

Political relations in the process of development of the socialist economy

by Artur BODNAR

Dozent de l'Université de Varsovie,
Directeur du Centre Méthodique des Etudes Politiques.

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Research on the economic development of modern socialist societies calls for ever more frequent analyses of the impact of political relations on the processes of this development.

The political relations in the socialist countries shape, to a large extent, the economic management system as well as the way in which a number of economic development factors are utilized.

Broadly speaking, the suggested method for analysis of the impact of political relations on the economic development arises from the dual role of the state. The modern state is the main pile in the organization system of the society. The state is, on the one hand, an institution of the superstructure and, on the other, it is *sensu largo* an economic institution. The state as the superstructure institution appears in both the capitalist and the socialist systems. In the socialist system the function of the state as an economic institution becomes fully developed basing on the socialization of the basic means of production and, consequently, it is qualitatively different from the same function in the capitalist system.

The dual role of the socialist state as a political and economic institution is reflected in the fact that the forms of the state's activity autonomously, or it is brought forth along with the tendency to blur the limits of mutual interaction. The range of autonomy of the two functions of the state primarily depends on the structure of economic relations (production, exchange and repartition relations) in a given socialist society.

The system of organization of the socialist society is a general framework for political, economic and other relations which account for the life of the society. Political and economic relations develop in accordance with regularities proper for particular types of relations. In the political

sphere these regularities determine the methods of controlling political processes or, more precisely, of influencing the course of political processes.

The typology of political relations is concerned with the specifying of various domains of political relations. In Poland, for example, the following three types of political relations may be singled out.

1. *The class-strata relations.* This applies to relations between the classes of the workers and the peasants, between the intelligentsia and these two fundamental classes of the socialist society, etc. This group of political relations should also include the relations between the governing stratum of the society and the working people (the workers class in particular). The system of political institutions in the society is a function of a given pattern of the class-strata political relations.

2. *The institutional relations.* These concern relations between the various piles of the system of organization of the socialist society, i.e. between the parliament and the government, between institutions (state and nonstate) either centrally or locally managed, between medium level and lower level units of public and economic administration as well as political non-state institutions, and between the party, the trade unions and the administration, etc.

3. *The individual relations.* Here we can specify three sub-groups of these relations : between the individual and the group ; between the individual and the institutions ; between the group and the institutions. The relations between the individual and the group apply to mutual relations inside managerial groupings, party and trade union organizations, etc. In general they are connected with the prevailing interpretation of the principles of democratic centralism and political culture of particular groups and strata. The relations between the individual and a public institution are conditioned equally by the present level of social discipline and by the efficient performance of state and social administrations. The relations between the group and the institution refer to relations between informal groups and institutions, between the staff and the executive branch, etc.

The characteristic feature of developed societies is that political relations (class-strata and individual) are established mainly through the intermediary of all kinds of public institutions. This is one of the essential features distinguishing the political relations in the socialist society from other types of social relations. The Marxist-Leninist party is a particular kind of institution. The execution of control over the state policy by the working class party is an inseparable characteristic of the socialist system and a fundamental condition of its durability.

The mentioned above three types of political relations form the basis of leadership in every state. The disposition of the leadership, according to J. Szczepanski, largely determines the development potential of the whole society. The disposition of the society's leadership means to him : « the ability of this leadership to use, multiply and organize the forces (of the society - A.B.), to direct the energies of the society, to utilize the motoric forces inherent in individuals and in large communities towards planned and efficient action. » (1).

Subsequently, J. Szczepanski distinguishes three kinds of the managed patterns : 1) patterns managed directly and centrally, e.g., all sectors of socialized economy, education system, science, military and the administration of justice ; 2) patterns managed indirectly, e.g., the sector of private farms ; 3) patterns relatively independent, such as, for instance, different groupings of local, informal or social type, as well as the Church.

Structuring of the managed patterns in the society is a reflection of the structure of political and economic relations in that society. One of the features of the discussed system of managed patterns in the socialist society is the mutual permeability of political, social and economic patterns managed directly and centrally. These patterns cover the major portion of the society's life.

The dominance of the directly and centrally managed patterns establishes a structural premise which lends the leading character to the system of political institutions in the leadership of the socialist society. In effect, political institutions directly supervise economic organizations. Thus, economic institutions are subordinate to political ones. « This supervision is carried out by political institutions on a continuous basis, there is no economic organization left outside the political interference so there is no room for self-development of forces which could radically transform the system. » (2). This problem must also be considered in the context of the expanding autonomy of state institutions both economic and administrative in accordance with the present requirements of the theory of management. A parallel increase of significance of the working class party and of other (non-state) political institutions in their function of programming and supervising the state institutions is indispensable for the levelling off of the negative social effects of this objective process.

