

DAVID MITRANY AND FUNCTIONALISM. THE BEGINNINGS OF FUNCTIONALISM

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Abstract: The main notions about *Functionalism* get to the conclusion that the British debates upon *socialism and pluralism* furnished the most important intellectual fundament for approaching, inside the international relations, developed by David Mitrany in 1930 and 1940. However a comparison of the functional theory in the international relations field with policies applied inside the public and private organizations, suggest that Mitrany was categorically influenced by the studies about organizing, appeared as a follow of the rapid growth of modern corporations in all the industrialized world.

Key words: Functionalism, planning, Mary Parker Follett, wealth

INTRODUCTION

The issue to which he dedicates his lifetime work was the way of approaching states to treat matters that cross over the territorial borders. *The functional approach* that Mitrany developed in order to achieve social peace and prosperity is known as *functionalism*, even if in his writings he does not use this term. David Mitrany gets to propose a new international order, based on the trans-national cooperation. Writing in a period in which Europe was confronting a profound crisis, Mitrany managed to offer to the functionalist theory arguments for global but also regional integration¹. His main preoccupation was connected to the efficient administration of limited resources as an essential premiss for a durable cooperation and for creating of what he defined as being *a working peace system*². During three studies *The Beginnings of Functionalism*, *A Working Peace System – Mitrany's vision about Functionalism* and *Functionalism between critics and reformulations* we will try to present the main elements in Mitrany's approach, Functionalism, a generating paradigm of economic, social and also political cohesion international relations and European construction arena.

The exegets of liberal tradition, soustain that Mitrany is not the first that developed the functional approach of international cooperation³. In this respect

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¹ M. Griffiths, (2003), *International Relations. Schools, currents, thinkers*, Bucharest, Ed. Ziua, p. 310

² N. Păun, A. C. Păun, G. Ciceo, (2003), *Europa unită, Europa noastră*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, p. 309

³ Craig N. Murphy, (1999), „The Functional Approach, Organization Theory and Conflict Resolution”, in volumul *New Perspectives on International Functionalism*, editori Lucian M. Ashorth și David Long, Londra, Editura Macmillan Press LTD, p. 84

Ernst Haas⁴ sustains his statement with the works of Leonard Woolf⁵ and Paul Reinsch⁶. These two analysed the public systems in Europe and United States of America and discovered many forms of inter-governemental organizations that Woolf and Reinsch saw as patterns for the future functional cooperation. We must emphasize that all theorists, of whom Woolf and Reinsch talk, of the 19th Century system found the inspiration in Bentham's utilitarianism or in the new science of Comte, or in the earliest sources of the functional tradition inside the liberal internationalism identified by Fred Parkinson⁷.

In his studies, Mitrany offers little clues about the intellectual sources of his functional approach, unlike, for instance, the very rich and daily documentation devoted to the agrarian problem in Romania⁸. The only empiric study that he mentions as support for functional governmentation at international level is an unpublished work of Gordon Shipman, a sociologist from the University of Arkansas. The only known work of this, published in the 1930s, is not targeting the international cooperation theme in the organizations of Geneva, but the non verbal shaping techniques that sociologists must develop if they want to rise at what they say they are, science men⁹.

Mitrany initially proposed the issue of governmental functioning functions in the work *The Progress of International Government*¹⁰. Here he shows that *The beginnings were first made in the services furnished by several international syndicates, of which some developed a lot also threw the League, more, no matter the structure of syndicates, their services were equally available to all members by their needs, what means a real equalization of social facilities in these fields. Of course, all these things are good, but embryonal. Therefore, the perspectives that implies them and the means that apply them, opened a gate from the old competitive and antagonic society to a possible cooperation one, and, thus, are the first elements of the new international community based upon responsibility*¹¹. Even if Mitrany's respect for the doctrine *Laissez faire et laissez passer* is affirmed, for the new type of society this kind of international policy does not correspond. No matter the height and shape of a community, its functions are in such way that it is necessary to be organized, and the forces and working factors of the inter-war period do not have any relation at all, correspondent with the old political divisions, with or without state. *The new imposed functions upon our political institutions have a complete reconstruction of governmental techniques, on pure basis. We came to this conclusion by not asking this question from the beginning – Which is the ideal shape of an international society?, but better asking Which are its essential functions? The discussion about the equality issue proved the fact that the objectives (goals) of an international government are not different*

