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Foreword

**The Council of Europe -
a Look towards the Future**

Romania owes a lot to the Council of Europe, although there have been moments of hiatus in the relations between the two parts. The mutual trust crisis from the beginning of the 90s originated in the maximal approach of some sensitive matters regarding human rights, in general, and particularly the rights of minorities, regardless of their nature: national, social, sexual minorities, etc.

The expectations of the Council of Europe concerning many former communist countries were high from the very beginning, taking into account the manner of dissolution of the totalitarian regimes. Now, more than 16 years after the revolutionary year 1989, we can state that "nationalism" has played an equally important role in the dissolution of totalitarianism as have citizen rights and liberties.

The break-up of Yugoslavia, the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, as well as that of the Soviet Union, are closely linked with the resurrection of nationalism in the 70s and 80s, years in which a maximum of separatist movements was also witnessed in countries of Western Europe, such as Great Britain, Spain, France, Italy, Belgium. Some have violently manifested, through brutal and bloody acts of urban terrorism, others adopted a manner typical to democratic systems. Many of the bloody acts have been justified by the lack of citizen rights and liberties, a formula which often masked regional selfishness or the will to obtain privileges compared to the majority population.

A dynamic of national states' dissolution was created, which the fall of communism has fostered. Decentralisation, regionalisation, autonomies of all kinds, reasonable and sustainable processes in principle, become ever more alibies for unfolding of identity, political and moral values crises, which ultimately endanger European integration.

We cannot move forward in our project of European construction as long as the process of fragmentation of national states continues. Already, a Europe with 27 members is an institutional nightmare. At the not very remote moment when autonomous entities such as Catalonia will go further in the logic of autonomy and will want to have a say at the decision-making level of the European Union, things will be out of control for good. The referendum from Montenegro has given ideas to many people in Spain, Belgium, Moldova, Russia and even in Italy, where the failure of the decentralisation referendum does not mean but a delay of the problem not its resolution.

If, until now, the Council of Europe has been the promoter of minority rights, the moment has come for a dramatic change of priorities in approaching the issues con-

fronting European citizens. We must renounce to consider belonging to a minority the voucher of special rights, which they legitimately oppose to the majority. Not any such opposition is legitimate.

I believe that the most reasonable approach is to come back to the citizenship, the bearer of equal rights, liberties and obligations. Actually, this is a comeback to the Enlightenment origins of democratic changes on the European continent. It is obvious that the system of citizen rights, liberties and obligations demands a re-evaluation, made from the perspective of changes occurring in our system of moral, ethical and political values. This revision could be the answer for many problems, such as gay rights, euthanasia, affirmation of minority identities, the rights of asylum, integration of immigrants.

In fact, the Enlarged Europe needs a new concept of citizenship, in which citizens recognize themselves, together with their ideals, needs and expectations. And the Council of Europe is the most appropriate framework to initiate and promote this cultural mutation, without which the success of the project concerning reunification of the European continent cannot be conceived.

That is, in fact, what we want to do by promoting projects such as the European Schools: to create the institutional framework of this debate on the future, on what means to be a European citizen. Their existence is more actual and necessary than ever. Otherwise, the old demons of Europe will find a place in the minds of many youngsters. Poland, an exemplary country at the beginning of the 90s in matters regarding human rights, experiences a dangerous identity crisis, which leads to abandoning the righteous path in this field.

The European citizenship is an identity construction, conceived in the long term perspective. The time has come for us to contribute to the genesis of the European nation, without which fragmentation and centrifugal processes will continue. And the consequences are already known: lack of a European unity conscience has led us into two bloody world wars which, for European citizens, have been a long and tragic civil war

We do not want the tragedies of the past to repeat...

Anne Juganare

The Activity of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - Second Edition, 2005-2006

I. The European Evening for Transylvania

Taking into account both the political and the educational importance of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School, Romania's particular features (a population of about 22 million people), it was agreed to create as soon as possible three regional schools in the country, in order to offer an adequate response to the local problems and to speed up the completion of the EU integration criteria and of general European standards.

For the purpose of fund-raising for the organization of the European School of Transylvania, the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute and the Council of Europe organized the "European Evening for Transylvania". The event took place on Thursday, 19 May 2005, at 8 o'clock PM at the Intercontinental Hotel Bucharest, Ronda Grand Ball Room.



The "European Evening for Transylvania" unfolded under the high patronage of the former Presidents of Romania, Mr. Emil Constantinescu and Mr. Ion Iliescu, and of the Prime Minister of Romania, Mr. Calin



Popescu-Tariceanu. The event was also attended by accredited diplomatic representatives in Bucharest, businessmen, politicians, personalities of the Romanian public life.

As a result of the European Evening, the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School managed to gather the necessary funds for the opening of the regional European School of Transylvania.

II. The First Seminar of the European School of Transylvania, Poiana Brasov, 20-22 May 2005

The First Seminar of the European School of Transylvania was organized in the interval 20-22 May 2005, in Poiana Brasov. The seminar unfolded around the theme of Regional Development in the National and European Context. The lectures were presented by Marko Bela, State Minister in charge with coordination of the activities in the field of culture, education and European integration, President of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania - "The Role of Politicians in Building and Developing a Democratic Multiethnic Society";

Vasile Dîncu, Senator, Minister of Public Information (2001-2003) - "Regional Identities within the Transylvanian Cultural Space"; Marius Proftiroiu, Professor at the Academy for Economic Studies, State Secretary within the Administration and Internal Affairs Ministry (2002-2004) - "The Strategic Management of Local Multiethnic Communities"; Eduard Huidan, Director of Gazeta de Transilvania regional newspapers group - "Regional and Local Press in Transylvania".

1. Marko Bela, "The Role of Politicians in Building and Developing a Democratic Multiethnic Society"

Interethnic relations are not always solved through political means and we have the example of the former Yugoslavia. In the case of Romania, in order to eliminate to a great extent the dilemma if we can change a community through political means, we had to get to the 1996 moment, when the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) has assumed participation to a governmental coalition. Thus, UDMR has used a political instrument mutually acceptable. Until 1996, UDMR was in the opposition, but after that year it has managed to introduce ethnic problems on the political agenda without raising the adversity of the majority. After a period of formulation and commitment to a program, there was the period of putting into practice the provisions, and the first accomplish-



ment took place in 1999 through the modification of the Education Law. It was also managed to introduce mother tongue in some fields (schools, justice, etc.) and to take a political decision regarding the Hungarian community.

The period 1996-2004 was the proof that through political instruments there can be brought about substantial changes. So that Romania can be a model for the Carpathian - Danube space.

Other significant achievements were the adoption of the public administration law (that stipulates the fact that where there is a higher than 20% percentage of citizens from another ethnic group than the majority, there will be bilingual traffic signs at the entrance into that administrative unit) and the modification of the Constitution in 2003 (through which steps were made towards the multi-ethnic society).

In spite of all these, not all problems were solved. After 1996 the period of dilemmas was overcome and a period of collaboration began, but this also supposed contradictory discussions, not only consensus. For example, an important problem that has to be regulated refers to the right of taking common measures (there are still situations in which decisions regarding minorities are taken without their consultation). We must get to the situation in which these differences are conceived as values and that through different approaches we will manage to solve some problems in a better way.

Another problem refers to the equitable presence of Hungarians in various fields of activity. Hungarians are lacking at higher levels of justice (none in the Superior Council of Magistracy), from the ministry of foreign affairs, also there are very few Hungarian judges or policemen.

An important step that must be achieved refers to introducing cultural autonomy. At present there is under debate a project of law through which minorities would receive the right to elect National Council of Cultural Autonomy. These councils would become autonomous local councils (which have the right to decide in regard to educational and cultural institutions in the mother tongue), that should present an annual report to the parliament (to be responsible to the parliament). This is similar to the European idea of

subsidiarity.

In conclusion, political instruments were and will be necessary. But, for example, the vote concerning a mother tongue education law should not depend on the affiliation to a certain political group in government or in opposition. Multiethnic interests cannot be subordinated to political interests; they must be promoted in any conditions.

In a multiethnic society everyone has the possibility to decide upon his own problems, in parallel with the existence of an area in which there is common decision on problems of general interest. Within the European Union there was a transition from the concept of nation-state to the concept of multiethnic society, supposing that regulation of problems is automatic, regardless of nation.

2. Vasile Dîncu, "Regional Identities within the Transylvanian Cultural Space"

Multiethnic management is a matter of social policy. As experience shows, a reunion of different people leads to identifying their common features and a reunion of resembling people leads to differentiation. In other words, the principle of similarity divides and the principle of differentiation binds.

Identity has two important characteristics: a) the attempt to build a positive ego; b) the attempt to build an alter ego. This occurs because we cannot identify ourselves but in the mirror.

The founding myth is an important element for a nation. For example, in the case of Romania, it is linked with the Roman origin - tragic destiny, and in the case of France with the Trojan War - migration. There is a diversity of mythological constructions, but this myth can be found, in a form or another, within the history of all nations. Any community is a territory of conflict, of competition for resources. The Transylvanian space is a special area - from a historical point of view,

it was formed as a sort of competition area outside of capitals. Romanians are oriented towards Bucharest, while Hungarians are oriented towards Budapest. In Transylvania there is a positive evolution of interethnic relations, but



problems may reoccur at any time, according to the regional projects. It is interesting to notice that ethnic intolerance is higher as the distance from the multiethnic space increases.

