us. And nobody is forced to break one’s own heart to see what is hidden inside, but if one does it, he must not cheat.” (Paler, 1975, p. 117)

As writing means looking into one’s inner self, it should be concluded that writing is a narcissistic act. Tudor Vianu is known to have used the term *reflexive* in order to mention that in the language with a stylistic function the writer *communicates* and *communicates himself*, which actually represents the narcissistic nature of art. It must be added that also Jacques Lacan advanced a theory of language based on Narcissus complex (Lacan, 1978).

¹ Associate Professor, PhD, Faculty of Communication and International Relations, Danubius University of Galati, Romania. Address: 3 Galati Blvd, Galati 800654, Romania, Tel.: +40372 361 102, Fax: +40372 361 290. Corresponding author: alina.chesca@univ-danubius.ro.

Schlegel considers that all poets are just like Narcissus. Thomas Mann says, as well: "Self-love is always the beginning of a novelistic life just because writing makes sense only when the self has a problem." (Rank, 1997, p. 65). That is, the narcissistic problems find an unconscious solution through the act of writing, which actually represents the mirror of the writers' selves who communicate themselves through sublimation. In Victor Hugo's opinion, the outside (objective) world is seen in a narcissistic way, by mirroring in the inner (subjective) world: "It is fantastic that it is inside you where you must look in order to understand what is happening outside. The profound mirror is inside the human being." It is true, the same reality is perceived differently, depending on the way our inner mirror changes it by bringing new images and values.

In *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Oscar Wilde approaches the same theme. Dorian hopes to stop the time, making it leave its tragic trace upon the portrait and not upon himself, thus remaining for ever young. The portrait is getting old, but the face in the mirror remains unchanged. Despite this, Dorian gets bored with his young face, breaks the mirror and kills the painter. As it was expected, as soon as he destroys the portrait, his face suddenly becomes ugly and old. Certainly, for Oscar Wilde, Narcissus embodies the tragic beauty which has spiritual dimensions. As Jeffrey Berman points out: "The lack of critical distance between the poet and his characters equals the absence of boundaries between Narcissus and the water." (Berman, 1994, p. 148) Octavian Paler would have said about Dorian Gray: "At first, the one who had bent over the water would have been glad to see how beautiful he was. Then, he found out how lonely he was. (Paler, 1975, 119) This is, indeed, a tragic aspect: the one who tries to find himself/ herself in the mirror finally understands that his/ her image is actually the image of his/ her own loneliness.

Beginning with Otto Rank, psychoanalysts have understood the importance of narcissism in Oscar Wilde's writings, particularly the theme of *the double*. However, what has not been analysed yet, is the extent to which Wilde's theory on aesthetics is based on a narcissistic foundation; he advances a theory on *art* in which the worship of beauty (in the form of self-love) has transcendent significance. "To love oneself is the beginning of a life-long romance", Wilde writes in *Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young* (1894). He was keen on creating a "new Hedonism" in order to worship Narcissus' two divine gifts, youth and beauty. Moreover, Clamence, Albert Camus's character from *La Chute*, says the following words: "Dear friend, this is what the human being is like: he cannot love without loving himself." (Camus, 1968, p. 121)

Camil Petrescu is also Narcissus's supporter, stating that: "We can consider something to be absolute only by looking at our own spiritual essence." (Petrescu, 1971, p. 21). Then he says: "I cannot escape myself" (Petrescu, 1971, p. 27). It is known that the Romanian critic blamed the omniscient point of view, pleading in favour of authenticity and stating that it is only what happens in our conscience that we can really know.

In Mateiu Caragiale's novel – *Craii de Curtea Veche/ The Boyars of Curtea Veche* - Pașadia, Pîrgu and Pantazi represent for each other the identity in the mirror; their relationships develop within a fiction which they tragically try to maintain with the risk of suffering all their lives. They refuse to take off their "masks", that define them in the others' minds. Taking off their masks means that the "invasion" of reality will trouble their image and the characters will no longer be able to reflect each other.

Theodor Codreanu considers that Anton Holban is one of those writers who consider writing as being the direct expression of the spiritual essence. His work has a confessional character, the author using

the first person singular when writing his memories. In other words, Narcissus complex is the archetype of the artistic creation.

Sigmund Freud did not refer to narcissism in his early writings, but he gradually realized its importance for psychoanalytic theory. The first reference appears in a 1910 footnote to the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905). Freud's major statement appears in the 1914 essay *On Narcissism: An Introduction*. In his very theoretical paper, Freud breaks new ground by making a metaphysical structure of the relationship between the self and object world. After the 1914 essay, Freud often returned to the implications of narcissism in *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, *Mourning and Melancholia*, *The Ego and the Id* and *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. Freud's insights into narcissism result in paradoxes: behind narcissists' self-love lies self-hate; beneath their grandiosity lies insecurity. The emptiness characteristic of narcissism represents defences against the inner forces attacking a person's self-esteem.

The classical view on narcissism has been set forth by Otto Kernberg, influenced by Melanie Klein. A more revolutionary view comes from Heinz Kohut, who was the founder and leader of a new school of psychoanalysis called self psychology.

We should mention that Freud's best statement on the artist appears in the *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, where he mentions that the artist is "an introvert, not far from neurosis" (Freud, 1980, p. 312). Oppressed by powerful instinctual needs, the artist "desires to win honour, power, wealth, fame and love of women; but he lacks the means of achieving these satisfactions". Consequently, the artist turns away from reality and withdraws into the world of art, where he makes his dreams come true. For Freud, art represents a substitute gratification enabling the artist to escape illness. "It is well known, indeed", Freud writes in the same passage, "how often artists suffer from a partial inhibition of their efficiency because of neurosis." (Freud, 1980, p. 312)

There is some scientific evidence supporting the connection between suffering and art. The relationship between genius and insanity has been hinted at for centuries and numerous personalities, from Cesare Lombroso to Havelock Ellis, have speculated that genius and mental disorders are connected. However, it is said that none of these studies was scientifically rigorous. A study undertaken in the 1970s supports Freud's statement that the artist is more vulnerable than others to neurotic conflicts. Nancy Andreasen, a critic and psychiatrist, conducted a study at the University of Iowa Writers' Workshop for the purpose of examining the prevalence of psychiatric symptoms in a group of poets and novelists. She discovered that the interviewed writers had a significantly higher incidence of illness and psychiatric treatment than did a matched control group. Nine out of the fifteen writers had previously seen a psychiatrist, eight had been in treatment and four had been hospitalized. Most of the writers described symptoms of mood disorder, which appears to be the illness most associated with creativity. Andreasen considers that mood disorders increase a writer's insight into human experience.

George Pickering has coined the term creative malady to describe the role of illness in personalities like: Charles Darwin, Florence Nightingale, Marcel Proust, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Freud. In his opinion, illness was an essential part of creation. But writers may be more vulnerable than other types of people because their bursts of creativity seem to be related to the intensity of their moods. Andreasen stated that most of the interviewed writers had described a sense of self-doubt and loneliness and believed that they were engaged in a life-or-death battle during the act of creation. They also experienced relief, peace and even joy when they were able to sublimate their conflicts into art; thus, writing becomes a form of personal therapy.

Gaston Bachelard pointed out that: "Narcissism is not always neurotic", in other words it has a positive role in the artistic creation. Sublimation does not always represent the negation of a desire [...]. It can be sublimation for an ideal. Then Narcissus does no longer say: "I love myself just the way I am", but says: "I am just the way I love myself" (Bachelard, 1995, p. 95). Therefore, "*the secondary creative narcissism*", as Theodor Codreanu calls it, is an ideal and not sublimation seen as a defence mechanism against frustration. Narcissus recreates himself through his love directed towards himself; love is no longer the result of the mirroring, but the cause of it: he mirrors because he loves himself.

According to Jacques Lacan, all infants were born in the realm of the *Imaginary*, the main feature of which is the symbiotic relationship of the infant with the world. The symbiosis of the infant with the world is disrupted by the intervention of a third term, that of the patriarchal law, or the Name of the Father, the *nom du pere*. What is instituted at the moment of disruption of the Imaginary by the *nom du pere* is Desire, an urge to return to the utopian state of the Imaginary, of oneness, from which the subject has been driven away. Unfortunately, one can never fulfil one's Desire; the loss of the Imaginary is a permanent one. But this desire is repressed and this act of repression brings the unconscious into being. From the point of view of the *Mirror Stage*, the subject becomes established in the realm of the Symbolic, the realm of language and representation and this relies on the recognition of the Other in the mirror, that is both oneself and not-onese. Lacan advances an almost hallucinating theory and Jeffrey Berman is right when he wonders: "One is never sure whether to read Lacan literally or metaphorically. Is he primarily a scientist, whose authority is based upon observational research; a philosopher, whose influence rests upon his problematic redefinitions; or a poet, whose power resides in his vivid language? (Berman, 1995, p. 29)

The narcissistic issues exist on four separate but interrelated levels: fictional character, text, author and reader. Generally, the authors' narcissistic injuries are transmitted to their characters, who live their lives trying to cope with their creators' experiences. The problems experienced by characters in their adult lives may be traced, with few exceptions, to early parent-child conflicts, particularly to an overloving or underloving (or absent) mother and a father who does not offer enough love or attention. When they suffer from an improper mirroring in childhood, real and fictive characters are likely to be depressed in their adult life and also deforming mirrors for their own self or for the others. Both types of characters respond to narcissistic injuries in a similar way and present and past are a continuous line. Thus, there is a question to be raised: is the relationship between the real and the fictive character one of dependence (the character is subordinated to the author) or one of interdependence (both characters are images of the same self, they mirror one in each other).

Narcissism also plays a role in the act of reading. Marshall Alcorn and Mark Bracher consider that literature provides the opportunity for the "re-formation" of the reader's self. The reader forms a "narcissistic alliance" with a fictional character. Just like psychoanalysis, literature can alter the reader's self by changing his or her perceptions of the world and pursuit of ideals. At the same time, the reader tries to find himself in the act of reading, although he must keep his own identity.

Mihail Sebastian's and Oscar Wilde's works represent a game of mirrors: the two writers look at themselves in the mirror and create characters similar to them (narcissistic act) and the characters reflect themselves in order to find their true self, their true nature, which is the inner one. They represent 'shards' of the same mirror which form a whole together. In other words, Sebastian's and Wilde's selves are fragmented and reflect an inner reality called: Dorian Gray, Lord Henry Wotton, Basil Hallward, Ștefan Valeriu, Bogoiu, Miroiu, Paul, Corina or Mona.

Wilde elaborates his philosophy of art in the four essays that make up *Intentions: The Decay of Lying, Pen, Pencil and Poison, The Critic as Artist* and *The Truth of Masks*. In *The Decay of Lying*, he defines the four doctrines of the new aesthetics: “Art never expresses anything but itself. It has an independent life, just as Thought has, and develops purely on its own lines”; “All bad art comes from returning to Life and Nature, and elevating them into ideals”; “Life imitates Art far more than Art imitates Life”; “Lying, the telling of beautiful untrue things, is the proper aim of Art” (Wilde, 1990, p. 83). Central to Wilde’s theory of aesthetics is the separation between art and life; the idealization of art implies the devaluation of nature. He considers nature as totally imperfect, even deformed. “My own experience is that the more we study Art, the less we care about Nature. What Art really reveals us is Nature’s lack of design, her curious crudities, her extraordinary monotony, her absolutely unfinished condition.” By contrast, “Art is our spirited protest, our gallant attempt to teach Nature her proper place” (Wilde, 1990, p. 84). Wilde emphasizes the art-nature dichotomy, associating art with health and nature with illness. “One touch of Nature may make the whole world kin, but two touches of Nature will destroy any work of Art.” Anticipating existentialist and poststructuralist assumptions, Wilde denies the objective existence of nature, arguing that people discover in nature only what they bring to it.

To a certain extent, Mihail Sebastian’s theory of aesthetics is similar to the one developed by Oscar Wilde. In 1935, the Romanian writer and critic wrote in *Rampa* revue: “Theatre is a fiction that you believe in. A game you take part in. It is a delicate trick, a subtle trick that subjugates you, changes your views, obliges you to leave your loneliness.” (Sebastian, 1935, p. 1). In another chronicle from “*Rampa*”, Sebastian put down: “The mask expresses and satisfies this need to step beyond. It responds to our instinct of escape. An instinct like hunger, thirst, love - an instinct which is rich, certainly, luxurious and expensive, but not less natural.” (Sebastian, 1935, p. 1)

In the two critics’ view, art is a parallel reality, but as plausible and natural as the proper reality and it can never be eliminated. For Wilde, art cannot be the reflection of nature because it is an independent reality; on the contrary, mirroring functions vice versa: nature is the imperfect and deformed reflection of art, which is the supreme standard. For Sebastian, art seems to reflect nature, but without being subordinated to it. The entity in the mirror, i.e. art, represents a bright image, different from nature, which is the reflecting image. “Stepping beyond” means looking for your artistic and good self in the mirror.