The existence and development of political institutions should be regarded as the main cause for the development and strengthening of differences between the socialist and the capitalist type of industrial

(1) J. SZCZEPANSKI, *Rozważania o Rzeczypospolitej (Essays on the Res Publica)*, Warszawa, 1971, pp. 130-131.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 76.

society provided, of course, that political institutions from all spheres of social life are implementing the principles of Marxist ideology.

The experience of the system of socialist states gained so far indicates that since the political relations are primary in relation to the remaining spheres of social life, the main area of struggle for the lasting of the socialist system and for its structural features lies in the ideological and political spheres.

Basing on the above considerations, a thesis can be build that the dominance of the patterns managed directly and centrally means also that the methods (or ways) of management for these patterns are of decisive significance.

The leading role is played by the methods used by the political leadership which means the methods of managing the political processes in social life. These methods depend on the development stage of the system, the alignment of forces between socialism and capitalism, the level of economic and social growth in civilization and culture aspects.

It has already been mentioned that the management methods applied to particular spheres of social life have their definite, frequently essential, character and relative autonomy. It pertains in particular to the political sphere conditioned by : 1° the pattern of the class-strata relations in the socialist society ; 2° the structure of its political institutions, and by 3° the advancement and effectiveness of ideology. There is an interdependence between the methods of the political leadership and the ideology which finds reflection in the following two essential aspects :

1. In the narrower sense — the methods of political leadership include, as it were, « technical » aspects and the elements enabling the evaluation of social behaviour of individuals, groups and institutions. These elements are the ideological criteria. The « technical » aspect of political leadership is mentioned here because the methods of this leadership may also be discussed from the point of view of general requirements of the techniques of organization and management, that is, as a function of productive forces.

2. In the broader sense — the methods of political leadership are determined by the currently valid political doctrine, reflecting the stage of development of the socialist society both socially, economically and in terms of culture. Different political doctrines have been built on Marxist ideology either reflecting or pointing out the forms of struggle for the power of the working class as well as the ways of strengthening and advancement of this power once it has been gained.

By doctrine we understand here a set of socio-political objectives (included, for instance, in the programme documents of the party or in the

form of other acts bearing the characteristics of the program) and corresponding to them standards of behaviour in economy in face of specific problems and socio-political attitudes. Usually proper political structures correspond to these objectives (conceived in perspective) and standards (3). Presently attempts are being made to formulate a new doctrine, concurrent to the conditions and objectives of a mature socialist society, to replace the doctrine of industrialization.

The predominance of the patterns managed directly and centrally in the total framework of organization of the socialist society not only lends the leading character to the system of political institutions in the leadership of the society but also intensifies the connections between different types of relations (e.g., between political and economic relations. The connections between political and economic relations are most distinct in the leadership of the socialist society conceived as global vertical structures with productive forces lying at their bottom.

The character of the aforementioned connections is illustrated, for example, by numerous assessments published by Polish political writers concerning the background of the December events of 1970 in Poland. In the present times as it arises from the Polish experience the methods of governing and management exert an ever increasing influence on the production process and on the national organization of production. A conflict between the level of productive forces, reflected by the material production apparatus and the qualifications of personnel, and the obsolete methods of governing and management is, in fact, one of the specific manifestations of conflict between productive forces and production relations, which must lead to crises and tensions in the society, unless removed in due time.

The methods of governing and management have a direct influence on the substance of decisions being made and on the political concepts being adopted, bearing essentially on their accuracy. Incorrect methods of management and governing must inevitably bear grave political errors.

The above reasoning, stemming from our own experience, confirms the multi-sided character of social phenomena, which being either « technical », economic, or cultural, become at the same time political ones, due to circumstances. For this reason it is difficult or frequently even impossible to single out political phenomena in a « pure » form.

(3) The interpretation of the notion of doctrine used here differs from that of J.J. Wiatr, who sees the differences between ideology and doctrine only in the varying degrees of systematization of views. Cf J.J. WIATR, *Czy zmierzch ery ideologii* (*Is It a Decline of Era of Ideology*), Warszawa, 1966, pp. 93-94.

(4) These connections have been discussed by W. WESŁOWSKI in his book *Przemiany społeczne w Polsce Ludowej* (*Social Transformations in People's Poland*), Warszawa, 1965, pp. 51-53, 129 and others.