Multiculturalism represents the acceptance of pluralism. It may be regarded as communitarian privacy, which is a certain space that the ethnic community wishes to assume (a certain segregation). Ethnic groups in Transylvania have coexisted in parallel. There are very few elements that indicate us an intercultural development, the difference is provided by historical differences. The multiculturalism of the future will be assumed as ideology in mixed societies such as that in Transylvania.

On the basis of the abovementioned definition, intercultural development represents the in which differences resonate. Presently, in Transylvania there is an evolution towards positive of interethnic tension. But this ideological identity core can always produce conflicts.

3. Marius Profiroiu, "The Strategic Management of Local Multiethnic Communities"

The implementation of the *acquis communautaire* in Romania is a disadvantage, as an original model must be found that would work well in

this case. The French or German models are not appropriate for our country. Firstly, the European administrative space is guided by clear standards that Romania must acquire:

a. Transparency. In Romania there are laws, but they are not applied. It was noticed that only 25% of law provisions in administration were applied in 2004, which shows there is only a declarative transparency, not a practical one. At the European level, citizens have become clients, they can choose without being imposed on, and the administration is just an actor on the market.

b. Responsibility. In Romania responsibility is still divided between a lot of people, in the end nobody being held accountable. While in the EU there are very clear provisions concerning the person responsible of certain activities (usually, there is only one person).

c. Efficiency. In the Romanian administration it is only a matter of outputs and inputs, no one is looking at outcomes.

d. Predictability. In our days, centralization proves to be counterproductive. In Romania, it will only need changing the management scheme at the centre and eliminating politics from public administration, as was the case of European administration.

e. Flexibility. The system is very rigid in our country because there is confusion between management and administration. Management has as purpose measuring performance. Together with other European states, Romania has introduced a system of professional post-university formation in order to be able to respond to the EU requests. YPS (Young Professional Scheme) supposes the selection by the EU of 150.000 young professionals that are trained for one year in the West and a year in the country, after which they can enter directly into the administrative system, at an intermediate level. This measure aims at introducing competition within the system, by replacing middle public servants. By creating new elites the professionalization of public administration is achieved. At the European level there is also the possibility of free circulation of elites between the public and the private systems. Romania has still to make progress in the field

of administration. The process of decentralization and de-concentration must be continued (drawing decision-making nearer to the citizen). Romanians are very good abroad, but when they come back to Romania they cannot be efficient, which shows that Romania lacks organization, management. The present "top-bottom"



decision cycle must turn into a "bottom-top" cycle. Creating a lobby network is also very important, leading to a growth in Romania's capacity of imposing itself at the European level. The long term objective is to increase the number of quality public servants.

4. Eduard Huidan, "Regional and Local Press in Transylvania"

In 2004 the first places of the World Press Top 100 were occupied by newspapers from Japan (with a circulation of around 14 million issues), Germany (*Bild* - a circulation of 4 million issues), Great Britain (*The Sun* - 3.2 million issues), United States (*USA Today* - 2.6 million issues). It is surprising that opinion newspapers with influence over the policy of a state are in backward positions of the top (*New York Times* at 22, *Washington Post* below 80). The *Russian newspaper Youth Spark*, a leftist acid and anti-establishment paper can be found at 79.

Concerning the per capita newspapers circula-

tion, the first places are occupied by two Nordic countries - Iceland and Norway, but also Japan, Sweden, Finland and, surprisingly for us, Bulgaria (due the influence of German trusts). Romania lies at the bottom, between Pakistan and Greece. Immediately after 1989 there was an explosion of the number of readers, because citizens were eager of information. Starting with 1992, things have turned to normality and after 1996 the circulation drastically decreased.

The press has an informative and, at the same time, critical role. One can ask who controls information, the owners of newspapers, journalists that write the news or the politicians?

The higher the economic development of a country, the higher is the investment in the written press. In the case of Romania, economic constraints were the major cause of decreasing circulation. Regarding advertising investment, political parties are on the first place in Romania. Also the VAT applied for the written press is standard, compared with the EU countries, where it is 50% lower or 0.

Unfortunately, the Romanian state is doing nothing to help newspaper owners. There is still a monopoly on paper of the Letea factory from Bacau. The civil fines are still too high compared to the EU standards, which leads to self-censorship.

Foreign capital is dimly represented within the Romanian press. Through foreign investments there would be a strengthening in abiding inter-

national norms and in the quality of watchdog of democracy. The most important investors in this field come (in Romania's case) from Austria, Germany and Switzerland.

The Conclusion is that we must improve the condition of the press in Romania by encouraging local investment, by establishing a clear deontological code and by increasing the quality of written press through an emphasis on analysis rather than on sensational information.

5. Evaluation of questionnaires

The most frequent expectations of the participants concerning the seminar were: seeing new places, new people, learning new ideas and information, participating to an open dialogue, improving knowledge about regional development, interacting with young people from different political parties and a closer understanding of EU and CoE mechanisms.

The appreciation for the organization of the first seminar was "good" and "very good". Concerning the appreciation of the relations established between participants and lecturers there can be noticed a differentiation:

- a. The majority of participants considered that during the first seminar they managed to establish positive relations with their colleagues;
- b. There was a clear separation between



participants and lecturers, the former recognizing their incapacity to establish close relations with the latter. It was obvious that in the future it was imperative to adopt a more interactive scheme for the courses.

Recommendations of the participants concerned: establishing an online forum on the Internet, more interactivity, organizing more socialization activities after courses and a more diversified program (workshops, role simulation, games, etc.).

III. The First Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006, Mila 35, Danube Delta, 7-10 July 2005

The First Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006, was organized in the interval 7-10 July 2005, at Mila 35, in the Danube Delta. The seminar unfolded around the theme of Training the Elites for the Political Life. The lectures were presented by Dumitru Iacob, Professor at the State University for Political Studies and Administration, expert in political communication - "Image Strategies. Case Study: Presentation of Candidature for the European Parliament", Aurora Liiceanu, Senior researcher within the Institute of Psychology of the Romanian Academy - "The Psychological Dimension of Communication in the Public Space", Mircea Aurel Nita, Professor at the State University for Political Studies and Administration - "Communication in Crisis Situations", Adrian Severin, Director Coordinator of the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1996-1997) - "Aspects of International Negotiations. Case Study: The Proposal of Bundestag Members to Suspend Romania's and Bulgaria's Accession to the EU".

1. Dumitru Iacob, "Image Strategies"

Communication supposes: analysis, emotion and connection. Analysis and emotion are two complementary and essential elements. They are mutually supporting each other in the communication process. But, beside them there are always the hidden forces of the conveyed message.

During the process of communication, first we build the image and then the image is introduced in the message. The image is achieved



through an image item (matrix). The item is a function of image structuring, vertebration and sense conferring. The typology of the image items:

- Organizational matrix items (self-image; image about others; the others' image about the organization). They become image referentials and capture an external image existing in the social space.

- Value expressing items (good / bad; competent / incompetent, etc.). They are built according to image contexts from certain periods of social evolution. Through these values there can be correlations between change and continuity.

- Contextual expression items (for instance: democratic / non-democratic; pro-European / pro-American, etc.)

The second referential of image building

are differences (sex, age, residence, religious confession). These are grouped in several categories: socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-religious, and can be grouped cohesively, conjunctively or conflicting.

The third referential are the themes, that differ according to the historical period and the values promoted during that period. For example, at this moment the main interest themes are terrorism and corruption. During this phase of the discussion there was a practical exercise during which the participants had to define and clarify the two themes. The conclusion of the debates was that a terrorist act has as its main identification element that fact that it targets civilians. Terrorists aim to translate violence from the battlefield to civilian areas, as thus the impact over the authorities is huge. Concerning the second theme on the agenda, the conclusion was that we should discriminate between the big and small corruption. But both degrees of intensity of the corruption phenomenon are due to deficiencies in education and social organization. The conclusion is that during the process of communication we must think in systemic terms, taking into account the interferences and interdependencies.

Case Study: Presentation of Candidature for the European Parliament

The second part of the course continues with an image exercise. The participants were divided into three groups and had to create a discourse for supporting their candidature to the European Parliament.

From the practical exercise the following tendencies, contexts and dilemmas of Romanians close to European accession could be identified:

- a) Need for new social balances:
 - Individuals (human rights) and the need of community aggregation (the optimum individual / community relation)
 - The relation between the type of property and the type of exploitation organization;
 - The relations between the individual ini-

tiative and communitarian discipline, etc.

- b) Need for new geopolitical and geostrategic balances

2. Aurora Liiceanu, "The Psychological Dimension of Communication in the Public Space"

This course unfolded in two sections. During the first section the candidates have watched the movie *The Candidate* (1972) with Robert Redford as the main character. The subject of the movie concerned the implication in the electoral campaign of a California Democrat candidate for the US Senate.