Beneath their aesthetics there is a rescue fantasy, which means that the artists’ creation of beauty represents a refuge against the bleak reality. We can mention here Freud’s classic essay *A Special Type of Choice of Object Made by Men* (1910), in which he theorizes that a man’s wish to rescue a prostitute represents the son’s efforts to rescue the mother from the father, the boy’s rival in love. Freud interprets the rescue fantasy in terms of the Oedipus complex, which he introduces for the first time in this essay. With Wilde and Sebastian, the rescue fantasy represents the artist, who must save us from our imperfect nature and turn nature into a superior reality.

From this point of view, Gaston Bachelard’s interrogation is very interesting: “How could all these images have a meaning if they didn’t have a double meaning?” (Bachelard, 1999, p. 105). An explanation could be that an un-reflected image remains superficial, lacking the profoundness of the look into the inner side. Reflection means seeking the self; the real identity is not necessarily what we see, i.e. the social self; it can be the reflection itself, the self in the mirror (the artistic self). As Theodor Codreanu puts it, the mirror is the fundamental principle of creation. Sebastian’s and Wilde’s characters become interesting only when they step into the world beyond the mirror, when their faces are doubled by the other self or when their selves are returned by other characters. Sebastian’s

confession: “What I ask from life is the right to look into its eyes with total honesty” can be interpreted taking into account these statements. Looking means stepping beyond appearance, looking into the inner mirror.

Returning to Oscar Wilde’s theories, the most important idea is that people are interesting for their masks, not for their true nature. We consider that what Wilde calls “inner nature” is the un-reflected self of the characters and “the mask” is the reflection, the self in the mirror. Throughout *The Critic as Artist* we find the idea that life is inevitably painful and disappointing: “For Life is terribly deficient in form. Its catastrophes happen in the wrong way and to the wrong people. One is always wounded when one approaches it (Wilde, 1990, p. 85).

Jeffrey Berman points out that “Wilde’s dichotomy of art (perfection) and life (imperfection) reflects a fundamental split between the good and bad self. The opposition between idealization (of art) and devaluation (of life) is a familiar pattern of narcissistic thinking.” (Berman, 1994, p. 152) In other words, the narcissist seeks and loves his own image, that he projects upon facts, thus creating a fictive dimension.

In *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, for Basil Hallward, Dorian is the great passion of his life. From the moment he meets Dorian, Basil is overwhelmed by him. Being afraid of his crazy love for Dorian, he tries to sublimate his strong emotions into art. Lord Henry and Basil worship Dorian in similar aesthetic terms. In the beginning, Basil tells Lord Henry that he cannot exhibit the painting of Dorian, since “I have put too much of myself into it.” (Wilde, 1992, p. 58) Basil does not abandon Dorian, but the creation abandons its creator. Basil expresses a subjective view of art, in which “every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter. The sitter is merely the accident, the occasion (Wilde, 1992, p. 45). The lack of distance between painter and subject suggests the lack of clear boundaries in the artist’s personal relationships. Basil suffers from unresolved issues typical of narcissistic disorders.

Gaston Bachelard considers that “the imagined fact is more important than the real fact.” (Bachelard, 1995, p. 199). Indeed, for all these characters it is much more important to show their masks, as this is their real nature. Their social self-preservation preserves the frustration caused by the disappointments and limits imposed by reality (i.e. Life/Nature in Wilde’s terms).

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Demanding Culture: A Study of Excessive Competition and Innovation and Managerial Implications for Multinational Enterprises

Chutinon Putthiwani¹

Abstract: This research aims at examining what level of business competitiveness and innovation will be best suited for MNEs in the long-run. Author tests the relationship among excessive business competitiveness and innovation and the dysfunction of MNEs, by using multiple regression analysis as the quantitative method. The results show that both excessive business competitiveness and excessive innovation cannot influence the ceasing of business operations. For managerial implications, managers in MNEs should always monitor to what extent it is appropriate for organizational culture to create business competitiveness and innovation. They can add rules in to the internal administration of MNEs, since more rules will block excessive innovation. Regarding the limitations of the research, firstly, the databases did not categorize which enterprises in the USA are truly MNEs or local enterprises. Therefore, the precision of predictive analysis was diminished. Secondly, the data analyzed are not statistically significant, even though a normality test was performed prior to the analysis. Thirdly, since the nature of business competitiveness itself is hard to measure, it is difficult to find a good data representative of overall competitiveness. For future research, the author suggests the future researcher should expend resources identifying statistically valid data for the missing period.

Keywords: multinational enterprise; organizational culture; innovation; business competitiveness; competitive advantage

JEL Classification: F230; L290; M160

1. Learning from the Past

“Now, young adults expect to be comfortable early; a kid’s first questions about a job are ‘What are the pay, the hours, and the vacations?’” – Jared Diamond in his Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed, page 58, line 33

Human beings are social creatures and need to interact with other people (Hofstede et al., 2002). Economists generally assume that all of us are rational, and we all have reasons for our actions. A book “*Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*” by Jared Diamond profiles civilizations that collapsed (mostly) due to human greed resulting from potential competition and, surprisingly, innovation. It is of great interest to researchers to learn the reasons why ancient civilizations at their paragon’s faced imminent demise and, more importantly, what were the harbingers portending each civilization’s impending collapse. Were these civilizations in general overly focused on work and productivity? It is dubious to assume that all humans were born greedy. Or, is there a common factor that plausibly shapes us into the way we are today? Diamond (2005) concentrates much attention on

¹PhD Student in Management Science, Faculty of Business Administration, Turiba University: Riga, Latvia, +37124804181, +37167619152. Corresponding author: chutinon@eau.ac.th; chutinonp@yahoo.com.

collapsed civilizations such as: *Anasazi* (“the ancient ones”) in the USA, who landed in a deserted area and faced severe drought finally lead to cannibalism; and Norway’s Vikings, who displayed excessive innovation in hunting for new land even though that land was barren. It seems that these catastrophes occurred because of the respective cultures involved. Are some cultures inclined to compel their members to do and to consume too much? These are interesting questions we need to explore.

In fact, the cultures of these fallen civilizations can be considered from a macro-geography perspective since they affected not only one the specific collapsed countries but also neighboring countries. By contrast, an enterprise as a single entity can be considered from a micro-geography perspective since it has to deal only with its internal organizational culture. Diamond (2005) links the extinction of civilizations to environmental problems such as deforestation, excessive hunting for certain species (he points out that some local birds are easy prey because they have never been hunted before and thus have no fear of human beings), and so on. Why do we have to study the past? Diamond mentions that we study the past in order to understand the present and not to repeat the same mistake in the future. We see the mining problem in Australia, Bhopal disaster in India, or even pollution problem in China and realize that greedy leaders in collapsed civilizations were not all that different from modern day American CEOs (Diamond, 2005). Today’s CEO may be viewed as being every bit as comfortable as historical cultures prior to their collapse. This poses the question of will civilized American face the same collapse and fate? From this we draw the conclusion that many enterprises, especially multinational enterprises (MNEs), need to address internal organizational cultural issues with determination.

In 1935, a Japanese MNE, Matsushita Electric, established “Keiretsification” – a system in which large Japanese enterprises supported smaller Japanese enterprises by trading with them within a given circle (Shimotani, 1995). This system, led naturally to a reduction in excessive competition since Matsushita was not trading with companies outside of the circle. This may sound unfamiliar to the European or American way of conducting business, but this is an example of the external behavior of Japanese MNEs being influenced by their internal organizational cultures. The collapse or long-term prosperity of this culture cannot be predicted accurately even today. In fact, there are some research efforts (such as Shimotani (1995), Finkelstein (2006), and Lee et al. (2012)) which explore cultural motivations for excessive competition and innovation. This research, as a result, examines what level of business competitiveness and innovation will be best suited for MNEs in the long-run. The author also explores the effects of extreme culture on MNEs using examples of historical civilizations as guidelines for behaviors MNEs should avoid with the objective of mitigating their risks of enterprise extinction. In conclusion, the author organizes this research as follows: the first part is the literature review about organizational culture, excessive business competitiveness, and excessive innovation in MNEs; the second part presents the research methodology, including multiple regression analysis, in which the author uses data from government databases (i.e. the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and U.S. Census Bureau) to model the correlation between competitiveness, innovation, and long-term MNE success; the third part includes a discussion and conclusions; and the final part includes research limitations and future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Culture through the Enterprise Lens

Culture, in all of its forms, plays a major role in human history (Finkelstein, 2006). Culture can be seen as national, business-oriented, or organizational in nature. For example, Icelanders prefer to be individualistic and pride themselves on their ability to survive without foreign influence (Eyjolfsson & Smith, 1997). In any enterprise, organizational culture evolves cyclically, showing the enterprise's norms and the values created by the enterprise's stakeholders (Cîmpeanu & Pîrju, 2010). Hence, MNEs, given their nature as global enterprises, face many challenges and obstacles stemming from encountering a variety of cultures based on employee demographics. It is incumbent upon managers to inspire employees as the future of such enterprises by using organizational culture as a tool (Cîmpeanu & Pîrju, 2010). However, if the organizational culture in the MNE is mistaken and promoting the wrong values, what will be the consequences? For example, in Snow Brand (Japan's dairy MNE), its culture is so demanding so that it is unacceptable to make a mistake in the enterprise (Finkelstein, 2006). Therefore, when something wrong happens (which the author will discuss later), employees simply sweep it under the rug.

2.2. Excessive Competition in the Enterprise

Enterprises are concerned mainly with establishing and maintaining competitive advantages (Porter, 1985). Competitive advantage and business competitiveness shape the economic system and drive the growth of businesses globally (Zariņa et al., 2012). To avoid extinction, MNEs in dynamic industries such as software need to be allied with competitors since the competition in this industry is extreme (Cloudt et al., 2010). In contrast, Snow Brand was overwhelmed with intensive competition from retailers and finally faced extinction due to mislabeling and knowingly selling contaminated products (Finkelstein, 2006). In addition, Japanese MNEs, since 1930, created the culture of Keiretsu to eliminate foreign MNEs from their business circles due to potential competition from these foreign countries (Shimotani, 1995). At first glance, this competitive strategy would seem to foster the long-term prosperity of Japanese MNEs, however the lagging behind of today's Japanese MNEs (when compared to ex-underdog South Korean MNEs) offers proof that there must be something wrong with this business culture of Keiretsification. Lee et al. (2012) also supports the notion that competition can bring catastrophe to enterprises. Therefore, we assume that:

Hypothesis 1: The excessive competition in MNEs (shaped by a demanding culture) leads to the extinction of MNEs.

2.3. Excessive Innovation in the Enterprise

Innovation, as mentioned by John E. Elliot in reference to Schumpeter's work, is an industrialized or business application of a modern product, production method, process, market penetration strategy, or even enterprise (Schumpeter, 2008). Porter et al. (2004) report that advancements in state-of-the-art technology emerge because of innovation. They stress that followers, in order to be innovative as well, will imitate the products and services of the market leader. Therefore, the result of excessive innovation may be MNEs who are frightened of the competition's tendency to copy their products and services. As a result, MNEs will try too quickly and too aggressively to enter too many markets

(Hutzschenreuter & Voll, 2008). In Japan, there are plenty of innovative products available, but these products are suitable for domestic customers only (Makino & Roehl, 2010). That is, these products are almost useless and overly complicated to use in foreign countries. Unsurprisingly, a work of Cîmpeanu & Pîrju (2010) asserts that innovative technology divides the people, and this is the reason why Japanese consumer behavior is different from that of other consumers in other parts of the world. As a result, these activities are exhausting and will not benefit MNEs in the long-run. Therefore, we assume that:

Hypothesis 2: The excessive innovation in MNEs (shaped by a demanding culture) leads to the extinction of MNEs.