⁴ E. Haas, *Beyond the Nation State*, (1964), Stanford, Editura Stanford University Press, p. 8

⁵ Leonard Woolf, (1916), *International Government, Two Reports*, London, Editura George Allen & Unwin Ltd

⁶ Paul S. Reinsch, (1911), *Public International Unions, Their Work and Organization a Study in International Administrative Law*, Boston și Londra, Editura The World Peace Foundation

⁷ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 85

⁸ David Mitrany, (1930), *The Land & the Peasant in Rumania. The War and agrarian reform (1917-21)*, Ed. Oxford University Press

⁹ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 86

¹⁰ D. Mitrany, (1933), *The Progress of the International Government*, New Haven, Editura Yale University Press

¹¹ D. Mitrany, (1975), *The Progress of the International Government*, republicată în D. Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics*, Londra, Editura Martin Robertson, p. 96

in any way of those of a national government. Basicly the goal of one as well as the other is divided in two priorities: 1) first of all, the creation of equality in front of the law for all the members of the community and 2) second of all, to create appropriate living conditions for all those members – this meaning, promoting of justice, social right. Here it is a case where the traditional doctrine of state equality confrunts obstructive effects¹².

In his work published in 1947, entitled *Nationalism and Planning*, Mitrany considers that the mix of socialism and nationalism creates a new situation for those who want to build a new pacifist international society. The political arguments sometimes suffer because there are used common concepts long time after their content and meaning were altered by the new conditions and endings. *There are little thing in common between the 19th century nationalism, which was liberal, and the actual nationalism, that is socialist. Perhaps someone will politically gather saying that the first was initially concentrated upon the construction of the national state, and the present one with changing the life in that state. The revolutions of our time are not a movement of the class, but of the mass, less interested in the negative liberties than the positive social benefits¹³.* In Mitrany's vision, the Fascism was not a counter-revolution but an alternative one. In India, as well as in China and anywhere else, the nationalism was an instrument of social revolution. *This must explain a lot an odd political issue of our days, why the influence of the Sovietic Russia can spread so far and so quickly without much direct action. It is like this because it fits in an universal social trend. The communism does not create the social issue, but the social issue opens a channel for the communism. The soviets do not seem to be interested by the social stability outside the URSS. But saying that they are responsible for all the instabilities in the world it is heavier for them and much easier for us. They do not have the power to create such spreaded instability, but they can exploit and they are helped by the division of the old international liberalism¹⁴.*

Mitrany believes in the spillovers logic which guaranteed the growth of planning in all the economy's aspects. While the immediate impulse of a growing planning would have been the will for economic stability as well as a consequence of crisis in one or more industries, Mitrany stated that the experience of planning during the First World War proved that a control upon an industry could lead to a control upon all industries. This change in goals – specific to planning in democratic societies – could be helpful in compensation for inheriting the anti-democratic tendencies of the functional government. About passing to a planned society, he asks: *does this mean the end of democracy or a re-defining of it? the transition will be weard but not despotic. If the planning will be used as a try in giving a new limit to our consuming society life, then, without any doubt it should be base upon coercive methods. But if it will be correctly and rightly expose upon a new social image, a new understanding, in which rights and rewards will come from making services rather than keeping wealth, now we have enough experience and ability to create new political constructions in which planning rules would be combined juridically with democratic principles¹⁵.*

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 99

¹³ D. Mitrany, (1975), „Nationalism and Planning”, in volumul *The Functional Theory of Politics*, David Mitrany, Londra, Editura Martin Robertson, p. 209