During the second part there were debates between participants and the professor, around this movie, from which the following conclusions resulted:

- A public person is confronted with the envy and jealousy of others. In this case, self-control is very important as today the accent is placed on the first impression that conditions the ulterior relation.

- There are certain general rules that a public person should be aware of: 1. The negative impression is persistent in time, while the positive impression is less persistent; 2. Self-control can offer references about the self. For example, women have a greater tendency towards blaming themselves, while men find justifications more easily; 3. The general impression is determined by the preceding experience - there is a stereotype. Presence in the public space can animate this type of impression. For example, the general impression is that fat people are generous. Another illusive correlation is to associate wearing glasses with a prolific intellect.

- Self-marketing is very important in the public space ("orchestrating success"). Presently, body change is growingly accepted - the use of aesthetic surgery even becomes a habit. And from here comes the dilemma to what extent one must become prefabricate of a group of people and to what extent one can remain authentic, spontaneous.

- Studies have shown that the total impact of a message is 7% verbal, 35% vocal and 55% facial. From this proportion only 30% - 35% is attributed to words.

- The orientation of the individual can be:
a) Mainly towards the self. In this category we can find scientists, who are introverted, disagreeable in public, resisting change, nervous, etc.; b) Mainly towards interaction Here we find women, who are dependent, affiliating, sociable, in need of external help; c) Mainly towards the task. These people are full of respect, sober, non-sociable, with a superior intelligence, full of resources.

3. Mircea Aurel Nita, "Communication in Crisis Situations"

The central slogan of the lecture was: "Communication without negotiation - Yes, Negotiation without communication - No." From this it results that what is forbidden in communication is allowed in negotiation. The communication market is made up of verbal, non-verbal and para-verbal. And non-verbal communication counts for 80% of normal communication. That's why non-verbal messages have a great importance and must be decoded according to the context and each people's culture.

After this short presentation of what communication means there were a series of games and experiments that helped the participants to understand more easily how important non-verbal messages are. One experiment: the participants were asked to fold a sheet of paper into three equal parts and then write on the three folds information about themselves. Conclusions: - Public message must be readable, visible, clear, concise, etc.; - Message broadcasters must not memorize the information but only send it correctly; - Name tags on the table send the message to the public space.

The second part of the course referred to crisis situations. Conclusions:

- Conflict is not synonymous with crisis or with problem. Not any conflict gets to generate a

crisis situation.

- Dysfunction is a state or a situation that must be corrected. Dysfunctions that are perpetrated generate conflicts. And perpetrated conflicts generate crises. For example, lack of communication on the horizontal and on the vertical within a party generates a crisis.

- During crisis situations the message must not be emotional. The combative instinct is never appropriate as it can perpetrate the crisis.

- One must never lie to the media, only at most hiding parts of the truth. Also, no crisis must be treated with silence because media will speculate, a fact that will get matters worse.

- Projecting messages in crisis situations is based on four essential elements, strictly in this order: 1. People; 2. Environment; 3. Property; 4. Money.

4. Adrian Severin, "Aspects of International Negotiations. Case Study: The Proposal of Bundestag Members to Suspend Romania's and Bulgaria's Accession to the EU"

In the beginning a short presentation was made concerning the objectives, the context and a



description of each actor's features.

Objectives:

- Participating in political negotiations at international level

- Formulating a coherent position and finding acceptable compromises in relations

with other actors, in the conditions of existing conflicting interests

- Familiarizing participants with the procedures of negotiations within an international multi-party framework

Context:

Romania and Bulgaria have signed the EU Accession Treaties. The Treaties provide the accession conditions, but also the activation of some safeguard clauses in the case the two countries don't accomplish certain reforms in key sectors (justice, competition, environment, taxes, agriculture, public acquisitions and intellectual property).

In October 2005, the European Commission publishes the country reports in which it underlines the progress made by the two countries in all abovementioned fields and gives a positive recommendation for the accession of the two countries on 1st of January 2007.

In November 2005 there are anticipated general elections in Germany. Christian Democrats win elections but do not get the parliamentary majority (45% of mandates). Social Democrats get 40% of mandates, becoming the most powerful opposition group. Liberal Democrats get 10% of mandates and support the Christian Democratic government led by Angela Merkel. Ecologists get 5% of mandates and go into the opposition.

The Christian Democratic group of the Bundestag decides not to ratify the EU Accession Treaties for Romania and Bulgaria. Liberal Democrats support them, but are in favour of ratification with automatic activation of the safeguard clauses. Social Democrats and Ecologists support the ratification of the Treaties according to the recommendation of the European Commission.

The European Commission and the European Parliament consider that Romania and Bulgaria have fulfilled conditions for accession in 2007 and that activation of the safeguard clause is not justified.

Following requests form the Romanian and

Bulgarian parts, from the European Commission and from the European Parliament, the Foreign Affairs Commission of the German Bundestag gives the abovementioned parts the right to support their position in front of the commission, before voting in parliament.

Unfolding:

Six groups have formed (Romanian Government, Romanian Opposition, Bulgarian Government, Christian Democratic Group, Liberal Democratic Group, and German Opposition) and there were also the individual roles of the Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn - representing the European Commission - and of the President of the European Parliament, Josep Borrell. Each group had to argue in favour of adopting its position through one of its members, but the others could intervene at any point in the debate.

Conclusions:

1. Alliances and strategic interests are changing in time. Personalities of the international actors subjectively influence the political decisions. Negotiations are not however a game of intelligence and charm. The force of arguments has no value if the interests of the other participants are not taken into account. Understanding their positions is essential for promoting your position.

2. Germany is a key state in the process



of European integration. Germany doesn't work for a weak Europe and will choose another direction if Europe doesn't coagulate. In the case of

Romania, interests must be redefined in order to reach to a convergence with the others, as it is placed at the intersection of US, EU and Russian interests. Romania is a European country with Euro-Atlantic vocation. Romania's relations with Germany becomes essential because

Germany represents at the same time Europe and the West, an area which has culturally interfered with our country for a long time.

3. In what regards the process of integration, Germany considers it is necessary that those that are different integrate on the vertical, so that coexistence between unequal parts is forged. At the same time, we are witnessing a reverse process, of re-emergence of anti-immigrationist ideology at the European level. Romanians are inclined towards paternalism, equalitarianism and authoritarianism, while Germans are inclined towards authoritarianism and differentiation. Thus negotiation with Germany becomes very difficult.

4. During negotiations, when there are more actors involved rhetoric is greater and compromise propositions have less chances. To avoid stalemates there must found another negotiation means - complicating the equation in order to get modifications afterwards.

5. Evaluation of questionnaires

The most frequent expectations of the participants concerning the seminar were: access to a new and complex information environment, socializing, interactivity and training for the public life.

The appreciation for the organization of the first seminar was "good" and "very good". Concerning the appreciation of the relations established between participants and lecturers, participants considered they were very good and a good communication predominated.

Recommendations of the participants concerned: organizing the next seminars at the same high level, more seminars within the country, more courses using the camera, analyzing the materials filmed during seminars

IV. The Second Seminar of the European School of Transylvania, Lunca, Danube Delta, 8-11 September 2005

The Second Seminar of the European School of Transylvania was organized by the "Ovidiu

Sincai" Institute in the interval 8-11 September 2005, at the Lunca Complex in the Danube Delta. The seminar unfolded around the theme of Training the Elites for the Political Life. The lectures were presented by Mircea Aurel Nita, Professor at the State University for Political Studies and Administration - "Communication in Crisis Situations"; Adrian Severin, Director Coordinator of the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1996-1997) - "Aspects of International Negotiations. Case Study: The Proposal of Bundestag Members to Suspend Romania's and Bulgaria's Accession to the EU"; Ion Popa, Pro-Dean at the Academy for Economic Studies, Bucharest - "Management of the Career".

1. Mircea Aurel Nita, "Communication in Crisis Situations"

The course unfolded during the whole day, the first part being used for a theoretical presentation of what communication in crisis situations means. The second part was allocated to a series of games and tests that would strengthen and clarify the theoretical elements.

In the beginning there was the argument that the communication market is made up of verbal, non-verbal and para-verbal. Of these categories, non-verbal communication counts in proportion of 80%. That's why non-verbal messages have a great influence and must be decoded according to the context, to the culture of each people.

In the present conditions of development and diversification of the communication means it is obsolete to define communication as the modality to send messages. After a certain period of life, with the transition to the adult age, quantitative accumulation is in fact a pretext for a qualitative accumulation, as thus professional training is realized. Qualitative accumulation supposes development of new attitudes and a new way of thinking.

Communication has in its background logic / rational and emotional / affective messages hav-

ing different shares according to the individual personality. In crisis situations attention must be awake in order to send a mixture of messages. A maximum impact would be achieved at the moment a transfer between the cerebral hemispheres is realized, between the logic and the emotional.

Our mind is as much a friend as it is an enemy, being directed by our ego. When a diminishing



of ego is achieved the mind will be balanced. There are two laws owing to the ego: the law of internal coherence and the law of external coherence. The law of the internal coherence has a correspondent in the cognitive dissonance. Empathy represents putting oneself in the place of another in order to find out its motivations of behaviour. This helps to anticipate the reaction of the interlocutor. (*feed before*). A good communicator knows that the mistake never belongs to the receiver, but to the emitter. The law of the external coherence occurs when the mind is balanced, when we have reactions both on logic and on emotional. When the individual behaves inertial, mind tends to preserve its comfort.