3. Research Methodology and Results

The data were taken from three databases: the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and the U.S. Census Bureau. The Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis provided data on total production of American industry for the years 1955-2014. The author used this data to represent the competitiveness of MNEs since Porter et al. (2004) used the production process sophistication of a company's operations and strategy as a key indicator to explain the business competitiveness. The data were analyzed by summing all production figures from each 12 month period and deriving a monthly average. The U.S. Census Bureau provided statistics for patents statistics issued in the USA during the period 1992-2014. The author used this data (the number of patents issued to American MNEs) to represent the innovation level of the American MNEs. The reason to for using this data is that patents motivate innovation by inspiring enterprises and employees to provide and invest resources for innovation through a dedication to research and development (European Commission, 2015). Figure 1 shows the number of patents issued in USA from 2004-2013 from U.S. Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO). The x-axis represents year issued and the y-axis represents the number of patents. The U.S. Patent and Trademark Office provided data on American firm characteristics during the years 1977-2012. The author used this data (firm age) to represent the extinction of MNEs since the data provides the number of enterprises ceasing operation during that period. The period used in analysis is 1992-2012 due to the plausible overlapped timeline of these three datasets. Multiple regression analysis was used to predict the extinction of MNEs based on excessive business competitiveness and innovation.

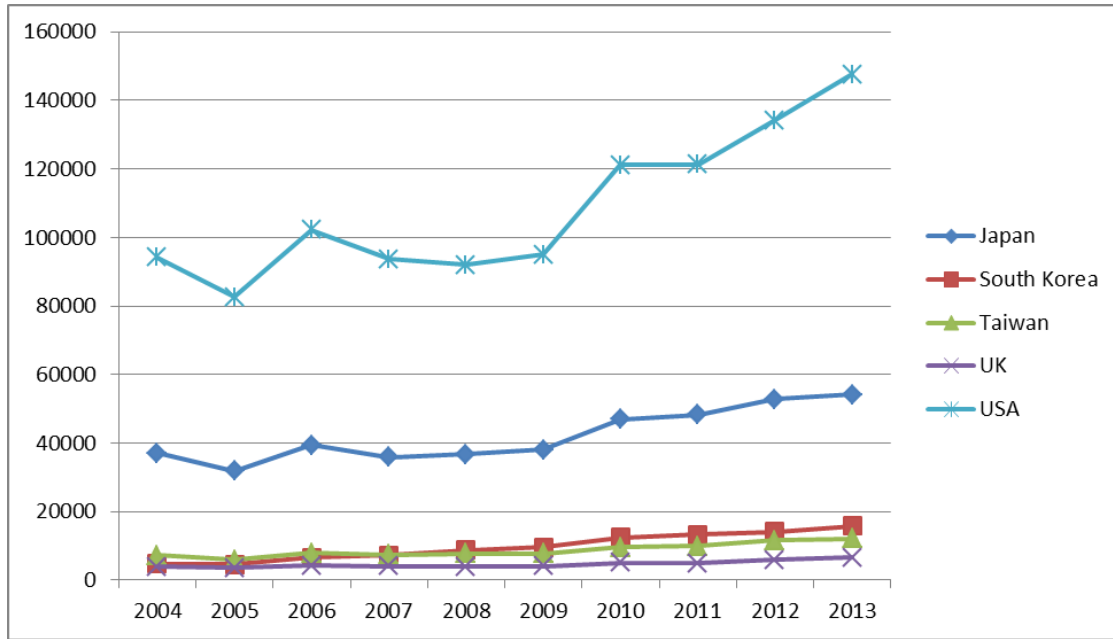


Figure 1. The number of patents issued in USA from 2004-2013 (www.uspto.gov); author’s analysis

Later on, the author tests the relationship between excessive business competitiveness and innovation and the dysfunction of MNEs (Hypotheses 1 and 2), by using multiple regression analysis as the quantitative method (see Table 1). Consequently, the multiple regression model with adjusted $R^2 = 25.1\%$ shows that excessive competition and innovation do not influence the ceasing of business operations by MNEs since they are not statistically significant (both p-values of the excessive competition and the excessive innovation are more than 0.05). Nonetheless, with TOL = 0.359 (more than 0.100) and VIF = 2.785 (less than 10.000), the multiple regression model does not exhibit the intercorrelation problem. In conclusion, the aforementioned results show that excessive competition (shaped by a demanding culture) does not influence the ceasing of business operations by MNEs (accept Hypothesis 1) and excessive innovation (shaped by a demanding culture) also does not influence the ceasing of business operations by MNEs (accept Hypothesis 2).

Table 1. Multiple regression analysis’ result

Predictors	B	SE	t	Sig.	Intercorrelation	
					TOL	VIF
Excessive Competition	2022.591	1344.944	1.504	0.150	0.359	2.785
Excessive Innovation	0.256	0.810	0.316	0.756		

4. Research Discussion and Conclusion

Being proactive and able to adapt to both internal and external environments are the main characteristics of competition (Zariņa et al., 2012). In the past, Easter Islanders in Chile faced excessive competition among its leaders in building gigantic Moai and as a result spent and spoiled too many resources on developing the island (workers had to consume a lot of food to sustain enough energy for building such Moai). Once the island was totally deforested, the lack of sufficient natural

resources led to cannibalism and the extinction of most Easter Islanders (Diamond, 2005). We can see that even the positive attitudes, when they are too much, can generate the negative outcomes. Even though the author concludes that the results are not significant and both excessive business competitiveness and excessive innovation cannot influence the ceasing of business operations, there are still lessons to be learned and guidelines and solutions available. For instance, managers and CEOs in MNEs should always monitor to what extent it is appropriate for organizational culture to create business competitiveness and innovation. They can add rules in to the internal administration of MNEs, since more rules will block excessive innovation (Eyjolfsson & Smith, 1997). Lee et al. (2012) also support the belief that when the excessive business competitiveness is restricted, society benefits as a result.

5. Research Limitations and Future Research

Regarding the limitations of the research, firstly, the databases did not categorize which enterprises in the USA are truly MNEs or local enterprises. Therefore, the precision of predictive analysis was diminished (this, perhaps, is the reason why adjusted R^2 is only 0.251). Secondly, the data analyzed are not statistically significant, even though a normality test (Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test) was performed prior to the analysis. This may be due to the timeline of data is not being long enough (year 1992-2012). Nevertheless, it is problematic for the author to find more official information due to the limited public release of government data. Thirdly, since the nature of business competitiveness itself is hard to measure (Zariņa et al., 2012), it is difficult to find a good data representative of overall competitiveness. For future research, the author suggests the future researcher should expend resources identifying statistically valid data for the missing period. The author also recommends that the future researcher to conduct quantitative analysis on a larger volume of data to provide more precise insights on how organizational culture affects the innovation and business competitiveness of MNEs.

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Culture and Cooperation during the Interwar Period

Anișoara Popa¹

Abstract: Starting from the most important *Publications of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (1925-1946)* we will explore the ideas concerning culture and personalities involved in the intellectual cooperation during the Interwar Period. Pointing out the role that the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation had and the Romanian contribution to this cooperation is another purpose of this article.

Keywords: culture; cooperation; League of Nations; International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation; interwar period

The internecine, unprecedented confrontation of states and empires in the Great War has shaken the world and it determined the call to rational choices for building a peace that would make a similar experience impossible for the future. The Society of Nations, as the main institutional body representing rationality, would contribute to conflict management, overcoming the significant moral crisis and the insurance of a just, equilibrated/real peace. In this context, intellectual cooperation of all the illuminated minds of those times would be involved in this forum, that would constitute special structures in this sense and it would create an extended international debate.

After referring to the distinct stages of the “cultural interwar building” and to the objectives and paradigm of this cooperation, we will insist, in this article, on the most influent acceptations that culture and cooperation carried during this period. We will underline also the Romanian contribution and also the importance of the Romanian intellectuals’ involvement in the cultural cooperation of the time.

Regarding the steps of the “cultural interwar building”, researchers focused rigorously on trying to understand the mechanisms, the endeavors, achievements or the causes of the failure. (Iacobescu, 1988; Renoliet, 1999; González, 2014 etc.)

It was shown that “the institutional concretization of the intellectual cooperation concept took place in 1922, by creating the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, which brought together famous intellectuals such as Henri Bergson, Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Paul Valery and it was considered back then as one of the most influential intellectual international organizations.” (Carbunaru, p. 130).

¹ Professor, PhD, Faculty of Communication and International Relations, “Danubius” University of Galati. Address: 3 Galati Boulevard, 800654 Galati, Romania, Tel.: +40.372.361.102, fax: +40.372.361.290. Corresponding author: apopa@univ-danubius.ro.

The first meeting of this Committee took place in Geneva, in August 1922 and between 1922-1939 national commissions were created in member states of the Society of Nations as well as in non-member states (USA, etc.), having the role to support the activity of the Society of Nations¹. The National Commission for Intellectual Cooperation of Romania was founded in 1923 by the initiative of Romanian Academy, with governmental support and it was reorganized in 1929 (Iacobescu, 1988, p. 243; Carbutaru, 2013, p. 138). First, it was managed by Vasile Parvan, then by Gh. Titeica. As for the commission's secretary, the role was taken by Dr. Gh. Marinescu, replaced afterwards by Al. Busuioceanu. Among the members, also, Nicolae Iorga, Alexandru Lapedatu, Elena Vacarescu, Ovid Densusianu, Ioan Dragu, Dimitie Gusti, Constantin Chiritescu, Emil Racovita, etc were representative (Iacobescu, 1988, p. 244). At the meetings, rectors of the four universities in Iasi, Bucharest, Cernauti and Cluj joined (Carbutaru, 2013, p.13). Romanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu was not only the president of the General Assembly of the Society of Nations for 1930 and 1931 but also one of the members of the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation.

The International Organisation for Intellectual cooperation had, as the main executive body, the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) , created in 1924, located in Paris, which would make the connection between the Council and the Society of Nations' Assembly on the one hand and the involved governments of the states and national commissions, on the other hand. Another body was created in 1928, the International Educational Cinematographer from Rome.

The Society of Nations' activity in regard to intellectual cooperation from 1919 to 1946, analyzed by J. Reinoliet as forgotten steps in UNESCO's historical path, is highlighted through the actuality and value of the ideals and solutions drawn in relations to the role of culture in peacekeeping problematic. The historian underlined, starting with the questions whether "the culture is the fundamental, necessary item or is it the inevitable product of a political construction based on nations or, even more, supranationally", that the current understanding of the idea that leads intellectuals of the interwar era to have a vision on a more ambitious kind of insuring worldwide peace, projected through the Society of Nations, under the name of universally accepted values, at which they recognize themselves to belong: the institutionalization of a supranational government, with a military power and enforced by an affective nucleum (Renoliet, 1999, pp. 319-320).

The mentioned analyst talked about the presence of two visions, two different eras under the two logos: UNESCO, having the Anglo-Saxon influence, characterized by the spread of its knowledge and the IIIC (International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation), having a French inspiration which would engage the elites in guiding the population in creating "a Society of Spirits", that would support the Society of Nations, in Paul Valery's expression (Reinoliet, p. 325). From the status of "instrument of French cultural influence" where the nation's criteria was promoted, the IIIC evolves after 1931 to being apolitical, adding descentralisation, which leads also to "quitting when facing dictatures" (Renoliet, p. 332).

From the perspective of oriental analysts, a paradigm shift of IIIC is produced: from the international intellectual cooperation and the universal intellectual community envisaged in the 1920s to the particularity of culture and an organization among national cultures, a "League of Cultures" providing the international basis of national organizations for cultural exchange (Saikawa, 2009).

Indeed, at the first plenary session of ICIC, in 1922, Nitobe Inanzo defined the characteristics of "intellectual cooperation" talking about "the step to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual

¹ The first National Commission for intellectual cooperation was created in Latvia, in December 1922 and the Romanian one, in 1923, being in the first group of 12 National Commission created until the end of 1923.

relations between peoples, particularly in respect of the communication of scientific information”¹ (Saikava, 2009, p. 3). It is obvious that the ICIC, influenced by the ideas of La Fontaine and Murray on intellectual cooperation, identifies itself as a sort of universal community by intellectuals all over the world.

Michel Lheritier, Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences spoke as well about the objectives of the intellectual cooperation in 1929 while emphasizing that this collaboration mechanism “creates connections between intellectuals through the creation of associations, congresses and promotes their collaboration,” targets even the “problem of a universal language”, “diminishes the efforts and promotes exchanges” producing tools for intellectual work (dictionaries, directories, corpora of documents, indexes). Above all “it ensures a perfect and complete movement, in time and space, of the results of the intellectual work that have the aim to relieve us of the efforts already made by others. Nothing would be lost and this would open up an unlimited creative field”, he said (Lheritier 1929, p. 730). Paul Valery spoke of a Society of Spirits having the aim of supporting the League of Nations while Julien Luchaire, director of the Institute, WAS referring at “the world as intellectual construction year”, emphasizing That “the world of tomorrow Would Be a single structure built upon three structures : political organization, economic organization, intellectual organization” (Luchaire, 1929, p. 196).