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 208

¹⁵ Idem, (1934), „International Consequences of National Planning”, in *Sociological Review*, nr. 26, p. 332

The main narations about Functionalism get to the conclusion that British debates upon socialism and pluralism furnishe the most important intelectual fundament for approaching, inside the international relations, developed by David Mitrany in the 1930s and 1940s¹⁶. Anyway a comparison of the functional theory in the international relations domain with applied policies inside the public and private organizations, suggest that Mitrany was categorically influenced by the studies about the organization, appeared as a follow of the rapid growth of modern cooperations in all the industrialized world. The bond between Mitrany's ideas and those of the founders of the organization theory are pretty obvious, and some of the early theorists of organization come with more coherent answers to the critic of the international society brought by Mitrany. The theorists bring more valuable answers to questions about how the functionalist cooperation could win the issues of the fundamental conflict.

Even if the planning has inside the Mitrany's writings an important role, we have to emphasize also the premisses that made Mitrany see the functional government logic a new way of management on international organization of states. Therefore, Mitrany considers that there were two new forces that changed rapidly the whole face of the international relations. The first was the growth of nationalism *when the Main Powers realized that they can not supress it, agreed to unite forces in order to controle it*¹⁷. The second factor emphasized by Mitrany refers to the transformation of the economic life, that makes that the new state be very different of the old one. *The old state let its citizens invest in foreign companies and only in exceptional cases to use the power to defend them. The state itself could become a big economic enterprise and like any enterprise have the tendence to use all the means that it has to make it a successful one. The economic interests, therefore, would become without understanding in connection with its political power. Although, the promising perspective appears right from this transformation of the state in a service instrument. Threw a natural progress, the national control of services opened the way to an international coordination*¹⁸.

Even if the international premisses were favorable to a structural change in the states view, Mitrany pays attention to a possibility, joyless, that could affect the logic of functional government: the new planning can direct the democratic states to anarchy. No matter if they are democratic states or authoritative, these can get to imperialism from the need of getting to a higher development, and the actions determined by planning the international cooperation threw the international institutional frame could fail. Mitrany sustained that this perspective it is not an argument for or counter planification. It is not neither a pretext for free trade or for a world state, but it is just the claiming that the rational and pacifist process of life in common will always depend on an essential principle: the adapting of the political-economic structure that threw the existing conditions can produce the better results and the minor frictions. *Nowdays, the hisolated actions of national planification will certainly produce violence to an international system that it is active, very developed and clearly indispensable*¹⁹.

Even if the researchers of the functionalist theory consider that *International Consequences of National Planning* and *The Progress of the*

¹⁶ E. Haas, *Beyond ...*, p. 8

¹⁷ D. Mitrany, *The Progress ...*, p. 88

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 102

¹⁹ Idem, *International Consequences ...*, p. 324

International Government are the main writings that initialized the programatic document of the functionalist theory, we refer to A Working Peace System, we consider the memorandum elaborated by Mitrany for the Foreign Office at the beginning of 1941, as important as those reminded above. Therefore, the ideas of the functionalist method of assuring peace in the international system are synthetised by Mitrany in *Territorial, Ideological, or Functional International Organisation?*²⁰ Elaborated in four parts (I The General Background, II The Perplexities of Federation, III The Functional Alternative și IV Through Functional Action to international Society), developed during nine points.

Even if the need to build a new international system already appeared before the Second World War, and the hope of the states from the League of Nations started to regress due to a sum of reasons, to which it is added *the lack of vitality*²⁰, Mitrany considers that *the growth from a national level of an international organization is certainly more dangerous than it was the jump from the under-state units to the state organization*²¹.

If the function of time upon which Mitrany concentrated states in the passing from *Rights* to *Services*, than the role of our time is rather to develop and coordonate the application field of the authority that can not be defined or divided (...). A constitutional pact could do more than giving up at some rights and minimum obligations for the new community. The community itself will become a living organism, not threw a written act of faith, but threw an active organic development. The only question that it is of these more practical and promissing, as well as if a general frame should be initially officially furnished, on a theoretic pattern, or let to extend by its experience and action and therefore to find its natural way²².