Each individual has a representation of the way in which to regard the world made up of beliefs (hard core, that is very hard to modify), attitudes (way of thinking), opinions, behaviour (external manifestation, getting to action). The variable

part of representations is made up of opinions. The fixed part is the core. The intermediate part, the attitudes, made up the mentality. This is the place where the fight takes place.

This representation is the sum of all accumulations of an individual, being specific to each one. Moreover, representations are different for the same individual at different moments in time. On the basis of this personal representation it must be acted in order to favour or hinder communication. The message must be directed upon the common area of representations.

The solutions for favouring communication are the following: - you must never attack the core (individual beliefs); - you must favour the opinion exchanges; - you must carefully study the behaviour of the receivers.

The solutions of favouring manipulation are the following: - you can indirectly attack the hard core (beliefs) by favouring opinions exchange; - studying the attitudes and behaviour change after introducing the anxiety; - after introducing the anxiety, it must be perpetrated through fear; - fear determines the destruction of the fixed part of the representation.

After defining communication, crisis situations were defined. The main idea was that a conflict is not the same with a crisis or with a problem. Not every conflict gets to generate a crisis. The problem refers to something that needs correction and hasn't yet generated a conflict. The crisis appears when no decision can be taken any more.

The dysfunction is a state or a situation that must be corrected. Perpetrated dysfunctions generate conflicts. Perpetrated conflicts generate crises. For example, the lack of communication on the horizontal and on the vertical within a party generates a crisis.

In crisis situations messages should not be emotional. The combative instinct is not appropriate because it can perpetrate the crisis. Projecting messages in crisis situations is based

on four essential elements (strictly in this order!): 1. People; 2. Environment; 3. Property; 4. Money.

After this presentation a couple of experiments followed. Participants were organized in groups of three. One of them had to write a message, the second one had to encode the message according to his / her wish and the third had to try to decode it. The conclusion was that the result of communication always depends on the means of encoding - decoding, but also on the form of receipt by the target group.

Through another experiment, which consisted in a test given to each participant it was determined each individual's inclination towards one of the four dominants: logic / analytic, creative / global, control / planning and evolution / intuition. It was also mentioned that this inclination modifies in time, according to the period each one passes through.

2. Adrian Severin, " Aspects of International Negotiations. Case Study: The Proposal of Bundestag Members to Suspend Romania's and Bulgaria's Accession to the EU"

A reproduction of the simulation unfolding during the first seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006 followed.

Conclusions:

1. A problem of the EU is the way of functioning, its capacity or incapacity to function as a union of 25, later of 27 states, that has to take decisions by unanimity. Through veto any decision can be blocked but that doesn't mean the problem will be solved. Thus a transition from a simple union of states to a federation of nations is necessary. Practically, the EU is already more than a confederation; it works on effectively federal bases (for example, the adoption of the *acquis communautaire*). But at institutional level, the EU functions within the system of the

old post-war international order, based on the zero-sum game. Delaying the adoption of the EU budget is a breakdown that shows there is a need for change. A new EU enlargement is regarded with growing fear, but it must be showed that a federal formula is better than sovereign equality.

2. There is also the problem of the recent experience with the states in the former Soviet bloc that have joined the EU. Even if they have a strong national instinct at political level, they have a better economic instinct than the old members. Countries in Central and Eastern Europe are more internationalist economically and more inward-oriented in terms of identity.

3. Romania has to involve in a project of consolidating the EU. It has to adopt a policy of internal alliances (cooperation of all political and social forces) in order to support a coherent strategy of integrating into the EU. In this regard, we must define our national interest in a European context, and the European interests in a global context. Because defining your interests outside Europe is equal to becoming a minority without many chances of success.

4. In a negotiation it is important to find the balance between firmness and flexibility. Negotiation does not mean cheating. Ability, perspicacity, the power of conviction, must not be based on lies but on truth. It is not important to obtain consent if the agreement is not based on reality and does not respond to the interests of the parts.



3. Ion Popa, "Management of the Career"

In the first part of the course, a short presentation of the stages a career must follow was made. A career is an evolving succession of professional activities that a person reaches as well as the attitudes, knowledge and competencies developed in the course of time.

There are three important elements that must be taken into account: (a) a career means a motion along a path in time. The career can be regarded from two perspectives, external and internal. The external career represents the objective succession of positions making up someone's career. The internal career refers to the interpretation that an individual attributes to professional experiences, objectives that can be understood only by a subjective measurement of external events; (b) the interaction between organizational and individual factors; (c) the career offers an occupational identity.

According to the studies of professor D. J. Levinson, the stages of the adult life are the following: (a) 17-22 years - Transition to the early stage of adulthood; (b) 22-28 years - Entering the adult era; (c) 28-33 - The transition of the 30s; (d) 33-40 - Fixation; (e) 40-45 - The midlife transition; (f) 45-60 - The medium adult; (g) over 60 - The late adult transition and era.

There are also a series of differences in the cases of women's career: (a) women are different from men in that the latter are usually dedicated to their career more seriously and uniformly around the age of 30. In this period women follow two different paths. One of them consists in ending the "transition of the 30s" earlier and entering the "fixation" stage in their early 30s. The second one is to postpone commitment to a serious career until later, in their 40s; (b) women encounter more hardships in adequately incorporating their preferences and proposed objectives in careers and roles during their lives.

D.T. Hall has come with another classification the career stages: (a) 16-28 years - Exploitation; (b) 28-32 - Fixation; (c) 32-55 - Advancement and preservation; (d) over 55 - Retirement / Late career.

In order to achieve the development of a flexible career, we must be aware of the following elements: (a) Acknowledging the professional environment; (b) Professional reputation; (c) Mobility, marketability and evolution; (d) Be at the same time a specialist and a generalist; (e) Information; (f) Preparing a reserve plan; (g) Keeping up our good financial and psychological shape.



During the second part of the seminar a team game was realized. Participants were divided into four groups, each participant receiving a card with disparate information, which had to be put together in order to solve a problem of public management. The winner was the team that managed to solve the problem the first.

4. Evaluation of questionnaires

The appreciations of the participants concerning the organization of the second seminar compared to the first seminar were generally "better", "better" or "very good". In what concerns the evaluation of the relations established between participants and lecturers, there was

an improvement compared to the first module in the sense of better relating both among participants and between participants and lecturers.

Recommendations aimed at the following aspects: ever more interactivity, continuing the seminars at the same level, inviting prestigious politicians, providing more courses support in advance, more team exercises and increasing the duration of seminars with one more day.

V. The Second Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006, Odorheiu Secuiesc, 6-9 October 2005

The Second Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006 was organized in the interval 6-9 October 2005, at the Târnava Hotel from Odorheiu Secuiesc town. The second seminar was unfolded around the theme of The Transition Process in Romania. The lectures were presented by Daniel Daianu, former Minister of Public Finances (1997-1998) - "The Economic and Financial Dimension of Transition in Romania", Anne Juganaru, Executive Director of the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute - "Political Reform in Romania: Case Study: the Uninominal Vote", Alexandru Radu, Professor, Faculty of Political Science, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest - "The Political Dimension of Transition in Romania", Jeana Gheorghiu, Executive Director of the National Media Centre - "Constitution and Evolution of the Mass-Media System in Romania".

1. Daniel Daianu, "The Economic and Financial Dimension of Transition in Romania"

Mr. Daianu's intervention focused the European dimension of Romania's transition to a fully functional market economy. Europe cannot avoid the pressures of globalisation. Understanding the processes of the Union is closely linked with the

constitutional arrangements. And because the EU becomes ever more complex, there are difficulties in its functioning. A negative element for the enlargement process is the EU's incapacity to benefit from clear internal mechanisms that would facilitate decision-making. The EU decides less in financial matters, budget policy, education but has major attributions in the field of trade, markets, competition, agriculture, environment, monetary policy (the Euro-zone). Although that some fields would benefit from a larger involvement of the EU in common policies, it is very important that the national state preserves its essential prerogatives in certain domains, such as fight against terrorism, natural calamities intervention, or, to some extent, the economic sector. For example, budget policies at the Union's level are regulated at national level. But we must acknowledge the fact that budget policies are not confined to the fiscal realm, but also to choosing efficient projects.

The issues of the Union (globalisation pressures, world rivalries, economic power balances - the ascent of China, India, relations with the Third World, unconventional dangers - including the syndrome of "failed states") must be apprehended on the background of a more efficient collaboration among member states.

We must not forget that democracy must be maintained. Thus, the EU must be in a permanent process of renewal because otherwise its



structures tend to calcify. The EU represents an extraordinary process, a success that started at the political level and acquired an ever more pronounced economic dimension, but there is still to work on the functioning means and its institutions' prerogatives. That is because the Union must face some so called depth currents, such as: - managing a growing complexity; - convergence deficit: results, policies, formation of single markets (financial services, the Bolkenstein Directive), the Financial Stability Pact; - variety of economic performance (double duality: North vs. South; West vs. East); - demographic challenge (the accelerated ageing process, doubled by a decrease of birth rate); - the issue of assimilating immigrants (the "clash of civilizations" is also internal); - globalisation pressure; - the issue of the EU budget: a. distribution (financing top activities: agriculture / regional aid); b. who's paying and to what amount; - climate change and its impact over national budget and lifestyle.