The concepts of culture and intellectual cooperation were debated during that time in relation to those of law /peace and force/ war. Einstein's epistolary dialogue is illustrative to this point. As a member of International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation and, since 1927, president of the International Committee against Fascism, he conceived it in 1933 together with Freud, about the war, under the auspices of International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) and Society of Nations. Launched by Einstein in the summer of 1932 and published in 1933 by IIIC in the *Correspondence* Collection under the title *Why War?*, the dialogue is introduced in the context of the growing concern of the danger of war. While asked to provide moral support to the League of Nations in its struggle against war during the debate regarding the role of law and power in social and international relations, Freud believes that the concept of violence is more appropriate to this occurrence than the one of force. He sees the Culture as a tremendous struggle between Eros and Hatred, Destruction and the Super-ego - as an internalization of the death pull. He considers that one cannot suppress the destructive impulses of the human being, as the “Bolsheviks” claimed, but they may be channeled. “To fight war, we must appeal to Eros, to love, identifying people one to another,” expresses the scientist while emphasizing that “we are pacifists because of organic reasons for that culture modifies the quasi-organic impulses, assisting the development of the intellect against the pulsating life and insuring the inner reverse of the aggressive instinct. Everything that strives for the development of culture, strives against war” concluded his letter to A. Einstein² (Renoliet, 1999, p. 318).

In 1936 at the 80th Freud's anniversary in Vienna, Thomas Mann considered the psychoanalysis as a cultural element in radical opposition to Nazism (*Romain Rolland-Sigmund Freud, Correspondence...*, 1999, p. 379) In the interwar Romanian cultural environment, the culture is seen not only as a dimension of the joint constructive effort towards peace, but also as a new, noble and spiritual ground, where the confrontation and spiritual competition is placed (Sperantia 1929 f. 21). On the fact that through intellectual cooperation the League of Nations aims “not uniformity” but the advancement of specificities and “the strengthening of spirits with the cultural weapon that does not kill but refreshes

¹ League of Nations, *Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Minute of the First Session, Geneva, August 1st-5th, 1922*, Geneva, 1922, p. 3, Cf T. Saikava, 2009, p.3.

² A. Einstein and S. Freud, *Why war ?*, IICI, SN, 1933, p.63, cf. Renoliet, 1999, p. 318

and completes” insisted, in an article published in the Oradea city publication *Cele trei Crisuri* in 1929, dedicated to the League of Nations, the Professor Eugene Speranta. The role of culture in the sublimation of destructive impulses of individuals is properly understood through Freudian understanding by Professor Speranta who concludes his article while saying: “I do not know if the organizers of the League of Nations, while embracing the intellectual cooperation as one of the greatest concerns, took into consideration the truth that to the combat forces of People we must allocate a way of inhibition, though this action has, from this point of view an unsurpassed importance and its success presents a great additional warranty” (Sperantia, 1929, f. 21).

Daniel Laqua stressed on the fact that “many protagonists of intellectual cooperation viewed global order as a dialogue between ‘civilizations’. In this way went the cultural and political thought of Gilbert Murray and Alfred Zimmern and several very illustrative publications of the 1930s especially the IICI series on Civilizations, Ibero-American Collection, Japanese Collection and the volume *East and West*, based on a correspondence between Gilbert Murray and the poet Rabindranath Tagore (Laqua, p. 231; *List of Publication of IIC... p. 4, pp. 9-10*).

Alfred E. Zimmern, the first professor of International Relations in the world, written the book entitled *Learning and Leadership: a study of the Needs and Possibilities of International Intellectual Cooperation*, Oxford University Press, 1928 which exposes a philosophy of education which avoids the drawbacks of a narrow nationalism and cosmopolitanism without foundation (*Intellectual Cooperation*, 1, 1929, p. 55).

International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation elaborated publications that would reflect its efforts and contribution in the direction of building a more peaceful world under the circumstances of a “changing world” (Popa. 2014). The *List of Publications of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation* (IIC) 1925-1946 prepared by the UNESCO Archive Section starting from the *List* issued by IIC in 1945, mentioned the *Collections*, (the known “Entretiens” and “Correspondence” but also “Cahiers”, Collection of Dossiers of International Cooperation and Scientific Collections), the “*Volumes*” (among which, Social Sciences and International Relations, Danubian Studies) and *Periodical publications* (*List of Publications of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation*, 1946, p. 3).

By their influence and echo, the most important “*Entretiens*” were those on *The Future of the Culture*, organized in Madrid, in May 1933 and *The Future of the European Spirit*, organized at Paris from 16th to 18th of October by the French Committee for European Cooperation and chaired by Paul Valery. In the same time, the most relevant Correspondence, are the volumes entitled *For a society of spirits* (1933), *Why war?* (1933), *Spirit, Ethics and War* (1934), *Civilizations: East –West, Genius of North Latinity* (1935) etc.

For the history of the ideas promoted by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation very important are the descriptive abstracts on the activity in all areas of the Institute (1931-1938), entitled *The Year of the Intellectual Cooperation* (*List of Publications of IIC... 1946, p. 6*).

Publications of the IIC and its the activity for intellectual cooperation itself are part of the cultural dimension of the international relations during Interwar Period, base for the actual cultural diplomacy.

In his article named *Romanian Interwar Cultural Diplomacy. Mircea Eliade’s case*, Lucian Jora talks about a distinct category of diplomatic officials, “writers, philosophers, men of letters and press” as Lucian Blaga, Eugen Ionescu, Emil Cioran, Mircea Eliade – all future diplomatic officials (Jora, 2009, pp.83-94). Mircea Eliade, cultural counselor in London (1940-1941) and cultural attaché in Lisbon (10 feb.1941-15 September 1945) did not consider himself a *career diplomat* but a *volunteer diplomat*

(Jora, 2009, p. 86). *The Portuguese Journal*, published in Romania in 2006 containing his daily notes during the Lisbon mission, offers suggestions about how the great religions' historian conceived the cultural activity of representing his country and regarding the effects of this opinion on his reasoning. His synthesis *Os Romanos Latinos del Oriente*, published in April 1943, is "an initiative that in its way was not equalized in the Romanian cultural diplomacy in the sense of a history written from the perspective of a horizon of waiting and in relation to the interests of the public opinion in the host country." (Jora, 2009, p. 86)

Lucian Blaga, philosopher-poet, was press adviser since 1926, than cultural attaché to the Romanian Legation in Warsaw, Lisbon, Bern and Vienna and minister plenipotentiary in Portugal (1938-1939) working for fourteen years in this field. Based on its original conception expressed in the volumes of *Trilogia Culturii (The Trilogy of Culture)* the philosopher-diplomat talks about culture as being the "the specific way of existence of the human being in the Universe", "an ontological mutation" that it distinguishes man from other animals, "the result of human efforts to reveal the Mystery " in whose dimensions he lives. He distinguishes between culture, which "responds to the human existence through mystery and revelation", and civilization, that "answers to the existence through self-preservation and security". Unlike O. Spengler, Lucian Blaga claims that between these two forms there is a profound difference of ontological nature and not "biological age differences," not being possible to transform cultures through aging in civilization, as Spengler believes when he states that every culture transforms itself through aging in a civilization. He talks about a "stylistic seal" of a culture. Eliade confessed that he highly appreciated Blaga's conception because it brought the highest possible praise to the Man while defining it "creator of culture" (*Eliade talking with Blaga...*, 1937, p. 11) Emphasizing that "the Society of Nations is not a moral Academia", not a "a confraternity of technicians", but a "political institution with the mission of preventing war", Nicolae Titulescu, the most authorized Romanian interwar voice in the field of international politics and international law¹, synthesized, in 1937², "the essence even of his life", talking about the necessary actions and Romanian political and theoretical /cultural contributions for maintaining the Peace in the new international context. His conclusion was that "Peace in order, law in perpetual becoming, to follow the changing course of the life, the human soul in constant work to make itself to achieve even concrete forms of thinking with an incessant ascent generosity, these are the conditions required to overcome the chaos and for an organized life to which all human beings aspire" (Titulescu, 2007, p. 229).

Conclusions

Our analysis pointed out some touches/comments on the rapport of the concepts "Culture" and "Cooperation" during the Interwar Period, their tools and connection with the most important preoccupation of that time, to maintain and continuously achieve the Peace. Activity of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation under the Society of Nations' egide was the catalyzer of a worldwide cultural activity, with an elitist French seal, evaluating from that "Society of Spirits" that should fortify the "Society of Nations" to an apolitical activity, adding decentralisation, which leads also to "quitting when facing dictatures". A "paradigm shift" of IIC was produced, from a universal intellectual community, envisaged in the 1920s, to an organization among national cultures, a "League of Cultures" providing the international basis of national organizations for cultural

¹ See also about this (Daşcoviciu, 1935; Maftai, 2012, p. 17).

² Conference held by Nicolae Titulescu at the University Komensky in Bratislava when it awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa , Bratislava, 19 June 1937.

exchange". Romania was an active contributor to the activity of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, formulating original theoretical and practical solutions.

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War of Alphabets in Transnistria.
European Court of Human Rights and the “Catan Case”

Ruxandra Alexianu¹

Abstract: The main purpose of this paper is to present and analyze the European Court of Human Rights Judgment on the question of violation of human rights regarding language and script use in Transnistrian schools. This research is important in the field of globalization and cultural differences because it studies the intercourse between the legal issues and the political implications of an ECtHR decision towards Transnistria – a hot spot on the international relations map since 1991. This paper wants to bring a deeper approach regarding the question of language and script use in the Republic of Moldova which was the core of the dispute between the left and the right bank of the Nistru river that later turned into the armed conflict in Transnistria. The method used was to put into historical context the Courts’ decision of major importance on the *Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia* case. Following the presentation and interpretation of the historical background of the language and alphabet issues in Moldova this work underlines the dynamics of the direct connection that exists between international politics, international law and regional crisis. This paper may elicit a more analytical interest for research groups interested in the conflict in Transnistria, the language dispute in Moldova and in international jurisprudence regarding the right to education, but it can also be useful to European or regional political decisional factors engaged in the peaceful conflict resolution. The key contribution of this paper consists of emphasizing the political implications of an ECtHR decision regarding the Republic of Moldova and the conflict in Transnistria.

Keywords: Russian Federation; Republic of Moldova; Transnistrian region; language; schools

1. Introduction

In 2004-2006, three applications (nos. 43370/04, 8252/05 and 18454/06) were lodged (under Article 34 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms – “The Convention”) and then declared as admissible by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The applicants, a number of Republic of Moldova nationals who lived in the separatist region of Transnistria and who were at the time of lodging the application pupils at three Romanian/Moldovan schools, complained to the Court under international law about “the closure of their schools and their harassment by the *de facto* separatist Transnistrian authorities” (Judgment ECtHR, 2012).

Once again, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova, contracting states, were brought in front of the European Court, this time to determine whether or not they have jurisdiction over the Transnistrian region in a question of violation of human rights regarding language and script use in schools².

¹ PhD Student, “Alexandru I. Cuza” University, Iasi, Faculty of History, Romania. Address: Tel./ fax: +40 (232) 201056, Corresponding author: ruxy_email@yahoo.com.

² For human rights violations in Transnistria see also (Dailey, 1993)

The roots of the school dispute can be traced back to the 1989 reintroduction of the Latin script for the Moldovan/Romanian language and its declaration as the sole State language in the Republic of Moldova that was to be used as the main language in all public spheres.

2. The Language Issue and the Conflict in Transnistria

The *theory of ethno political conflicts*, in the primordialist account, introduces *cultural differences* as a triggering factor for conflict. However, in the past years, scholars tended to explain ethnopolitical conflict using both explanations offered by the primordialist and instrumentalist accounts (Brown, 1997; Cornell, 2000; Gurr & Harff, 1994; Alexianu, 2013).

The “language issue” constitutes one of the most important indicators of the conflict in Transnistria (1992) and was used by the separatist regime (that revoked inside its territory the decisions declaring Moldovan/Romanian as the sole State language and reintroducing the Latin script) as a pretext for demanding and proclaiming secession.