Mitrany considers that the need of peace and the social progress can be accomplished, threw another way of association of nations threw a common action af organizing the government, following the specific needs and in conformity with the time conditions. The alternative to this action could be the traditional organizing, based upon divised constitutive documents concerning the jurisdiction, rights and competences. Continuing on this logic of organic development of the international public body, in which the growth of specific administrative agencies and the laws is the fundament of modern government. As an answer to the questio if such function could be internationally organized without a politic frame, Mitrany considers that *the functional method it is not compatible with this, and it is not stopping it*.

Reffreing to the development of the functionalist approach of Mitrany, there are no proves to show that this imported major elements of a mature functional pattern, but it was influenced, on one side, by the reflections from the debates about the national government to which it was pretty ambivalent in his writings. On the other hand, Lucian Ashworth și David Long²³ emphasized that the most probable source of Mitrany's idea about function it was that of his mentor, L. T. Hobhouse, who thought that *it is necessary a functionally organized society... to combide the democracy with planning, and the use of*

²⁰ Idem, (1975), „Territorial, Ideological, or Functional International Organisation?“, in volumul *The Functional Theory of Politics*, David Mitrany, Londra, Editura Martin Robertson, p. 105

²¹ *Ibidem*

²² *Ibidem*, p. 108

²³ Lucian M. Ashorth, David Long (editors), (1999), *New Perspectives on International Functionalism*, Londra, Editura Macmillan Press LTD,

*functionality as principle around which to organize the society, it was the common wire from the early decades of the 20th century*²⁴. Until Mitrany began writing about the international functional government in 1933, the functional approach for organization it was already in the center of the theories concerning the public and private management, that reflected upon the growth without precedent of developed companies.

Before creating a second industrial revolution, the biggest bureaucratic organized structures were the Catholic Church and military structures of empires or minor states involved in modern wars. In exchange the private companies remained with rather small businesses, with less hierarchical strata and managed by family members or close partners²⁵. In the second half of the 20th century the rail roads, first of all, and then the companies involved in major fields produced the second industrial revolution, changed the whole image of the structures bureaucratic organized. Alfred Chandler analyzed the creation and development of continental markets, necessary to assure the scale economies, in which rights made investments in new profitable industries, fact that led to the formation of big corporations in front of which everything looked minor, excepting military groups of the big empires. The height of these corporations made necessary realizing bureaucratic strategies of control. Some of these adopted a radical policy of functional difference, creating bureaucratic structures, relatively autonomous, each being responsible with a certain need inside the business plan of the corporation²⁶.

In the same time the rapid expansion of the state functions, imposed in some industrial societies, before the First World War, and which, as we find in Mitrany's works, became general in all Europe during the war, led to another way of management inside the public administration. Basically, as a consequence of functional management implemented in the big progressive British companies, a number of American organizational theorists started to play an important role in elitist discussions about management and government at the end of the 20s last century.

One of the most important American theorists of management attracted by the Great Britain during the inter-war period was Mary Parker Follett²⁷, a science man, that influenced the creating of some public policies, it was seen in the first half of the 20th century as one of the founders of organization studies field and public administration, together with Lillian Gilbreth. It is one of the first women invited to a conference at the London School of Economics on the issue of managements cutting-edge. Mary Parker Follett remarked herself also by the activity as personal consultant of president Theodore Roosevelt in the field of non-profit and non-governmental organizations management. In her quality as theorist of organizational management, Mary Parker Follett is the first researcher that analyses the side processes inside of a hierarchical organization, the

²⁴ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 89

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 90

²⁶ Alfred D. Chandler, (1990), *Scale and Scope, The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism*, Cambridge, Editura Harvard University Press, p. 240