In the context of globalisation, all these complex EU issues and processes implicitly influence transition in Romania. If proper action is not duly taken, before Romania becomes an effective member of the Union, our country will be confronted with a budget shock at the time of accession. The fields in which Romania must act are: the rural problem, the infrastructure, the industry - which is still energy-wasting, the expertise - which is still feeble.

Thus, we must take into account:

- The banking system, in which it is better to have national capital, as the foreign capital being mobile, we risk losing it;
- Implementation of a flexible economic system;
- A public policy where responsible people activate;
- An immigration policy that must be correctly operated in order to counter population decrease;
- The pensions system which must be sustained, for example by using some privatisation funds;
- The institutional aspect of absorbing EU

funds having as an eloquent example the Spanish experience;

- Rural modernization (the "rural issue" is decades old, Romania having 35-40% of the population in the rural area);

- Protection of Romanian citizens working in the EU countries (growing protectionism towards third parties, tightening legislation towards immigrants - France).

If we will not quickly act we risk becoming just a periphery of the European Union.

2. Anne Juganaru, "Political Reform in Romania. Case Study: the Uninominal Vote"

During the first part of this panel a succinct presentation of what the political construction meant in Romania and in the second part a debate followed concerning political reform, the uninominal vote being chosen as a case. The introduction of the uninominal vote is a matter of great interest both at the political level and among the civil society in Romania.

Premises

1. The uninominal voting system is based on the principle of the personal candidature, as opposed to the list candidatures characterising proportional voting. The candidate winning a simple majority (majority suffrage with one round - winner takes all system - used in Great Britain, USA, Canada, India, etc.) or an absolute majority (majority suffrage with two rounds, used in France) is declared winner;

2. The suffrage, be it uninominal or proportional, must be conceived as a political tool providing for equitable and efficient results, both according to the citizens' point of view and to the political parties. Choosing a particular type of suffrage generates different effects, depending on the context in which it is used. Thus, there are countries, which have adopted various types of mixed suffrage, trying to alleviate the drastic consequences of the uninominal suffrage, especially the inappropriate representation of minorities. An example is Germany, which has a system combining the list voting for half of the Bundestag with the uninominal suffrage for the

other half - the so-called personalised proportional system;

3. Electoral systems must simultaneously fulfil two conditions, among which there must be a balance: representation of the electorate's options and the governmental stability.

Conclusions:

1. Romania needs a balanced parliament in which a censorship resolution makes the government negotiate with the opposition, or a larger coalition, in which each part can check the other. The balance between majority and opposition is a condition of increasing the efficiency of the political system. The hegemony of a big party or coalition does not favour consolidation of democracy.

2. The real dispute is given by the ratio between political efficiency and correct representation. The uninominal vote usually results in a stable mono-colour government and a bipolar political system, eliminating marginal extremist parties.

3. The uninominal vote increases responsibility of politicians. They are directly responsible towards their constituencies. But there is also the risk of bringing into the parliament only those with important financial resources.

4. On the other hand, introducing the uninominal vote can turn the parliament into a marketplace, in which politics disintegrates.

5. Also, the introduction of the uninominal vote can lead to the de-ideologisation of political parties, because people tend to vote individuals and independent candidates rather than political parties.

6. Also, the uninominal vote can lead to the alienation of a part of the citizens from the political system, as a great portion of the votes are not correspondingly represented.

3. Alexandru Radu, "The Political Dimension of Transition in Romania"

In Central and Eastern Europe there are 21 states that have entered the process of transition to democracy. Immediately after 1989 there

was a definition of the process these countries have entered: "transition to the market economy and democracy". A descriptive, intuitive and otherwise correct definition. Democratization of the political system and liberalization of the economic sector are two pillars of the modernization process, which makes us state that modernization is synonym, from this point of view, with the transition. The process of transition has two stages: the moment of de-structuring, dissolution of the old structures and the dynamic, fast, evident moment of the construction. And surpassing of the transition period is marked by beginning of political stability.

Transition is the process through which a traditional society changes and becomes a modern (modernized) one. But there are differences within this process, both on the vertical and on the horizontal. In some countries transition began through a negotiated change (Poland, Hungary) and in others through a violent change (Romania). In Romania, opposition to communism has formed after the fall of the Ceausescu regime, this historical gap being decisive in the process of transition.



On the basis of the table below we can characterize the political system in Romania compared to the other countries.

In Romania, during this period, we are towards the end of the transition process, because we don't have a total political stability. The 2003 Constitution is just a review of that adopted in 1991. In Romania we have a semi-presidential

system, as the president can dissolve the parliament in certain conditions (but in practice it is very difficult). As opposed to France (where there is an authentic semi-presidential system) in Romania the president can lead government meetings, but he cannot sign decrees (he is not an "acting prime-minister"). The system of "two-headed" executive is not functional in Romania.

circulation for that period (in 1993, there were 1.800 publications, and the newspaper *Evenimentul Zilei* / The Daily Event had a circulation of 600.000 copies). But many of these newspapers were short-lived, as they appeared from the need of emphasizing that we have a democratic country in which there is a diversity of communication.

G. Sartori's Typological Scheme

Presidential	Parliamentarian	Semi-presidential
Popular election (direct or almost direct) of the Head of State	Indirect election of the Head of State	The Head of State is elected through popular vote, directly or indirectly
The Head of State cannot be revoked by the Parliament (the parliament cannot appoint / overthrow the executive) The President leads the Government	Executive branch is dependent on the Parliament's trust in three degrees: - Lesser (<i>premiership</i>); - Medium (<i>partitocracy</i>); - Strongly (<i>assembly style</i>).	A dual structure of the executive power, thus: - The President is independent from the Parliament; - The Prime-Minister is independent from the President; - Potential autonomy of the executive institutions.
Cross-cut parties	Appropriate parties (disciplined)	-

In 1993 the offensive for the audiovisual began through the foundation of new private channels and local frequencies. Owning a radio station or an information channel, in general, was a great advantage, because it offered a great power of influencing the public opinion. Through the foundation of new local stations there occurred a new somewhat incorrect separation between the national television / radio and the commercial stations. Actually, we have the public television / radio and the commercial stations, or the national televisions / radios and the local ones.

If we let ourselves guided by the modality of changing the founder leader of a party, we can state that in Romania there are no political parties. Those calling themselves parties are more similar to groups of interest constituted around a personality-leader. From all of them (ultimately they exist, as they are registered in court) a single case fulfils the criteria and has the chances of becoming a real party: the Democratic Party.

Concerning the public radio and television, they have a synergic functioning and cannot have a

In Romania, the political system has the features of a *partitocracy*: the political leaders are those controlling the situation, not the government. Paradoxically, we don't have political parties but they govern Romania.



4. Jeana Gheorghiu, "Constitution and Evolution of the Mass-Media System in Romania"

Mass media cannot be more attractive than the period in which it manifests itself. The clear gain of the 1989 revolution was the freedom of expression. Immediately after 1989 we are witnessing a boom of publications with very high

great real autonomy. In order to have an equitable representation, a proportional representation is promoted of the political parties, trade unions, minorities and central public institutions within their Administration Councils. Also, a differentiation is promoted between the president of the Administration Council and the Director General, who has to be a good manager. Any attempt to arbitrarily favour certain political forces must be sanctioned. Another problem is the fact that advertising is pretty directional.

Thus, we must benefit from the help of the foreign specialized institutes, which would defend the interests of the multinationals.

Regarding the written press, a recent study showed that in Romania the level of circulation of a newspaper is 7-8%, which means that if a newspaper abroad is generally read by 3 people, in Romania it is read by 7-8 people. This indicator shows that: - we have a low buying force, - the interest for the written press has decreased very much compared to the 1990-1995 period. This fact is encountered in a society with great areas of poverty, which is still in the transition period.

5. Evaluation of questionnaires

The appreciations of the participants concerning the organization of the second seminar compared to the first seminar were generally "as good as last time", "better" or "very good". In what concerns the evaluation of the relations established between participants and lecturers, the good communication from the first module was preserved both among participants and between participants and lecturers.

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Recommendations of the participants aimed at the following aspects: inviting prestigious personalities, initiating working groups, providing more extensive courses support. Also there is a desire to increase the number of meetings and the rapid organization of the Alumni Association of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School.

VI. The Third Seminar of the European School of Transylvania, Odorheiu Secuiesc, 23-26 February 2006

The Third Seminar of the European School of Transylvania was organized by the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute in the interval 23-26 February 2006, at the Târnavă Hotel from Odorheiu

Secuiesc town. The seminar unfolded around the theme of The Transition Process in Romania. The lectures were presented by Aurora Liiceanu, Senior Researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Romanian Academy - "Transition - Paradoxes and Hopes"; Ilie Serbanescu, Minister of Reform (December 1997 - April 1998) - "The Economic Dimension of Transition in Romania"; Vladimir Pasti, Professor, State University for Political Studies and Administration, Bucharest - "The Role of Civil Society in Transition"; Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania (1996-2000), "The Role of Leaders in the Transition Period from Romania".