The territory on the eastern bank of the Nistru river (known today as Transnistria) became part of the Moldovan S.S.R. (today the Republic of Moldova) only in 1940, after the transfer of territories inside the Soviet Union, between the newly established Moldovan S.S.R. (incorporated in the Soviet Union as a result of the Moscow’s June *ultimatum* to Romania) and the Ukrainian S.S.R., within which, in 1924, the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (A.S.S.R.) was created by the soviet rule. The south of historical Bessarabia and north parts of Romanian territories were ceded to Ukraine instead of a part of the Moldovan A.S.S.R (today Transnistria). No historical or ethnic reasons were taken into consideration, Moscow’s political and geostrategic interests having priority at the time. Starting with the ’20s, soviet propaganda has placed in its own service the soviet authorities and institution in order to create a new identity – the *Moldovan* one. The “Moldovans” were, according to soviet propaganda, a nation *separate* from the Romanians and their language was *different* from Romanian. With Bessarabia lost to mother land Romania in 1918, the “Moldovans” first needed a state-like construction in order to be represented. So, the soviet rule decided the artificial creation of the Moldovan A.S.S.R. which shortly became an outpost of soviet interest towards Bessarabia (Solomon, 2001)¹.

Concerning to the language issue, the Soviet authorities cited the use of different scripts as a significant difference between the “Moldovan” and Romanian languages². In the Moldovan A.S.S.R. and Moldovan S.S.R. a slightly adapted Cyrillic script (“Moldovan Cyrillic script”) was introduced by soviet rule for writing what then became called the “Moldovan language”. Until the mid ‘80s, the Soviet Union constantly promoted in Moldovan S.S.R. a Russification policy regarding both culture and administration (Negru & Negru, 2013).

The policies reforms promoted by Gorbachev, *perestroika* and *glasnost*, allowed for the first time public expression of the national identity in all non-Russian republics and Moldovan S.S.R. wasn’t an exception in this process that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Starting with 1987, members of the Moldovan cultural and political elite, organized in different unofficial movements, openly denounced the Soviet nationality policy and demanded the recognition of the identity of the Moldovan and Romanian language. They asked for the reintroduction of the Latin script and the explicit

¹ See also: (Bruhis, 1982; Bruhis, 1997; Cojocaru, 2006; Crowther, 1991; King, 2000).

²The Old Cyrillic script that was originally used for the Romanian language was replaced in Romania in 1862 by the Latin script. In Bessarabia, however, the Old Cyrillic script was maintained by the Russian-rule after 1862 and later partially replaced by the Russian Civil (Cyrillic) script.

declaration of Romanian as the sole State language. In August/September 1989, they finally obtained some of those demands: the Moldovan Supreme Soviet adopted on 1 September the Law on Languages and so declared “Moldovan” as the sole State language and reintroduce the Latin script. Even though the Law continued to explicitly call the State language “Moldovan”, it simultaneously recognized the fact that the Moldovan and Romanian languages were identical. Russian language received the status of a “language of inter-ethnic communication” that was to be used alongside the State language in all spheres (McCauley, 1998; Beissinger, 2002; Smith, 1990).

The language issue became the core of the dispute between the right and the left banks of the Nistru river elites. The Transnistrian *de facto* authorities rejected the introduction of Moldovan as the sole State language and instead made Moldovan, Russian and Ukrainian equal official languages. They rejected the Latin script in favor of the Cyrillic one, arguing that Moldovan written in the Latin script is Romanian, in their opinion, a different, foreign language. Shortly after, the dispute over the language and the script turned into open conflict between the two parties. One can argue that the language issue was used as a pretext by the separatist regime to formulate secessionist demands from newly-independent Republic of Moldova (Cașu, 2011).

Soon after the Republic of Moldova declared its independence (August 27, 1991) and in the same day joined the United Nations, thus receiving international recognition, on March, 2nd, the Transnistrian conflict over territory and jurisdiction erupted into heavy armed confrontation between the Moldovan and Transnistrian forces with the support of the Russian 14th Army (Grecu & Țăranu, 2004). Russian Federation involvement in the conflict (March-July 1992) and its financial and political support of the separatist regime is no longer a question, but a reality, acknowledged in international documents such as the European Court of Human Rights judgment in *Ilașcu* case (*The Ilașcu and others*, 2004). Until today Russia exercises decisive influence over the “MRT” by its continued military presence which represents a latent threat of future military intervention that acts in order to intimidate the Moldovan Government and other opponents to the separatist regime in Transnistria that are totally dependent on the Russian investment, aid and trade (Filip, 2011).

The bilateral *Agreement on Principles of a Peaceful Settlement* signed in Moscow on 21 July 1992 by the Russian and the Moldovan presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Mircea Snegur, led to the cessation of hostilities but didn’t put an end to the present-day conflict situation. Following the signing of the *Agreement*, the Republic of Moldova lost its political and administrative control over Transnistria to the detriment of Igor Smirnov’s *de facto* regime. The Transnistrian *de facto* authorities established a recognized control over most of the left bank territory except for two enclaves with predominantly Moldovan inhabited villages (in the Dubăsari region) and in the right bank of the river – the city of Bender and some neighboring villages. Until today, all public and economic institutions in Transnistria are practically subordinated to the separatist *de facto* authorities, with a few exceptions such as a police *comissariat*, a pre-detention facility, a prison in Bender and the railways (Report OSCE, 2012)¹.

3. The School Dispute and the *Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia* Case

An important element of resistance to the separatist *de facto* regime and total control (from September 1990, of the self-proclaimed state “Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic” – “MTR”) was represented by a number of schools in areas under Transnistrian *de facto* authorities control that resisted

¹ See also: (Prisac, 2008; Roper, 2004 in Bahcheli, Bartmann & Srebniak, 2004, pp. 102-118).

subordination. They rejected the introduction of the Cyrillic script for the Moldovan language and continued to use the Moldovan school curriculum that included subjects such as “Romanian language and literature” or “History of Romanians” introduced in 1990 by the Moldovan Ministry of Education (Report OSCE, 2012). In their attempts to deny all forms of Romanian legacy, the separatist regime demanded that all these institutions, including the Moldovan-administered schools, comply with the *de facto* legislation in the left bank of the Nistru river or be closed.

Being part of the settlement process¹, the discussions on the status and activity of the Moldovan administered schools in Transnistria also started in 1993. The OSCE, pending a comprehensive conflict settlement with an agreement on the status of Transnistria and a division of competencies between the sides (Russian Federation, Republic of Moldova, Transnistrian *de facto* authorities), has tried to facilitate “interim solutions to the status and activities of the Moldovan administered schools that would enable them to function until a permanent solution can be agreed on the basis of a broader conflict-settlement agreement” (Report OSCE, 2012).

Despite international efforts in keeping the Moldovan administered schools in function, reports of the OSCE for the periods 1993-2003 (Report OSCE, 2003) and 2003-2012 (Report OSCE, 2012) show a continuous subversive activity of the separatist rule in order to remove all traces of Romanian consciousness. As seen in these reports, the Transnistrian *de facto* authorities resorted to various methods of intimidation: the obligation of the schools to register with Transnistrian *de facto* institutions or to be closed; the obligation to accept the imposed curriculum of the Transnistrian authorities; the dismissal of teachers and excessive rent-charges imputed to the Moldovan government for the schools buildings. The Transnistrian militia was used to intervene: parts of the schools buildings were destroyed, furniture, textbooks and archives were removed and anyone who attempt to block operations of the militia (parents and teachers, alongside with pupils) was also removed or even sentenced to administrative detention (Report OSCE, 2012).

In October 2004, a number of parents, students and teachers from schools in Rîbnița, Bender (the Lyceum) and Grigoriopol (Dorotcaia), some of the schools that were forcefully closed, filed applications with the ECtHR against the Russian Federation and Moldova. These applications, known as *Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia*, alleged violations of the right of education, private life and freedom from discrimination.

After these forcefully closures of schools outraged public opinion (OSCE HCNM statement, 2004) and after intense shuttle diplomacy from international organizations, the Transnistrian *de facto* authorities first agreed to register the schools as “foreign non-state educational institutions” and later give permanent registration for some of these schools. Even though some aspects of the day-to-day functioning of the schools has improved, the major, longlasting issues facing the schools have not been resolved. The major issue identified by foreign experts is the significant threat to these schools existence given by the precipitous drop in the number of students. Reported school enrolment figures at the schools in question have decrease from 5 619 in the 1998-1999 school year to 1 800 in 2012-2013 (Report OSCE, 2012).

¹After the Agreement was signed, in 1993 the Moldovan and Transnistrian sides opened direct negotiations for peaceful settlement under the mediation of Russian Federation and the OSCE (in 1995, Ukraine joined as a third mediator). A decade after, the European Union and the U.S. were accepted as observers to the negotiation process (since then, the so-called “5+2” format, officially known as “The Permanent Conference on Political Issues in the Framework of the Negotiating Process for Transnistrian Settlement”) (Report OSCE, 2012).

4. European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) Judgment

The case originated in three applications (nos. 43370/04, 8252/05 and 18454/06) against the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation lodged with the Court under Article 34 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (“the Convention”) in the period 2004-2006.

The applicants, Moldovans who lived in Transnistria (pupils at three Moldovan/Romanian-language schools and their parents) complained “under Article 2 of Protocol No.1 to the Convention and Article 8 of the Convention, taken alone and in conjunction with Article 14” about the forcefully closure and their harassment by the separatist authorities in Transnistria because of their choice to pursue the children’s education at Moldovan/Romanian-language schools¹. In 2010 this three applications were joined and declared partly admissible by a Chamber of the Fourth Section of the Court that also decided to relinquish jurisdiction in favor of the Grand Chamber. As an exception to the general rule, the Chamber to which a case is assigned can relinquish it to the Grand Chamber if the case “raises a serious question affecting the interpretation of the Convention or if there is a risk of inconsistency with a previous judgment of the Court” (The Grand Chamber, http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FAQ_GC_ENG.pdf, 2015)

The circumstances of the case identified by the court were: the historical background (the language issue in the Moldovan S.S.R./ Republic of Moldova); the Transnistrian conflict and the *Ilaşcu* judgment of the Court (*Ilaşcu and Others v. Moldova and Russia*); the ceasefire agreement (21 July 1992) and other international agreements; enhanced border and customs control – EUBAM; Russian military equipment and personnel in Transnistria; Russian economic and political support for “MRT” and the schools crisis and the facts concerning the applicants’ cases (Judgment ECtHR, 2012).

Given the fact that the Transnistrian *de facto* authorities do not have international recognition, one of the main challenges that the ECtHR had to face was to determine whether, in respect of the matters complained of, the applicants fell within the jurisdiction of either or both of the respondent States (the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation), within the meaning of Article 1 of the Convention: “The High Contracting Parties shall secure to everyone within their jurisdiction the rights and freedoms defined in Section I of [the] Convention”. To answer this question, relevant international law materials concerning States responsibility for unlawful acts were taken into consideration. The International Law Commission’s Draft Articles on the Responsibility of States for International Wrongful Acts that states: “the conduct of a person or a group of persons shall be considered an act of a State under international law if the person or group of persons is in fact acting on the instructions of, or under the direction or control of that State in carrying out the conduct” (Article 8) and also: “the conduct of an organ placed at the disposal of a State by another State shall be considered an act of the former State under international law if the organ is acting in the exercise of elements of the governmental authority of the States at whose disposal it is placed”. Moreover, case-law of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) relates to this issue in basis of the principle: “Physical control of a

¹“The core of their complaints relate to the actions taken by the “MRT” authorities in 2002 and 2004, to enforce decisions adopted some years previously, forbidding the use of the Latin alphabet in schools and requiring all schools to register and start using an “MRT”-approved curriculum and the Cyrillic script. Thus, on 22 August 2002 “MRT” police forcibly evicted the pupils and teachers from the Stefan cel Mare School in Grigoriopol. The school was not allowed to reopen in the same building and subsequently transferred to premises some 20 kilometres away, in Moldovan-controlled territory. The children and staff were evicted from the Evrica School in Rîbnița in July 2004. Te same month, the Alexandru cel Bun School in Tighina was threatened with closure and disconnected from electricity and water supplies. Both schools were required to move to less convenient and less well equipped premises in their home towns at the start of the following academic year”. (Judgment ECtHR, 2012)

territory, and not its sovereignty or legitimacy of title, is the basis of State liability for acts affecting other States". In order to "eliminate the possibility of a State to escape from international responsibility by choosing to act through persons or entities whose supposed independence would be purely fiction", the ICJ jurisprudence shows that "persons, group of persons or entities may, for purposes of international responsibility, be equated with State organs even if the status does not follow from international law, provided that in fact the person, group of persons or entities act in <<complete dependence>> on the State" (Judgment ECtHR, 2012).

Regarding the right to education, the ECtHR appealed to treaty provision concerning this issue such as: the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* 1948 (Article 26) and the *Convention against Discrimination in Education* 1960 (Articles 1, 3, 5 28 and 29).