²⁷ Mary Parker Follett (3 septembrie 1868 - 18 decembrie 1933) was a consultant in management and one of the pioneers of organizational theory domain and organizational behaviour. Follett was born in Massachusetts and spent a part of her youth there. In September 1885 applied to Anna Ticknors Society to encourage the distance studies. After she graduated Radcliffe College in 1898 she was refused at Harvard University for continuing the doctor's degree studies, because she was a woman.

importance of informal processes inside an organization, as well as the idea of *expertise authority*. Actually this new concept served to modify the typology authority, initially developed by Max Weber, who clasifies authority in three separate categories: legitimate, traditional and charismatic²⁸. She recognized the holistic nature of the community and advanced the idea of reciprocal relations, in understanding the dynamic aspects of oneself in relation with others. Follet sustained the principle of, what she called, *assession*, or the *non-coercitive power*, based upon using the *with power* principle rather than *power upon one*. Her ideas about *negotiation*, *power*, as well as *participating of employees* were extremely influent in developing the fields of organizational studies, the alternative solution of litigations, as well as the human relations.

Even if Mary Follett was known in the republican elitist circles at the beginning of the 20th century, only after her ideas gained a big influence. Mary Follets studies prepared the way for the generation of researches that will revolution the philosophy of management. Because she wanted to research the European organizational practices, but most of all the Brittish ones, Follett moved to London in 1929 and remained there until she died in 1933. She often travelled to Geneve to study the organizational practices of international functional biuroes. In Great Britain, Follet was a pioneer in the proffession of consultant in management, working for gigants of the second industrial revolution like Unilever and for Quacker companies, where she had a significant influence. More than 20 years after her death, Folletts work remaind mainly known on the both sides of the Atlantic. Even in 1954, US Public Assistance Administration re-published one of her most popular essays *The Illusion of Final Authority: the Authority must be Functional and the Functional Authority takes with it the functioanal responsibility*. Short time after, due to the rapid development of researching, the pioneer studies of Follet began to be forgotten, even if she was rediscovered in the 90s, by the organizational theorists as well as the science men with activity in politics too²⁹. The long eclipse of her works makes them unfamiliar to specialists in science if relations. Folletts analisis ar in may aspects similar to Mitrany's, so close that the places where her analisis in more developed can give us a vision in a way in which Mitrany's functional approach can be applied to issues which she did not address to³⁰.

The issue of democracys reconciliation with planning is in the center of Folletts and Mitrany's works. Follett entitled the 1918 book, *The New State Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government*. Like Mitrany, she started to look for that solution in organization relatively autonomous of which goal was to accomplish specific identifiable human needs. The needs for Follett were defined as legitim functions for colective organizations, functions that, in a democratic society, can be accomplished relatively autonomous. She argued that in each functional field should exist rational-technical legitim authorities, bu their authority will depend on their ability to apply the finction. This ability, as Follett says, will change with certain in time and it will probably exist as an extention of the democratic process, existing inside the named group tp accomplish the function³¹.

²⁸ Max Weber, Alexander Morell Henderson, (1947), *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Oxford, Editura Oxford University Press

²⁹ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 93

³⁰ *Ibidem*

³¹ *Ibidem*

Follett recognized, perhaps more clear than Mitrany, that evoking human needs will not give a final authoritative list of functions that must be collectively applied in order that humanity prospers. And she did not believe more than Mitrany that certain needs, and, therefore, certain needs were originally more important than others, because at Follett the issues based upon needs are never really separable and the hierarchy of the most important needs for the society will, actually, change. Because the functions and their priority are supposed to change, Follett sustains that no efficient democracy can be based on the presumption that people could be represented in a functional group, democratically organized, that play an apparent essential role inside the labour division in society³². As Follett argued, the corporatist representation will never be enough even in a society in which all people will be fully convinced that labour division reflects with accuracy the society needs despite the existing assignments for planning in mass the society, first appeared during the First World War. Therefore, Follett got to the conclusion that it was necessary a system of democratic system outside the corporatist structure, that assures that it will be heard the voice of each person when the question: which functions are essential? Will be asked³³.