1. Aurora Liiceanu, "Transition - Paradoxes and Hopes"

During the first part of the course a general vision on the psychological profile of Romanians in transition was presented.

Romania is a society of paradoxes. In Bucharest there is the greatest number of casinos in the country, but at the same time the greatest number of churches. Most Romanians continue to declare themselves as believers (97,6%, compared to only 70% of Bulgarians, 57% of Hungarians or 27% of Estonians). At the same time, there is also a great opening towards the



west, a fact proved by, for example, the easy adoption of some western holidays, such as Valentine's Day.

During the second part of the course there were some debates around present psychosocial issues in four groups: (a) migration; (b) violence in schools; (c) witches; (d) respect of the law. The debate groups had the task to identify the reasons for occurrence of these issues, if they are specific to the transition period, if other states were and are still confronted with them, as well as to propose means for eliminating their negative trends.

2. Ilie Serbanescu, "The Economic Dimension of Transition in Romania"

There are elements, such as the situation in agriculture, that lead us to the idea that the economic transition in Romania has not finished yet. Thus, the phenomenon of migration from the rural to urban areas, presently occurring, is an important element of change of a largely agrarian economy. However, we have still some problems in the rural area; that is why the funds from the European Union can contribute to



development of agriculture in Romania.

Romanian economy is dominated by the foreign capital. For the population it is positive element, because foreign management is better.

Economic development was done through a policy of sterilization, as the fight against inflation is

done by monetary means. More specifically, the National Bank of Romania has blocked 10 billion euros under the form of national currency.

The introduction of the flat tax in January 2005 has led to an increase of consume, but without a corresponding increase of the domestic offer. In spite of that, the flat tax is a good thing, as it encourages labour productivity. However, this is a measure applicable only on the short term, as after the EU integration taxes will have to be increased (through VAT or flat tax). At the same time, the flat tax should be applied not only to wages, but also to fortunes, cash, estates and other activities.

3. Vladimir Pasti, "The Role of Civil Society in Transition"

During the first part of the course participants were asked to express opinions about what they think is transition. Thus, transition was defined as passing from a historical moment to another, a period of structural and legislative changes, a grey area through which we are trying to achieve economic stability, an evolutionary cycle having both an internal and an external feature, a bio-psycho-social transformation, a stereotype, a change in the life of each individual, an excuse of the political class in order to avoid a long term projection or passing from an economic system to another. Two tendencies were thus identified: a description of a natural change or a pretext.

In Romania, transition has taken place in the sense of modernization, from the political change and adaptation of decision-makers to the new realities to the cultural revolution bringing new perception even on taboo subjects. In some cases change is coming from above. In 1989, capitalism was desired only by a political elite. Therefore, changes were applied by politicians on society, mainly through reform. The shift was achieved, first through the rules of functioning of institutions.

Changes in transition come from two sources: (a) politicians; (b) society, which tries to bring changes to the reform imposed by politicians. In Romania's case, the relation between the state and the economic production has altered, and the society should have adapted to that. Instead, society has adopted an evasion attitude. The main source of capitalisation was the debts. Transition is finished when the society and the politicians reach a consensus concern-



ing the path to be followed.

During the second part of the seminar there were opinions regarding the resemblances and differences between the Romanian and the European societies. Among the resemblances there were identified: resistance to change, banking system, the important role of services, the family structure, values and principles. Among the differences there were emphasized: the rate of individual involvement in the community (lower in Romania), the degree of information (higher in the EU), attachment to norms (less developed in Romania), political culture, the capacity to adapt to changes on labour market (higher among Romanians).

These differences are mainly cultural, but there are also structural differences, such as: (a) the capacity of sustainable economic growth (lower in Romania); (b) the rate of labour force occupation (higher in the EU); (c) concentration of property and (d) distribution of wealth (a higher social polarisation in Romania). The solutions in order to eliminate these differences would be: (1) creating more jobs; (2) eliminating black mar-

ket jobs; (3) increasing wages and (4) introducing the western working patterns.

In what concerns civil society, it can be conceived in a restrained sense, as being composed by NGOs and foundations, or in a broader sense, as the entirety of institutions making the connection between state and citizens (churches, trade-unions, business associations, press, groups of influence). The institutional perspective identifies four types of entities: (a) administrative institutions; (b) commercial firms; (c) non-profit citizens associations; (d) family associations. From a philosophical perspective there is only the state and the society.

Romanian civil society does not have, at present, a well-defined legal framework. Ultimately, it is the political sphere that determines the good functioning of civil society. Nevertheless, it must acknowledge the general interest of the citizens. Civil society is not obliged, however, to be objective, it can also be partisan. From this point a free debate followed concerning the role of the civil society.

4. Emil Constantinescu, "The Role of Leaders in the Transition Period from Romania"

Political leaders must have a vision and certain qualities according to the context in which they act (revolution, war, peace, etc.). Leaders from the periods of transition must be the inspirers and decision-makers of some fundamental changes. Great historical changes imply a series of high social costs, on the short term, but benefits are never easy to obtain and, usually, those producing them don't benefit from them. All that is happening in this periods, good or bad, is the responsibility of the heads of state.

The qualities necessary to a leader are, in the order of importance: (1) historical vision; (2) belief; (3) charisma; (4) decision; (5) acceptance for the political price; (6) freedom from constraints; (7) capacity of physical and intellectual effort. Historical vision is a coherent conception that cannot be built without a comprehensive

culture. Belief is necessary for putting in practice the leader's vision. He must have faith in his destiny.

Charisma cannot be built but in exceptional cases. It must set in motion whole masses of people. Often its effect is seen *a posteriori* and is based on honesty, because masses know how to choose the original. Decision is the capacity to take major measures according to the historical vision, no matter of the preferences of the public opinion. It is very important for a leader to lose in life. Acceptance of the political price means assuming decisions that might negatively affect the future electoral chances

Freedom from constraints is closely linked with the personal past. There are very few cases in which political leaders are really free. Most of the time they are the products of complex organisational structures. When they are free, political leaders can retire at any time. At the same time, political leaders must have a good health condition and the capacity of working 16 hours a day. Physical indispositions can create difficulties in taking decisions. That's why leaders should undergo complete medical examinations (psychological, too).

Politicians are exposed to the public and to other less orthodox means. That is why they must be surrounded by trustworthy people. It must not be forgotten, though, that any calumny produces truths in the public perception. At the same time, though, image is not a shield in case of breaking the law. Politicians must pay politically in the first instance. An authentic leader must know what is important from the point of view of political priorities.

Leaders wishing that secret services had the right to investigate are encouraging a totalitarian system. Only someone from outside the system could fight these tendencies in the Romanian transition. Unfortunately, the Romanian civil society functions as an annex of the political sphere. It is necessary to create a network of

professionals in all fields in order to resist against the authoritarianism of the bad taste



promoted at present time. This network, made up of young people, having no links with the structures of the past, can make analyses of the state of the nation and can make up a better product of Romanian politics.

5. Evaluation of questionnaires

The appreciations of the participants concerning the organization of the second seminar compared to the first seminar were generally "as good as last time", "very good" or "good". In what concerns the evaluation of the relations established between participants and lecturers, the good communication from the last module was preserved both among participants and between participants and lecturers.

Recommendations of the participants aimed at the following aspects: extending the programme of the seminar with one more day, organisation of activities in the spare time and more interactive courses.

VII. Report regarding the Third Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006, Predeal, 30 March - 2nd April 2006

The Third Seminar of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School - edition 2005-2006 was organized in the interval 30 March - 2nd April 2006, at the Orizont Hotel from Predeal moun-

tain resort. The seminar unfolded around the theme of Politics and Society in a European Democracy. The lectures were presented by Gabriel Andreescu, Director of the Romanian Review for Human Rights - "Multiculturalism in a Europe of the Nations", Dragos Seuleanu, Vice-President of the Romanian Chamber of Commerce and Industry - "Politics, Civic Organisations and the Citizen's Interest", Viorica Costiniu, President of the Romanian Association of Magistrates - "Justice - between Professionalism and Politicking", Marius Profiroiu, State Secretary in the Ministry of Administration and Interior (2002-2004) - "European Policies in the Context of the Romanian Public Administration".

1. Gabriel Andreescu - "Multiculturalism in a Europe of the Nations"

Multiculturalism can be defined as a source of policies concerning the management of cultural diversity from a society. At the same time, it can be regarded as a conflict generator, through which energies are exhausted. Multiculturalism must be considered according to the specific features of the space in which it unfolds: 1. The Canadian Context (which lies at the origin of this very concept) - in this case, the government has led a policy of encouraging preservation of group identities representing import minorities; 2. The American Context: the government leads a policy of encouraging minorities that are into a fragile situation, which have traditionally had a marginal status. For example, people with disabilities, gay people; 3. The European Context: the symbolic situation of minority communities (ethnic, linguistic, cultural) within the state's existence.

Multiculturalism is linked with the necessity of managing the ethno-cultural diversity in a country. Thus result its principles:

- The need to have a policy of intercultural integration based on the integration of national minorities. That means political life must be non-discriminating, any citizen having access to

public offices.