The Republic of Moldova, represented before the Court by V. Grosu (Agent) and L. Apostol (Adviser), submitted that the Moldovan Government "still have no jurisdiction, in the sense of authority and control, over the Transnistrian territory" and that the facts of the *Catan* case "fell within Russia's jurisdiction due to the continuous military presence which has prevented the settlement of the conflict".

The other respondent state, the Russian Federation, did not comment on the jurisdictional position of the Republic of Moldova. Represented by a number of seven advisors and one agent, the position of Russia was to deny its jurisdiction over the Transnistrian territory in this case: "For the Russian Government, jurisdiction could exceptionally be extended extra-territorially where a Contracting state (of the ECtHR) exercised effective control over another territory, equivalent to the degree of control exercised over its own territory in peacetime. [...] It could not be said that Russia exercised jurisdiction in the present case, where the territory was controlled by a *de facto* government which was not an organ or instrument of Russia". The Russian representatives stated that there was "no casual link between the presence of the Russian forces in Transnistria and the treatment of the applicants' schools" (Judgment ECtHR, 2012).

Following international jurisprudence related and also Court's previous judgment (*Ilaşcu* case), the ECtHR decided that Moldova's obligation under Article 1 of the Convention, to "secure to everyone within their jurisdiction the [Convention] rights and freedoms", was "limited in the circumstances to a positive obligation to take the diplomatic, economic and judicial or other measures that were both in its power to take and in accordance with international law". Regarding the jurisdiction of Russia, the Court reiterated that "as part of the chain of responsibility, during the uprising in Transnistria in 1991-1992, the authorities of the Russian Federation contributed military and politically to the establishment of the separatist regime". Taken into consideration the fact that the "MRT" regime "survived by the virtue of Russia's military, economic, financial and political support" and that "it remained under the effective authority, or at least under the decisive influence" of the Russia, the Court concluded that the applicants came within the "jurisdiction" of the Russian Federation for the purposes of Article 1 of the Convention in the same way as in *Ilaşcu* judgment. Russia was also found responsible "under the Convention for the violation of the applicants' rights to education" (Article 2 of Protocol No.1 to the Convention) which means that the Russian Governments' effective control over the "MRT" it is sufficient and the Court doesn't have to determine whether or not Russia exercised detailed control over the policies and the actions of the subordinate local administration (Judgment ECtHR, 2012).

The Court decided with a count of sixteen votes to one that the Russian Federation has to individually pay each applicant EUR 6 000, a total of EUR 1 020 000, in respect of "non-pecuniary damage" and EUR 50 000 in respect of costs and expenses, to all the applicants jointly.

While the Moldovan Government, as expected, welcomed the Court decision, in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs press – release the decision of the Court was attacked in a harsh manner. The juridical document was considered as being “questionable, pronounced unrelated to the given situation”, calling the Courts’ assessment that Russia is directly responsible for human rights violations in Transnistria an “abuse of legal logic” (“Moldopress” Information, Declaration MAE of Russian Federation, 2004).

5. Analysis of Results

The European Court of Human Rights decision in the *Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia* case represents a valuable document in terms of human rights jurisprudence but also in terms of international relations evolutions. The remarks and analysis of the Court on the evolutions concerning the Transnistrian region show us that the conflict is far from being over and remnants of the violent period 1991-1992 are still active in present times.

The language issue first appeared in the Republic of Moldova during the period of transition from *perestroika* to its independence in 1991. The two sides involved were the national movement, represented by the Moldovan National Front, and the internationalist movement, represented by the separatists in Transnistria (organized in *Edinstvo* and OSTK). Only after the Republic of Moldova gained its independence and after the separatist response that turned into armed conflict in Transnistria (March-July), did the language and script dispute “cross” the Nistru river on its left bank. Here, the *de facto* authorities did not discard the older soviet practices involving the removal of any Romanian linked element.

The main difference from these old practices of human rights violation is that nowadays the public opinion and international organizations are being informed and can act accordingly. This was the case of the three applications that were lodged (under Article 34 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms – “The Convention”) in the period 2004-2006 and afterwards, in 2010, declared as admissible by the European Court of Human Rights. A number of 170 Republic of Moldova nationals who lived in the separatist region of Transnistria and who were, at the time of the application lodging, pupils at three Romanian/Moldovan schools, complained to the Court under international law about “the closure of their schools and their harassment by the *de facto* separatist Transnistrian authorities”.

The major challenge that the ECtHR had to face was to determine whether, in respect of the matters complained of (the right to education), the applicants fell within the jurisdiction of either or both of the respondent States (the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation). The Court decided once again (see *Ilaşcu* case) that Russia is responsible for actions outside its borders in areas that come under its control like Transnistria (the “MRT”). The main difference from the Court’s decision on the *Ilaşcu* case is that even though the Court admitted that there was no evidence of indications given by Russia to the Transnistrian *de facto* authorities related to the forced closure of the Moldovan/Romanian schools, the Russian Government was held responsible through its continuous support (financial and political) given to the separatist regime for the actions undertaken by the self-declared administration of “MRT”.

Nevertheless, one of the most important significances of the Court decision in *the Catan and Others v. Moldova and Russia* case is that it points out the fact that Russia now has to respond in front of the international organizations, as a consequence of globalization, for any kind of violation of human rights that occur in territories outside its borders, but which are unequivocally under its control.

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European Conservatism as a Present Political Ideology

Ionuț Ștefan¹, Sergiu Pîrju²

Abstract: The historical beginnings of conservative ideology were felt during the Revolution in France and the next decades that followed this event reference of modernity. The conservative thinking has evolved in the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth century, it has experienced major changes in civilization and has known phenomena of crisis, identity and solutions, crisis that has exceeded it during the second of the last century, when it was restructured as neo-conservatism. Without having a single and concrete definition, conservatism has always represented all those who declare themselves political partisans to any social system, is concerned to ensure the continuity of social and political order, historically legitimated and strive to reject revolutions that would, inevitably, change it. The conservatism peculiarity was highlighted by rejecting the ideological organization of any systematization form of its ideas, because society can be organized by appealing to programs and theories. Conservatism is the political and social doctrine which renders the system a conservative spirit, focused on the ideal of social order and stability. Modern conservatism, located at the right of liberalism, was and shall remain the doctrinal and ideological opponent of all systems of ideas that are situated on the scale policy guidelines on its left. While tradition is indispensable for the existence of conservatism, it was forced to adapt to modern requirements and to modernize itself over time, maintaining however the main features that characterizes it.

Keywords: conservatism; political doctrine; European construction; tradition

1. The Definition of Conservatism

The term “conservatism” is part of the semantic field of the verb “conserve” which means to keep, to preserve, to save; “conservator of a museum”, the usual significance in the nineteenth-century French vocabulary and then in the Romanian one, known because penetrates in Romanian through the French branch.³ The conservatism is considered both a political vision as well as a way of being, an ideology that focuses on “the historical identity of the people, the spiritual realities and unlike the leftist vision, is not intended as denial, but the affirmation of values, their conservation”⁴. Thus the conservatism is one of three significant political ideologies in the last two centuries Occident, along with liberalism and socialism. The etymology of the term ideology comes from the Greek word “eidos” = image and “logos” = science, meaning learning about ideas (Nisbet, 1998, p. 19). The ideology is a wealth of

¹ Senior Lecturer, PhD, “Danubius” University of Galati, Faculty of Communication and International Relations, Address: Galati, 3 Galati Boulevard, 800654 Galati, Romania, Tel.: +40.372.361.102, fax: +40.372.361.290, E-mail: ionut.stefan@univ-danubius.ro.

² Senior Lecturer, PhD, “Danubius” University of Galati, Faculty of Communication and International Relations, Address: Galati, 3 Galati Boulevard, 800654 Galati, Romania, Tel.: +40.372.361.102, fax: +40.372.361.290, Corresponding author: pirjusergiu@univ-danubius.ro.

³<http://filosofiepolitica.wordpress.com/elemente-de-doctrina/partidul-conservator/istoria-partidului-conservator/>.

⁴<http://facultate.regielive.ro/cursuri/stiinte-politice/conservatorismul-istorie-universala-1952.html>.

coherent and explanatory ideas which evaluate social conditions, helping people to understand the place they occupy in society, aiming to tradition survival, the people themselves.

But the conservative idea does not imply a full and uncensored attachment towards any tradition; this doesn't assume the old, decrepit and Manichean equation "traditional = good, new = bad". The conservative attitude should not be confused with any reactionary attitude and is not based on inversed utopia of past iteration. The conservatism axis is not an absolute rule and sacrosanct character of traditions, but only the ancestry and necessity of traditions; they constitute the essential framework of functioning of any "rational" social arrangements. Conservatism is a special kind of traditionalism. The "rational" principle losses any value when tradition hasn't created consensus on its meaning and applicability. And when it can be applied successfully, it is not because of the principle itself, its universal validity, but the public consensus supporting its functioning. Specifically, traditions legitimize any form of social order.

Those who are followers of this ideology are called conservatives. The term "conservative" simply means "preserver, who refuse to change, loyal to the currently existing ordinances" (Nemoianu, 2000, p. 75). This represents a first sense of the term. A second sense of it partially overlaps with "traditionalism", so Karl Mannheim defined conservatism as a "traditionalism becoming aware". Therefore, the conservative thinking falls within the ascendancy and need of traditions. There is a third meaning of the word "conservative" which exemplifies the effort to synthesize freedom and tradition. The latter sense appeared due to the impact of modernization that was felt at all levels (economic, social, moral, political etc.). The Great writers and thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were concerned about how people will perceive these changes and will best respond to the evolution of society. According to John Gray, conservatives admit that before anything else, even before freedom, people need a home, a group of institutions and a way of life that they feel theirs. (Gray, 1998, p. 142).

Regarding the conservative relations with the other two political ideologies, liberalism and socialism, the first one reproaches them that they advocate for community life settlement on the basis of deliberate "rational" arrangements as institutions, organizational structure, legal, political or moral regulations which are deducted from intellectual abstractions: principles, ideals, theories. (Mungiu-Pippidi, 1998, p. 76).

Hence the conservative ideology doesn't have clear principles and it can't adapt to the policy based on it. The difference between conservatives and liberals can be shown by the fact that the latter believe in the rationality of certain principles such as the principle of maximum individual equal freedom and the principle of reducing freedom to equality, and require achieving peace and society consensus upon themselves; while conservatives believe that rational principles doesn't control nor determine public consensus, but their value and validity is determined by it.

Therefore, conservatism is guided by the belief that there are no "for granted" prefabricated solutions, to human community problems, or universal principles to solve them, because they have limited and local validity and nobody and nothing guarantees their future success to solve problems. Therefore, conservatism is guided by the belief that there are no "for granted" prefabricated issues of human communities or universal principles to solve them, because they have limited validity local and nobody and nothing guarantees their success in future to solve the problems of the kind they have solved previously. (Mungiu-Pippidi, 1998, p. 76).

The conservative solutions are adaptive because they seek practical effectiveness, possible only by analyzing the problem and adapting the solutions to the existing reality at a given time. Hence the

adaptive dimension of conservatism. The conservatism is focusing its effort not on building ideal models of social “rational” arrangement the conception of norms, rules, principles, ideals that govern social existence, but on the pragmatic objective of material and spiritual life forms development and optimization. The own political conservatism does not consist in nothing more than the usual “daily” practice, of problem solving of a human community being a “policy of imperfection” and compromise. Conservatism is not but a political pragmatism. The conservative pragmatism involves a huge skepticism regarding the economical mechanisms samples, algorithm-solutions that only needs to be applied correctly, as typical models, policy prescriptions. In the absence of universal principles and formulas, the question arises: how can conservatism aspire to an active political involvement overcoming obstacles facing the community? On one hand, by rethinking each problem-situation based on its particular, specific features. The result of this rethinking is, of course, a proposal for solving; but not one taken from a previous tank-type solutions, but one focused on a pragmatic ad hoc arrangement, based on data specific to the situation; conservative solutions are nothing more than pragmatic adaptive arrangements. The social assistance system helping disadvantaged members of the community came into being as such adaptive arrangements (they are due not to socialists, but British Conservatives who have started it in the second half of the nineteenth century). The conservative solutions are adaptive not for pursuing to perpetuate the existing situation, but pursuing the practical effectiveness, impossible to achieve without adapting to local peculiarities. The conservatism is, under this aspect, a political realism. In addition to adaptive size, conservatism has a critical dimension. It requires social barriers, not by inventing panaceas, but by criticizing any panaceas. The fabrication of panacea and universal recipes is a permanent inclination of thinking, and this inclination is manifested more intensely when both the problems and human suffering are more acute.