The basic elements of Follett's structure are: coordination by direct contact of responsible people; coordination in initial stages; coordination as a reciprocal relation of all characteristics of a situation and coordination as a continuous process. These four premisses are the basis of the algorithm that answers to the adaptation process of efficient and functional separate organizations, when these adapt to the changing limits by representative authorities democratically chosen. This formula was analyzed by Follett by overpositioning the theoretic pattern of international institutional reality. Like the contemporary UNO agencies, the specialized Geneva agencies were autonomous one for each other, even if many of the given assignments (reconstruction of societies destroyed by the war) needed their cooperation. More, in most of fields, they could accomplish their mandate just by cooperating with national governments and non-governmental organizations, for instance the Red Cross or the International Labour Organization.

Another central element of Follett's approach concerned the elaboration of a democratic formula to discover the best way to accomplish any assignment. The research to the best way to end anything was a central theme for all management theories, going back to the beginnings of *scientific management* from the pre-war generation. The first of the most important theorists of management, Frederick W. Taylor³⁴, reconstructed his name by observing and

³² M. P. Follett, (1918), *The New State Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government*, Londra, Editura Longmans, p. 388

³³ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 96

³⁴ Taylor was born in a wealthy family in Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Gets the primary education from his mother, then he studied two years in France and Germany, and then travelled in Europe for 18 months. In 1872 entered the Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, and after graduation he was accepted at Harvard Law. With all these, due to the partial loss of sight, Taylor had to take into consideration an alternative career. After 1873, Taylor became industrial worker, gathering experience inside the Hydraulic Works Enterprise in Philadelphia. His career progressed in 1878, when he became research director and, eventually, engineer at Midvale, period in which completes his studies of mechanic engineering at Stevens Institute of Technology. From 1890 till 1893 Taylor worked as CEO and then as consultant in management for Manufacturing Investment Company in Philadelphia, a company that managed a few paper fabrics in Maine and Wisconsin. At 19th of October 1906 Taylor received the diploma

timing the most efficient workers in performing the professional duty and imposing these standards to the others. Taylor's process had also as goal the conflict between work and inferior management, that Follett started to analyse in 1910-1920. Taylor thought that the management of industrial functioning can be formulated as an academic discipline and that the best results would come from the partnership between qualified management and a cooperative and new working force. Each needs the other, equation from which can be removed the syndicate. Taylor's vision is based on the following principles:

1. replacing the rule-of-thumb with methods based on a scientific study of assignments;
2. applying of scientific methods for developing each employee;
3. furnishing of *detailed instructions and surveillance of every worker in accomplishing the duties he has*
4. Equally sharing of activity between managers and workers, so that the managers apply the scientific management principles for planning the work and the workers in accomplishing the duties. Taylor had very concrete ideas concerning the way of introducing his system: applying standard methods, better working conditions, as well as cooperation in applying the duties. Follett accepted Taylor's program of growing efficiency by searching the best way, but rejected his method of searching that way. In the end, Follett's opinions about co-management, as a method of discovering new efficiencies in organizational structures, leads to several clear conclusions about the preferable scale for functional agencies that seem to be very well synchronized with Mitrany's ideas. Follett thought that organizations should remain pretty small or well diversified inside, in a way that co-management could remain a stable aspect.

Due to Follett's early death, Mitrany never had the chance to collaborate with her and develop the functionalist vision upon international government that both of them searched in the 3rd decade of the last century. But probably that they undoubtedly collaborated, even if at distance, through conversations of so many friends and colleagues, that they had in common, researchers from the Royal Institute, like Arthur Slater, Quaker businessmen and peace activists of both sides of Atlantic and American progressists, including Felix Frankfurter and Green Balch³⁵.