- This concept must not be confined only to integration, as minority communities also need separation, better said internal auto-determination. The term of internal separation could be replaced with the formula "right to private life" or privacy. The two terms do not exclude each other; the degree of integration can grow simultaneously with the degree of privacy. If we refer to religion, it can be considered the communitarian dimension of faith (which is individual).

- Positive discrimination is a special measure, that must be applied, but which can create problems. Multiculturalism means accepting the group's privacy, as the community better manages problems at local, internal level.

Multiculturalism can be either liberal or non-lib-



eral. Liberal multiculturalism supports auto-determination up to the fundamental values of the democratic society, which are common for all. The non-liberal option places community in a higher position than individuals and supposes the unlimited right to auto-determination of the community (a sort of communitarianism). The greatest danger is to treat societies from an ideological and not from a practical point of view. At international level, the liberal form is preferred, but there are some exceptions: the Amish sect and the Native American Reservations in the USA.

Another distinction must be made between globalism and localism. European integration is an

expression of globalism. At present, the two phenomena are taking place at the same time, emptying of content the intermediary level of the nation. Globalism offers resources to localism by altering the meaning of state borders.

Multiculturalism represents the means of protection of minorities. And, in order for this to happen we must acknowledge three sets of rules: 1. Respecting the system of fundamental rights and liberties; 2. Respecting the principle of non-discrimination; 3. Applying special measures, which are actually affirmative measures in order to alter a negative existing situation (sometimes, through positive discrimination). This kind of measures is compulsory only when blatant social differences exist.

In the case of Romanian society, the term of multiculturalism has not been used until 1998. The integration of multiculturalism in the Romanian public vocabulary was for a long time disguised under the form of inter-culturalism. A short evolution of the phenomenon: - January - March 1990, stating of the theme of privacy by ethnic Hungarians; - March 1990 - December 1996, integration of the Hungarian community into the opposition (from a political point of view); - December 1996 - present, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania is part of the governing coalition.

2. Dragos Seuleanu - "Politics, Civic Organisations and the Citizen's Interest"

The main things that must be said concerning



the Romanian civil society are the following:

- At present, we need to create solidarity of civil society. We must act in such a way that interest groups cease to be seen as illegitimate. A way would be to restrain the use of secret ballot to fewer fields as possible, in order to make the various interests transparent.

- Credibility of civil society is given by the coincidence of declarations and facts. Financing of civil society depends on the credibility of the respective organizations. And the involvement of NGOs in politics shows a lack of professionalism from their part, and has attributed a negative connotation to the concept of "interest groups".

- Representativity of civil society. Lately, the degree of representativity of NGOs has increased, as a growing number of them benefit of the support (financial, logistic) of international organizations, which offer them credibility.

In conclusion, we are witnessing the maturing phase of Romanian civil society, as citizens have understood how much we need it.

3. Viorica Costiniu - "Justice - between Professionalism and Politicking"

a) The Relation between the Ministry of Justice and the Romanian Association of Magistrates

The Romanian Association of Magistrates is an independent organization that was founded in 1993. Due to its critical, balanced position, it has managed to gain an important status, both domestically and internationally. The association has undertaken a constant activity regarding justice reform. The process began in 1991 and it was very difficult, taking place with small steps.

The evolution of the system passed through the following important moments:

- 1991 - The Constitution vouches the existence of the Superior Council of Magistracy (CSM) and independence of judges;

- 1992 - The first law of judicial organiza-

tion is adopted, leading to the extension of constitutional provisions. Council of Europe has become an important factor in justice reform;

- 1997 - An enlargement of CSM competencies takes place;

- December 2003 - We are witnessing a setback of justice activity, attacked by the press, political environment, civil society, all institutions being discontent with the direction of justice evolution process.

- February 2004 - As a result of the existing situation, the Alliance for a European Justice is formed, having as purpose to stop the negative reform of justice. This is the starting point of law 315 of CSM, establishing the organisation pattern and the statute of magistrates. CSM is the organization managing the justice activity, but separately from the executive power.

- 2005 - A negative element appears again, politics getting involved again in the justice process. But, at the same time, a big step



forward is taken through the effective recognition of prosecutors' independence. Also, the National Association of Magistrates is formed.

But reform also means legislation, which has to be adapted to European norms. The important progresses Romania has made were recognised, but there are still some problematic fields, which have to be tackled. Thus, the justice and the auxiliary personnel are insufficient for the 2 million annual cases. Also, the duration of processes, the non-unitary character of practice, are elements to be improved. Nonetheless, justice is the most transparent power, with the most intense activity.

b) The Relation between the Ministry of Justice and the CSM

Until 2004, the Ministry of Justice was the only institution having the right to decide in the field of Justice, it appointed judges and prosecutors. Admission into magistracy was though treated superficially, based on a too great flux of new people, without a significant experience. Starting with 2004, CSM is endowed with more attributions, as a more elaborate and consistent procedure of electing magistrates is adopted. The Council also gains a higher material and political independence. Thus, the Ministry of Justice is present at the plenary and discipline sessions, but it has no voting rights.

c) Independence of Judges

At this moment, the system is not entirely independent. Judges have a certain degree of independence, which is (most important) encouraged at present. The judge has to be master of his decisions, no matter of interest, and to come with the correct solution. Therefore, formation of judges is very complex, and he has to have at least seven years of experience and to benefit from a continuous formation process, all along his career.

4. Marius Profiroiu - "European Policies in the Context of the Romanian Public Administration"

In the field of public administration there is no *acquis communautaire*. At the point when Romania will join the European Union, all tasks will be accomplished by the Romanian administration. But this is an advantage, as the Romanian administration is the most entitled to find its own model that will function properly for Romania. We must take into consideration the standards of the other European states and to adapt them according to the administrative patterns of our country.

The following European values have to be considered:

1. Transparency. Romania has the task to implement European public policies. Although we have laws, they are not yet well put into prac-

tice. It was noticed that only 25% of the administration law provisions have been applied during 2004, which shows that there is only a



declarative and not a practical transparency.

2. Responsibility. In Romania, responsibility is still shared among numerous people and, in the end, nobody is held accountable. While in the EU there are clear provisions concerning the person accountable for certain activities (usually there is a single person per activity).

3. Efficiency. In public policies we have input and output and the practitioners evaluate the outcome (the effects of the two). Within Romanian administration only inputs and outputs matter, nobody looks at the outcome. In 2002 special groups of modernizers were created at the level of all ministries and counties, having as purpose modernization of public administration in order to decrease lack of communication and to increase efficiency.

4. Predictability. At present, centralisation proves to be counterproductive and decentralisation is a good solution. In Romania, the internal administration is not sufficiently de-concentrated - the central level has too many attributions. Therefore, it would be necessary to change the leadership pattern only in central institutions and to eliminate the political factor from public administration, such as it was the case of European administration. In 2001, the EU introduced the self-evaluation system which Romania has adopted.

5. Flexibility. The Romanian system is extremely rigid, as there is still the confusion between management and administration. Management has as a purpose measuring performance.

Together with other European states, Romania has introduced a system of post-university professional formation in order to be thus able to respond to the EU requests. Through the creation of elites a professionalization of public administration is thus achieved.

Romania still has to do some progress in the field of administration. The priorities would be:

a) The reform of the public function - through the motivation of human resources;

b) Symmetrical decentralisation - it must be achieved firstly where there are financial conditions. Local administrations are closer to citizens and are the engines of local development. Until 2015, it is desired to achieve compatibility with the EU. Funds that will be allocated in the period 2007-2013 for improvement of legislation implementation capacity have already been established;

c) Improvement of evaluation in the field of public development policies.

Administration must not prevail on politics, but vice versa, it has to be able to apply the political projects. The main long term project is that of increasing the number of high quality civil servants.

5. Evaluation of questionnaires

The appreciations of the participants concerning the organization of the second seminar compared to the first seminar were generally "as good as last time" or "very good". In what concerns the evaluation of the relations established between participants and lecturers, the good communication from the first two modules was preserved both among participants and between participants and lecturers.

Among the main benefits of participating to the three seminars organised in Romania by the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School, participants have emphasised; finding new useful information, socialising, getting acquainted to some personalities and approaching actual problems in the context of European integration.

Recommendations of the participants aimed at the following aspects: sending information about accommodation and meals in Strasbourg in due time, providing some materials in electronic form and introducing new courses concerning national security, geopolitics, Romanian and European culture and civilisation.

VIII. The European Conference of the Schools of Political Studies, Good Governance and Political Pluralism, Bucharest, 27-28 April 2006

Following the initiative of Romania's Permanent Representative of Romania to the Council of Europe and of the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute, in the period 27-28 April 2006, the European Conference of the Schools of Political Studies took place, at the Intercontinental Hotel from Bucharest. The event was included on the agenda of the Romanian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

For the promotion of democratic values and principles among the young generation, at the Third Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe taking place in Warsaw on 16-17 May 2005, development of the network of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe was included as a priority in the Action Plan. For this purpose, the Council of Europe, the Romanian Government and the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute have organized the European Conference of the Schools of Political Studies with the title Good Governance and Political Pluralism, which benefited from the presence of personalities and experts from the Council of Europe and Romania. The special guests of this event were Mrs. Maud de Boer-Buquicchio, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Mr. Jean Louis Laurens, Director General for Political Affairs of the Council of Europe, Mr. Teodor Baconschi, State Secretary within the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other Romanian and foreign officials. The host and

moderator of the conference was the Director Coordinator of the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute, Mr. Adrian Severin.