Conservatism cannot rely on anything other than experience. Realistic, critical thinking of a pragmatic type has no other source of inspiration than experience. David Hume, one of the founding fathers of the conservative vision says that the experience has the merit of warning us of its own reliability. The conservative pragmatism as well as the tendency to critically react to any universal recipe or canonical principles determine another very significant feature: contextualism. A well-known example in this respect is offered by the attitude of the UK Conservative Party to exercise state control of the economy; in the context of 1830, his attitude was favorable to maintain this control, so that in the context of 1890, to became negative. The conservative policies have in common the idea of moderation and gradual growth, not the one with radical and sudden change.

Conservatism is of course a gradualism; but not because it had horror of the sudden change in itself, but out of a sense of reality: for he does not believe that anything important (i.e., rooted in a form of a human life) can be changed abruptly.

So, to be conservative means having a supportive attitude of the old political, economic and cultural forms. This political doctrine defends traditional order, having political beliefs supporting the gradual development at the expense of sudden changes.

2. Conservatism as a Current Ideology of the EU Area

We considered necessary to explain the term ideology in general to show how conservatism is viewed as a current ideology of the EU area. The original meaning of ideology, in the eighteenth century, when the term appeared, was represented by the scientific study of ideas. The word “ideology” is the invention of a French scholar Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), who attempted in the 1790s and early 1800s to found the systematic study of the ideas origins. (Ball, Dagger, 2000, p. 19)

The term “political ideology” represents all systematic and structured the ideas that, generic and functional are representative for the interests, aspirations and political expectations of a group or social class and who reflect the socio-political reality, to report people to this social-historical reality based on experience of the said group and from which results rules of political behavior and political action guidelines. (Tanăsescu, 2004, p. 66)

Karl Marx (1818- 1883), a German philosopher, economist and publicist who deal with the same theme as Tracy, spoke about the concept of ideology as a set or system of ideas whose function was to justify and legitimize the company management by the ruling class. The latter differs from one society to another, but there will always be the class which controls the material forces. The ideology masks the management of this class by presenting existing social relations as being normal, natural, necessary and eternal.

According to Mannheim, the knowledge sociology requires us to make a distinction between the concepts of “total” and “particular” ideology. In his opinion, the term “particular conception” is used when we say that the ideas and positions of a group of people whom we oppose, such as political parties or interest groups are “ideological”. “The overall concept” on ideology, by contrast, refers to characteristic ways of thinking of a whole class or society or historical periods such as medieval society or the modern age.

Extending the concept therefore, Mannheim made it more difficult to define ideology, the term becoming too vague to be useful, this being the prospect of some social analysts of the twentieth century. Therefore, for many people, the term "ideology" remains a pejorative one. In their concept, ideologies are not good because it always simplifies and distorts the problem. Even worse, ideologists encourages its supporters to believe that their ideology has monopoly over the truth. Those who disagree are enemies that stand in the way of truth, justice and progress - an enemy who either must be convinced or defeated. (Ball & Dagger, 2000, p. 22)

One of the most important components of community for conservatism is tradition, because is trying to continuously improve the human condition through it. Although tradition is indispensable for the existence of conservatism, it was forced to adapt to the modern requirements and to modernize it over time. For this reason, appeared a new type of conservatism. The instruments used by it are freedom of the press and autonomous associations in all areas, the aim being to create a conservative spirit from the good ones, a spirit against innovation and “hasty” improvisation on the intellectual and social field. In order to implement a new conservatism, an attempt was made to remove the destructive tendencies of mass democratic society by expanding civil society sector, preserving certain values determined to save the intellectual and moral integrity of each and every one. In other words, it was meant to save the individual from the tyranny of the majority and gain autonomy of civil society in the detriment of the bureaucratic apparatus oppressor generated by the mass democratic society.

3.1. The Conservative Doctrine in the European Union

The European Union is currently the political and legal environment in which takes place the European integration process as well as the form under which is constituted and stands political--legal, economic, social and cultural construction - the essential kernel, engine of the European unity, around which a number of increasingly large countries of the world, of primary importance in international life. (Anghel, 2007, p. 4)

The European Union is an international entity officially published on the international scene in 1993 with the entry into force of a treaty signed a few months earlier in the Netherlands by several western states. This treaty recorded the participating States willingness to strengthen economic, social and political links between them to achieve a union of growing ties between the European people. (Ghica, 2007, p. 25)

In terms of conservatism within the European Union, at first, it fell under the clear influence of Romanticism, seaming that this is the doctrine ideological destiny. Its political dimension was not profoundly different from that of its ancestors, only radicalizing its position regarding state liberalism, which was supposedly highly inappropriate in the manifestation of social freedom (meaning that the default social hierarchy was not accepted anymore, minimizing the nobility role in the society construction, especially after the emergence of popular parliaments). Also, the religious position became, both in the UK and Germany, highly percussive, perceiving modernity as a permanent spiritual revolution, but not necessarily beneficial. Through romanticism, conservatism becomes imagine of a strong current, permeated by ideological direction of the ruling classes, idea not altogether true, but apparently highly pertinent. Through romanticism, conservatism makes the condoning of country life, the peasant family, traditionally medieval, capable of simple happiness of continuity compared with the proletarian and petty bourgeoisie class, which is in a permanent cultural or national identity crisis and manages to take over the nationalist dimension of liberalism.

Conservatism assumes the national dimension of the party that opposes the liberal state attempt to broaden the nation's citizen base since 1830, the official birth year of the Conservative Party in the UK. For conservatives, the return to the national community was paramount, no longer assuming the risk posed by the contrast between rich and poor, which could lead to the destruction of the English nation, which could barely be formed at all.

A great reformer of conservatism, Disraeli, claimed the nationalism with strong social focus. Its proposed reform strongly influenced the British and European society in the middle of the nineteenth century. He established government bodies or state guarantees to ensure workers' pensions, social assistance for children and disadvantaged people, compulsory schools etc. In addition, he obtained British unemployment reduction, so that the British workers would lead a better life both materially and politically. The applied conservatism by the Conservative Party in Britain after Disraeli, has developed a policy with strong paternalistic overtones which allowed the posting of the Liberal Party and also the entrance in competition with the Labor Party.

Of course not in all countries conservatism had exactly the same behavior. In Central and East European countries, the conservative parties played an important role in the cleavage of land owners versus agricultural workers. Their role was less modernized than Western conservatives, being considered rather reactionaries than modernizers, issue that persists today in the perspective of the generally conservatism.

Starting with the twentieth century, the main ideological opponent of conservatism becomes the socialism. In the first instance, conservatism is in a rather difficult situation in relation to socialism which at that time was the bearer of an ideology extremely attractive and seemingly fair. Then, the organization of the Party was completely new and stable (mass party model) having an electoral body dedicated to the Party, led by unions and, finally, a stable ideology proposing radical transformation of the state. To these realities, the conservatives could not answer it only with the old political and moral principles of the nineteenth century. Secondly, the Socialists gave the appearance of a trans-European political union, while conservatives from each country refer only to their political society, without

statutory links between the various parties, and after World War I a large part of the conservative parties on the continent disappeared. The conservative idea however did not disappear, but attempted once more to adapt to the new society. In the interbellum period, conservatism had an extremely difficult situation especially in relation with fascism, that he ideologically intensified it, and tried in some cases even to assume it, particularly in cases from countries within Central Europe - Poland, Slovakia and Hungary.

This ideological distortion marked the era after World War II, when it became very heavy the destruction of conservative connotations. However, in this era, the conservatism, either in opposition (most often) or in power begins to build a new identity and economic policy that will become effective in the 50s, identity that will mark forever its image.

The conservatives have placed their resistance to collectivist and scheduler socialism, calling upon the indissoluble link between economic and political freedom. They believed that despite ideological prejudices, capitalism is the only form of economy that leads to happiness, for it is the only fair and free economic form. The socialism, in his desire to equalize the whole society, led to injustice and poverty due to economic planning and excessive bureaucratization of society. Those who promoted this type of current political and economic theory were not necessarily members of a conservative party, but their theory was quickly embraced by conservatives who build a new political dimension based on these ideas, which, in short time have been implemented by the governments of conservative families.

The Romanian conservatism resembles European conservatism in general. But, unlike liberalism, it is claimed also from a Romanian reality of its own in its own traditions. Even partially, it inherits the ruling class ideology of the Romanian Principalities.

The connection to the modern era of Romanians and their Northand West neighbors has no special significance. When Romanians entering modernity and seeks close contact with Western civilization, they set it directly with the British, French, Germans, Austrians, without intermediaries. The European Union has designated its own motto in 2000: "Unity in Diversity". For its elections, a contest was held in the European Union schools, with the participation of 80,000 young people aged between 10 and 20 years. Finally, were selected six proposals and the European Parliament decided which one will be adopted. The winning creators' nationality remained secret so far. (Neguț, 2007, p. 14)

The term conservatism has undergone a denigration in the last centuries of European history and civilization. A denigration promoted by both the winning liberalism and democracy, and also by the left and the extreme left ideologies. The term conservatism has served as antithesis to progress and became more or less an insult. It's also true that there have been successful conservative analysis in a constructive way. The most important come from British and German culture.

All conservatives share the desire to preserve something, usually the traditions and customs of their society. However, as a distinct political position, conservatism is more than a simple desire to oppose change. For example, the classic conservatives defended the traditional social hierarchy, insisting on a government strong enough to direct people's passions and they were skeptical of the attempts to promote individual freedom and equal opportunities in a competitive society. Regarding the Conservatives at the end of the twentieth century, they are individualists, pleading for reducing the government size and aims, to let individuals to freely compete for profits. This conservative current actually resembles to classical or neoclassical liberalism. The human belief of conservatives is that human beings are and will always be weak. Many call conservatism as a "political philosophy of

imperfection”¹. People are not as smart as they think, and their reason is not able to anticipate all the decisions consequences. Therefore, the best intentions often end up causing the greatest harm.

In the twentieth century, conservatives were against mainstream society, not welcoming with enthusiasm, the change felt at the time. From their point of view, it first lead society to chaos, then to despotism. They believed that in any society there is a small group that is suitable to govern, through capabilities, experience and temperament, while the whole is totally inappropriate. Therefore, conservative supporters opposed leveling, the main characteristic of mass society because they were suspicious of attempts to reach a large democracy or equality. Cultural leveling is as dangerous as financial leveling. But nevertheless, although initially antidemocratic, conservatives have supported democracy in societies where it evolved and became a part of the social fabric, of the traditional and customary way of life.

3.2. The Conservatism in France

In this country, the first political parties appear with the 1879 Revolution, but they will exist only for a short period of time, because most of these “parties” were extremely divided and there is no actors’ consensus regarding the constitutional framework. In a rather odd way, the French parties are born much later, even though is assumed that democratic and partisan expression is born and function together. Thus, since the 20s, in France appear "five political families' constant on the political scene: communist, socialist, radical, on the center-right - Christian-democratic and on the right - conservative. In the eighteenth century, conservative groups represented the nobility and Church image. They were formed to fight against the principles of the French Revolution and to defend the old regime, representing the historical right. Conservatism was inclined to a kind of aristocratic populism, founded on the idea of traditional forces and undivided loyalty of the people opposing the bourgeoisie (the Liberals), in its turn detested by the Jacobins. But in the nineteenth century with the advent of labor movements, they were directed toward liberalism, although they opposed it, arguing the nobility. Conservative Party appears as a party of competence, intelligence and reason: a party of teachers, like Guizot, and publishers, like Thiers.

Conservatives had great respect for the Church, this being, according to them the order, hierarchy and discipline and having a role of social cohesion, which could maintain peace among all citizens.

In most of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, France was ruled by “moderates”. There is some ambiguity between the terms “conservative” and “moderate” but these terms cannot be avoided. They belong to the same political spectrum and are easier to practically place than to define from a theoretical point of view. However, when dealing with this problem, not from a philosophical standpoint, but from a political one, conservatism (moderate attitude) defines itself, not in theoretical terms, but in terms of the problems it faces. From all this, it is clear the radicals’ tendencies to declare themselves conservatives, i.e. those revolutionaries who have achieved their purpose to defend the new order. But while people and parties attitudes changes with their policy, the doctrines evolves slower.