In Mitrany's writings about his co-work with Balch, he suggests that a more direct collaboration would not have been more rich. The American economist, E.M. Balch, who founded the International Women League for peace and freedom and received in 1946 the Nobel Prize for Peace for the lobby activities that her organization made during the war for the allies to keep the wide range of specialized and efficient agencies of Society of Nations under the new system of the United Nations. But, the impossibility of a direct collaboration between Mitrany and the pioneers of organization does not exclude the possibility of using Follett's works for elaborating the functional theory.

Anatol Rapoport made all researchers that analyzed the conflicts to see that identity and ideas conflicts – as well as conflicts about structures that

of doctor in sciences from the Pennsylvania University and then becomes teacher at Tuck School of Business in Dartmouth College.

³⁵ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 98

determining the distribution of some social goods – are fundamental in the way that can not be solved by negotiation processes, that can be shaped by theorists of game. Exactly like the conflict between the master and the slave it cannot be solved just by reestablishing the financial rewards got by slaves, but just through a social transformation of slavery structure. Similarly, it will fail in solving conflicts on identity or justice principles for what people are ready to die. Rapoport argued that the only possible way to solve conflicts of ideas is in opening communication between parts, because both of them must have the chance to know each opinion, process that Rapoport names debate. Follett began to sustain the same method from 1918, but with another expression. While Rapoport argued that the debate was the only way of solving conflicts and did not offer any reason to assure that his method gets in the most cases to solving the conflicts, Follett comes with an explanation, arguing on the basis of human learning theory that emphasizes the heterogeneity of viewpoints. Follett supposes that people with different opinions, acting together, will be more creative than people that share the same opinions. Follett's assumption about the creative value of difference led her to believe that there is no inherent incompatibility between nationalism and internationalism³⁶.

She argued that all that needs to be done to feed the creativity that comes from difference (at any human level of organizing) is to combine the conflicting parts in order to look for a solution of some common duty. For the parts in conflict – even if there are nations in wars of ideas – the first collective duty is obvious: trying to get to a collective deal on the nature of conflict, that generates the second, that must be collectively solved – inventing new means of living together, considered much more easier to accomplish³⁷.

Acting on her theory, Follett opened the way to consultation in modern management, that brings the parts in conflict to get to a collective understanding of the issue and develop methods of working together despite the differences of identity or ideology. In international businesses it was followed a similar approach by researchers in order to maintain peace, that organize seminars for solving fundamental issues between parts in conflict. The Follett theory could suggest that a key part of the functional solution at the identity conflicts would be the long and hard duty of conducting seminars for solving issues.

Follett's research in the field of solving fundamental conflicts was not directed to solving conflicts of ideas, but to solving of structural conflicts between workers and capitalists. Initially the approach proved to be attractive not only for progressive employers like Cadbury, Rowntree or Filene, but also to companies that wanted only to get to the highest point of the investment. Follett's ideas proved to be popular through some socialist leaders, like the CEO of the International Labour Organization, who supported the making of the Institute of International Management in 1925³⁸.

Anyway, before Follett's death the lacks of her approach in industrial relations became more clear. Workers and capitalists always entered the creative seminars of solving issues in a relation of structural inequality. The owners and agents of these could determine the agenda to which they could address in complete mutuality, and, almost in all companies, in any time, the agenda

³⁶ M. P. Follett, *op.cit.*, p. 344

³⁷ Craig N. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 99

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 100

excluded the issue of the structural source of inequality: the issue who possessed the company. Due to this cause, the fundamental source of conflict could not be solved by Folletts means James Mayall analyzed similar issues when comes applying Mitrany's ideas about solving functional conflicts in matters of economic international inequity³⁹. Mitrany's position upon material basis of structural conflicts was more complex than Folletts vision. The functional division of classes, thinks Mitrany, ends, especially in democratic societies. Therefore, the public planning process, once started, becomes implacable, translating itself from a sector to another, changing concentration from the simple issue of stabilization of economy to the issue of assuring the equality.

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