The conference has reunited, for the first time, both directors and three representatives of each School of Political Studies of the Council of Europe from Armenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Kosovo Province, Macedonia, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Ukraine. At the same time, due to its dimensions, the conference has been considered a preview of the Summer University for Democracy that will be organised in Strasbourg by the Council of Europe for all Schools of Political Studies, in the period 10-14 July 2006 and which will reunite 500 de participants.

During the conference, three main issues were debated: 1. Consolidation of Democracy - Efficiency and Transparency of Public Institutions; 2. The Relation between National Identity, Sovereignty and Human Rights; 3. The Effects of Asymmetric Threats on the Consolidation of Democracy in the Council of Europe's Member-States.



The exchanges of opinions, information and the description of the particular experiences in the countries of origin, have represented a real benefit for the elaboration of guidelines for the future. An important part of the conference referred to the necessity to intensify public administration reforms in order to allow consolidation of democracy and the efficient fight against the threats confronting societies: terrorism, organized crime and corruption.

The organization of this conference has proved that the Schools of Political Studies already represent a network through which the East European countries can be helped to get over the period of transition and become consolidated democracies, and this network must be capitalized and extended.

In 1992, when the first School of Political Studies was founded in Moscow, few believed in the effectiveness of the project. But, after the



method was successfully adopted in other ten countries, it was proved that this kind of "school without walls" is one of the most efficient methods of promoting the democratic values and of training a new generation of politicians. In Romania, the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School was established in 2004, part of its alumni being in important positions in the Romanian society, within the Government, central and local administration, mass media and business. Two aspects are especially important to mention about this project: a) the support of the

Romanian Government, of all parliamentary political parties, of representatives of the most important national minorities and of the civil society, as the general opinion is that such a programme is useful for the entire political class and for the society on the whole; b) it is a relevant and worthy fact that the "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute has been and continues to be the main contact point of the Council of Europe for managing and developing this project, and the constant support of the political and civil society for

this action shows the respect and recognition the Institute enjoys even in a different political context than in the initial phase of the project. The organization of this conference was also fostered by the idea that this part of Europe needs political support for developing democracy, civil society, for committing and professionalizing politicians. And the Schools of Political Studies represent an area that can help to consolidate democratic values for all states that are still having some difficulties concerning good governance. That is why the Council of Europe has recently made the foundations of a common programme with the European Commission, having as purpose the financial support for these Schools of Political Studies, so that they



would be able to continue their activity without any problems, as long as the East European countries need help.

The European Conference of the Schools of Political Studies was appreciated by the representatives of the Council of Europe as an exceptional event, both in terms of the quality of debates as well as in terms of the level of organization. Therefore, in the resolution adopted on this occasion, that was included in the conclusions of the Romanian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers, the representatives of the Council of Europe wanted to emphasize: ***The Council of Europe, the Directors and the participants of the Schools of Political Studies would like to thank the Romanian Government for their invitation to participate in this conference and express their gratitude to the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School for the hospitality and excellent organization of the event.***

Best Papers

The following papers were selected from among the contributions of participants to the seminars of the "Ovidiu Sincai". Each participant was asked to present a paper related to the various topics approached during the seminars. The resulting papers were selected and included in the second number of the Review of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School.



1. Romania and Its Place in Europe

Raluca Crișan

"When we enter the European Union, we shall make it bankrupt in just a few years. It will not be able to resist our corruption, theft, indolence, duplicity and impulse to lie and deceive". This phrase, as shocking as it may seem at first glance, was more or less on the lips of several friends of mine in the last days. Their profile? Young, intelligent people, on the road to success, well informed about EU and EU integration of Romania. The reason of this statement? Latest developments in Romanian politics and administration.

Starting from this idea, the essay below will try to contradict their opinion, highlighting some of the valuable aspects the Romanian people have to offer not only to EU, but to Europe as a whole as well. I have selected only a few treasures, considering the list open for further adjustments.

Brains

I strongly believe that one of the most important assets Romania possesses nowadays is represented by the extremely intelligent youngsters. The Romanian educational system, although contested by some, gives students a solid background on several subjects, ranging from History or Geography to Maths, Physics or Chemistry. Therefore, almost no Romanian will take Vienna to be the capital of Germany, for example. Moreover, due to this system, it has proven to be rather easy for several Romanian students to gain scholarships to prestigious universities all over the world, not to mention the numerous prizes Romanian teams have gained in international specialized contests. Need I add IT?

There are improvements to be made, no doubt about that. The Bologna Declaration is still far from being fully implemented, and its vision will be visible only to future generations. The school curricula need to be modernised, and theory must leave more space in favour of practice. However, „the brains" will distinguish themselves from the crowd any time and they can contribute not only to the national, but to the European development as well, especially if we take into account the „battle" for supremacy that takes place between „the old continent" and „the Yankees".

Culture

It was head of the news for several days last year: „Constantin Brancusi's Bird in Space shattered the record for a sculpture at auction when it soared to an astonishing \$27,450,000 at Christie's sale of Impressionist and modern art. The previous record was held by another Brancusi, Danaide, which sold for \$18,159,500 three years ago". Only few of the receivers of this piece of news know that Brancusi was a Romanian sculptor - who moved to Paris after a two-week walk (he most likely made all the way by foot!). And his name is not singular: Cioran, Enescu and Angela Gheorghiu came in my mind almost instantly. Not to mention Eugen Ionescu... I remember some years ago I was wandering on the Quai de la Seine, in Paris, looking at books, and I noticed several of Ionescu's studies in French exhibited there. I played the fool and asked the book-seller who Ionescu was, and his answer transformed me into a very frustrated Romanian: „He's a great French dramatist and poet". So much for the Romanian nationality of the founder of the Absurd Theatre... Nevertheless, culture represents an important asset Romania has to offer to Europe.

With this background, I dare to contradict those who

divide the European culture into two parts: „the major culture", consisting mainly of French, Italian, English, Spanish and German cultures, and „the minor culture", represented by the culture of smaller nations (Romania included). From my point of view, the culture of each country contributes in its own way to the development of the European inheritance. In conclusion, Romania has a cultural role to play in Europe as well.

Tourism

I consider my country to be the most beautiful in the whole world. But probably an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Hungarian or an Italian feels the same way about his own country. Still, I can deliver arguments for my statement. We have not only the mountains, we have not only the Black Sea, we have not only the unique ecosystem of the Danube Delta, we have not only the Moldavian monasteries, we have not only the rituals and customs in historical Maramures, but all these together and even more. I believe tourism could be an important link between Romania and EU, between Romania and the rest of Europe. For example, those rituals and customs in Maramures, that have survived for hundreds of years and different political changes, can prove the euro-sceptics that globalisation does not necessarily imply losing the identity of a nation.

As one can see, we have not only the „usual" tourism to offer (that consists of a relaxing way to spend a vacation), but a cultural tourism as well. And to this we must add the agro-tourism, which is developing more and more.

From this point of view, tourism can be one of the biggest riches of Romania, provided it is well exploited. Europe has already started to teach us about agro-tourism, and the number of foreign visitors rises from one year to another. Why shouldn't we learn how to put good use to our natural beauties from Switzerland, for example?

Labour force

Romania could play a more significant role in Europe as far as labour force is concerned as well. In this domain, we have two qualities to rely on:

cheap and well qualified labour. Mixed together, these two things make Romania really attractive for foreign investors in a large scale of industries, ranging from textiles to heavy industries such as steel works. It is a well known fact for some years now that some of the creations signed by designers such as Valentino or Chanel are actually created in Romania. As a matter of fact, a friend of mine from university used to knit sweaters for Chanel in order to support herself during the studies: she was given the fabrics and the model and she was paid by piece. Critics may reply that the lohn industry is moving nowadays more to the East, towards Moldova and ex-Soviet countries, as labour force is cheaper there. I cannot contradict that, but I would remind them that we can offer in exchange opportunities for further investments due to two aspects: on the one hand, the level of life in Romania is raising every year, and the announced step of entering the EU will raise it even more (thus, a stronger market-place is provided for them as well), and, on the other hand, the political situation can be considered steady (no wars, no conflicts, no major riots are foreseen).

We also have a wide range of specialized workers, due to apprentice-schools for electricians, cooks, mechanics and so on. Therefore, the effort an investor has to put in training is limited. On top of everything, Romania can also offer them rough material in different domains, as the country is renowned for its riches (wood, minerals, etc.).

To sum up, the role Romania can play in Europe is not to be neglected, with the condition that Romanians learn how to make better use of their assets. I personally believe the youngsters, those that have not lived a day during the communism and are truly open-minded, will be able to make a difference for us as a nation. We must take into account as well the fact that, after 2007, the premises will change, as Romania will become a member of the EU and its role on the continent will grow.