This gives us the apparent paradox of liberal conservatives, radical conservatives, of social-democrats conservatives, even of the communists’ conservatives, especially when the groups’ representatives obtain satisfaction and power. After 1920, took place the Communist Party founding, which would

¹<http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/153/art05-Gherasim.html>.

both complicate and simplify the political situation, the Conservatives in power, no longer being able to react over their own extremists as strongly as against the left ones.

Over time, it was formed several right-wing parties which were based on a fundamental conservatism and the cult for discipline, on a parade violence expressed by noise, offices and meetings of the political opponents attack, plenty demagoguery and only a few leaders. But in 2002, these parties have joined and founded the Union for a Popular Movement. This new right political movement has more ideological influences, such as: conservatism, Christian Democracy and liberalism; unfortunately it retains its tradition in Gaullism, republicanism, populism and radicalism. The first president of the Union for a Popular Movement party was Alain Juppe, but he was forced to resign on 15 July 2004 after allegations of corruption, and on 29 November 2004, Nicolas Sarkozy, finance minister at that time, takes over the party presidency.

Thus, through this movement is tried to reduce unemployment, economic freedom, solidarity and equality from the state. Starting with May 2002, it was felt the development of the extreme right, but the French political system exceeded the enlargement policy period, returning to bipolarity. That formula of coexistence between the presidential and parliamentary majority, removed “the opposition” from the French political life, and in 2007, we witness to domination from the right over the important institutions (at central and local level).

Currently, France's conservative attitude is manifested by rejection of modern ideas and a very libertine behavior. Disagreeing with the management judgments, the French conservative struggle for justice and their welfare using street demonstrations. The problems facing France today are of economic and social type. For example, most of today's French people recognize that raising the retirement age is necessary to ensure the survival of pension system but nevertheless, according to all public opinion polls, almost 70% of the French support the demonstrators who had come out in the street to block small reforms introduced by the government of President Nicolas Sarkozy.

The French attitude is a product of combining the unique political and intellectual history and a rejection attitude of elites who are currently in power, the French people demonstrating their extremely conservative inclinations. Their resistance to changes reflects their denial of reality to some extent. Nowadays the French passion for equality is far greater than the passion for freedom and thus threaten the country's prosperity. French have not decided whether to continue to defend the old world or to face the challenges of a globalized world. Their hesitation is a source of confusion for most and a source of admiration for some. The fact is that it seems easier to explain than to understand their behavior.

3.3. The Conservatism in the UK

In this state, conservatism has rejected the ideological organization and any form of systematization of its ideas because society cannot be organized by resorting to programs and theories. However, with the introduction of universal suffrage the electoral pressure pressing on all political parties led the Conservatives to answer the moment call by providing clear principles and initiatives. Thus, the ideological outline of conservatism went on throughout the twentieth century.

The British Conservatives remain mistrustful of any positivist who in the form of some law recommends systematic actions which should be taken to achieve social welfare. Instead, the conservative thinking is particularly receptive to the benefits that tradition brings.

Conservatives do not believe there are formulations applied to achieve good governance.

The Government is a social, indigenous product and therefore must respect the history, customs and prejudices of the people. Thus, as there can't be no social welfare laws, there can't be no ideology that would provide it. Therefore, conservatism was against any ideology, refusing to form a political program, showing preference for *passeisme* and lessons of past history. The most important of conservative reactionaries, Count Joseph de Maistre, went so far as to reject the idea that people are able to plan and establish a proper constitution of their society. A written constitution is downright dangerous, says de Maistre because expose the Government weaknesses: "The more is wrote, the institutions becomes weaker, the reasons being obvious. The laws are only declarations of rights, and rights are declared only when they are attacked, thus, the multiplicity of written constitutional laws only shows the multitude of conflicts and danger of destruction." (Țăranu, 2005, p. 43).

Maistre's words remain emblematic of what was British conservatism until the early twentieth century. The fear of any form of systematization led the British conservatives declare that their party has no ideological basis. They realized that the lack of political deals and critique brought to the mass society could no longer provide, under the system of universal suffrage, the party maintenance in power.

The early twentieth-century finds in the first instance the British conservatism in a rather difficult situation in relation to socialism, which at that time was the bearer of an ideology extremely attractive and seemingly fair. In front of the mass parties, conservatism, with the old political and moral principles could no longer respond to a reality that does not comply with the old models of political organization of society. Under the pressure of universal suffrage, conservatives are forced to respond to the needs of doctrinal clarity required by the electorate.

But eventually, they returned to the principles that define them and especially to liberal values from the early nineteenth century, adapting and reevaluating them for the British society after War World II. The conservative tradition has become an ideological commitment giving doctrinal clarity of which the party needed to compete in the election of the twentieth century. The head of the Conservative Party today is William Hague, elected in 1997. He introduced the principle of party leadership election by members, trying to rejuvenate the party, to make it more attractive to young voters and to increase the number of its members. The current Conservative Party members are former students of private schools, working in private firms. Over 90% of them are owners of housing and a quarter have consistent income. For example, in 1994, they earned more than £ 30,000 per year.

Many members of the Conservative Party in the UK have expressed Euroscepticism over time, being slightly more reluctant to everything that the EU means. For example, from the perspective of Conservatives, the UK will never adopt the euro, even more, it definitely should leave the European Union.

Thus the danger for Britain to leave the EU is not imminent, but a positive vote would show how little faith was left in the island for the European project, given that Europe is facing the biggest crisis since the establishment of the common market. Regarding this issue, in 2010, the Conservatives have declared their willingness to vote for the referendum, but the motion was rejected by Parliament.

But recently, the Conservative Party in Britain confirmed that it will leave the European People's Party - European Democrats, the largest group in the European Parliament. Although the British Conservative Party stands to remain in the European Union, more and more British Conservative parliamentarians keep their skepticism. Until now there has been speculation that after this event, the British Conservatives may join the Union for a Europe of Nations (UEN), second-minded conservative political group in the European Parliament. The change magnitude in mindset and policies that were generated by the Conservative Party is remarkable. This is due to the extremely difficult legacies left

by the Labor Party and the fact that it failed to form a majority government, recurring, to create a coalition with the Liberal Democrats, which was not seen with good eyes by the more right-sided members within the Party. Moreover that this coalition has required certain concessions from conservatives, the most significant being electoral reform on proportional representation, although it is not known which will be the political price paid by the Liberal Democrats for cohabitation with the Conservative Party. Defending the coalition in the eyes of its own party and the conservative electorate was the first cornerstone of the Conference slogan "Together for the national interest". The second one, not less important, is the need to support a broad policy for extraordinary austerity measures that are needed to reduce the budget deficit and reform institutions.

Social benefits will be reduced substantially, even at the beginning of the Conference, starting with allowances for children in families where one parent earns more than 43,875 pounds. Primarily the Conservatives intend to cut public spending by 83 billion pounds by 2014 and drastically reduce social benefits, although this aim cannot be achieved without freezing wages, a bigger contribution of the workers on the pension fund etc. The extremely unpopular measures are presented as the only solution for the people revival and the country's revival. This coalition is designed as a fact in the country's interest fighting for public exposure of the indecent high wages, salary cuts of Ministers, reducing taxes, imposing restrictions on banks so that they relieve the benefits of managerial staff and to convenient credit the small enterprises, etc. Consequently, in the UK, conservatism had the best conditions of manifestation, it being against the deep integration in the European Union. The British conservatism fits into an established regime, that defends its aristocratic character, people in the UK saying the following: "We are members of the European Union not by necessity, but by our act of will".¹

3.4. The Conservatism in Finland

Finland (Suomi Finnish, Swedish Finland) or the Republic of Finland (Suomentasavalta, Republiken Finland) is a country in Northern Europe, an EU member since 1995, the United Nations and the Eurozone². The Finnish Civil War was a conflict between the forces of "red" (Social Democrats allied with Finnish communists) and the "whites" (under the command of conservative Senate, who in the previous autumn succeeded to form a national unity government, which had the goal of maintaining the status quo (to maintain independence and constitutional monarchy).

Civil war and war are still two of the most controversial and emotionally charged events in the modern history of Finland. These two conflicts are seen as two turning points of Finnish destiny, having a huge impact on both domestic and foreign policy. The causes that led to the Civil War can be considered to be primarily the political polarization caused by major conflict between the Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous entity of the Tsarist Empire, which began in 1889 with the launch of pan-Slav policy and has intensified in 1899 with the first attempts of Russification of Finland. One of the first consequences of this policy was the abolition of the Grand Duchy of Finland army.

Until that moment, Senate of Finland managed to successfully lead a conservative loyalist policy towards Russia, aimed at defending the national interests of the country through main autonomy granted by the Tsarist power. It was appreciated at that time that "the people" should be removed from

¹<http://revistacultura.ro/nou/2012/02/ghici-cine-are-dreptate/>.

²<http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finlanda>.

radical political approaches, which would lead to the Imperial Court irritation in St. Petersburg. As this policy in the end proved to be wrong, both the activity of the left and the right have been radicalized.

True is a political party of a populist guidance in Finland, founded in 1995 after the dissolution of the Finnish Rural Party. In the late 2000s, the True Finns have changed the balance between Finnish centrist parties increasing in popularity due to their Eurosceptic policy. Its leader is Timo Soini. In the 2011 elections, the True Finns have become a serious threat to traditional parties in the Parliament of Finland, achieving similar scores like the National Coalition Party, Centre Party and the Social Democratic Party of Finland in polls. The party combines economic policies of the extreme left, with some powerful conservative social values. Today, after a period of 30 years, Finland has a new conservative president. Sauli Niinistö, the National Coalition candidate (conservative) is the new president of Finland. His opponent Pekka Haavisto admitted its defeat. Either of the two would have won, the result would have been historical for Finland, which was managed in the last 30 years by social democratic presidents. Niinistö will most likely have a peaceful coexistence with the Social Democrats. In April, his party won the most votes in legislative elections and his Conservatives lead a broad coalition government, which also includes the Social Democrats.¹ Finland's parliamentary elections marked a sharp increase in electorate preferences of nationalists, who stood by against the anti-European and immigration program.² Liberal Conservatives in Finland obtained 20% of the voters voting options in the legislative elections that took place on 05.02.2012. They were followed by the Social Democrats, with 19.1% and the True Finns Party nationalists, with 19%. On the fourth place is situated Centre Party, with 15.8% of the voting options. Out of the 200 seats for the Parliament, the Election Commission has granted 44 to Conservatives, 42 to Social Democrats and 39 to True Finnish Party (right nationalist). On the other hand, also in 2012 the Conservatives remains the largest ideological group in the US. Following a research it has been reached a result whereby 40% of Americans continue to describe their perspective as conservative, 5% describe themselves as moderate and 21% liberal. This is the third year in which the number of conservatives surpassed that of the moderates, after a decade in which statistics indicated a close competition between the two groups.

4. Conclusions

The Romanian conservatism resembles the European one, by claiming it, thou, through its own reality and traditions. Unfortunately, prominent representatives of the current managed only partially to set social policy formulations. Speaking purely doctrinaire, they have excelled and there isn't, with few exceptions, works with ideological content, programs, platforms etc. In the past, it was put great emphasis on elocution (let's not forget that most politicians of that time lacked training in the legal field). Therefore, we discover rather an ideological orientation, clearly articulated, and less a doctrine itself, as a coherent system of principles, completed with key programmatic documents. In order to make quality policy, it is vital that it is done in accordance with a moral policy. The latter implies efficiency, the ability to fulfill the promises the power understood as a means, not as an end. For the true politician, holding power is the chance in fulfillment of national interest of electoral commitments and not an exercise in itself or, worse, a display of its own pride. The countries where we find traditional conservative parties are Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. They are characterized by a moderate opposition to state intervention in social and economic life, having a consensual approach to policymaking. The political parties of a conservative type are more important than the

¹http://www.adevarul.ro/international/finlanda-presedinte-homosexual_0_640736348.html#.

²http://www.romania-actualitati.ro/conservatorii_finlandezi_castigatorii_alegerilor_legislative-28046.

Christian Democratic parties in many cases them being equivalent to Christian Democracy in electoral options. Both the Christian Democrats and conservative parties represent alternatives to governance and social-democratic ideologies. The development of two political families within the same political system is rather an exception. Where there is strong conservatism, Christian democratic family is often implicit as an ideology or does not exist. UK, Scandinavia, Greece, Spain are examples of situations in which, if the family is strong conservative, cancels the Christian Democratic family. Austria, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands are examples of the opposite situation: where the Christian Democracy is strong, the conservative family is weak or not at all represented. In conclusion, conservatism is an important trend that manifests itself in many countries within the European Union, ensuring in this way a harmonious combination of tradition with modernity, supporting democracy in societies where it is installed.

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