It is so because a characteristic feature of a major part of political relations is that they reveal themselves only through economic and other social phenomena. In particular, the class-strata relations do not appear in a « pure » form but through the intermediary of economic, social, cultural, etc. phenomena. Hence, the state activities in economic, social, cultural, denominational, and other spheres are not only purely economic or social but, at the same time, political ones.

This unity of the socialist state's activities is conditioned by two premises : 1° the dual role of the state as an institution of the superstructure and simultaneously, an economic institution ; and 2° the leading role of the state as the intermediary pile in the process of arising and forming of the class-strata relations.

For these reasons the over-all activity of the socialist state is referred to as « politics » while particular kinds of this activity are defined as economic policy, social policy, cultural policy, etc. From our point of view it is irrelevant which element of the state structure initiates and continues the activity because in the present paper the state's functions as whole are analysed.

The economic activity of the state is set on its course by the state's economic policy. The economic policy of the state is one of the forms of its activities and has a substantial influence upon the other kinds of the state's activities. Thus, it is possible to discuss the economic activity of the state, along with the corresponding policy, in terms of conditioning and influencing in this way the political processes in the society. This problem deserves wider attention and more research, which has not been undertaken so far.

According to K. Secomski, the economic policy should be understood as the state activity in defining socio-economic objectives and implementing them through the application of the rules discovered by political economy and with the use of means and methods resulting from the principle of rational economy (5). The socio-economic objectives set up by a given economic policy may be either general or partial, that is, encompassing the whole of national economy or only its particular sectors.

The economic policy is able to manage in a comprehensive the development of the whole economic process way by applying the economic rules, the technological and balance rules of production, praxiological norms of behaviour, etc. It is possible, however, only when the economic policy is implemented by the socialist state.

(5) K. SECOMSKI, *Elementy polityki ekonomicznej (Elements of Economic Policy)*, Warszawa, 1970, p. 26.

The economic policy includes economic legislation, national economy planning and management. Planning and management are the components of the notion of the national general administration of economy.

In order to reach the objectives of the economic policy the state must expand this organizational activity which includes the management of national economy. This managing is a continuous process. The totality of means in planning, organization, legislation and economy used by the state in the course of implementation of its economic policy constitutes the functioning mechanism of economy. The form of this mechanism, that is to say, of the method of managing the national economy, depends to a large extent on the character of a given economic development stage, which amounts to saying that it depends on the kind of economic strategy. Consequently, in the present transition of Poland into a new stage of development essential transformations take place within the functioning mechanism of economy.

In planning and in economic policy in general the following aspects are of special significance: distinction and selection of the directions of activity, the choice of the moment for decision-making and distribution in time of particular stages of intended action. Thus, the economic policy, just as any other policy, bears a high load of subjectivism.

By means of economic planning the socialist state consciously forms the process of economic growth. A synthetic measure of it is the growth of the national income received from the whole economy. This income is used for satisfying the growing needs of the society. In order to secure the implementation of the planned economic growth the state consciously forms the proportions of social reproduction.

Planning is an activity more or less based on the principles of the science of programming, which is a component of praxiology. Oskar Lange wrote : « Programming is composed of two elements (6). The first one is the determination of available means, possible applications of these means, and the accords between different applications. The second part of programming — the determination of an optimal set of means which could secure the maximum implementation of the goal — this is called « the choice of an optimal programme » or in broader terms, « the economic strategy ».

The term « socio-economic strategy » is generally used in reference to the long-range socio-economic objectives, which delineate different stages of development. In order to reach these objectives an appropriate set means must be used and it has to be essentially different from the set used until

(6) O. LANGE, *Ekonomia polityczna, Zagadnienia ogólne (Political Economy, General Problems)*, Warszawa, 1959, p. 171.

now. In the post-war development of Poland there was only one stage of socio-economic development with its specific developmental strategy: the strategy of industrialization. It was the period between 1949 and 1968. The Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party initiated a new strategy in economy: the strategy of intensified development. An essential supplement to the outline of this strategy was provided by the Sixth Congress of the PUWP. Thus, within the period of building socialism the economic policy systematically reaches particular socio-economic objectives of different stages of development determined by the attained level of economic growth. The socio-economic strategy is an essential element of the political doctrine within the given development stage of socialism.

The socio-economic strategy finds reflection in the national economic plans. The goals of these plans and the methods of their implementation are subordinate to that strategy. It applies both to short- and medium-range plans and also to the full (or a part of) period taken up by the present long-range plan.

Economic development process is the object of economic policy of the socialist state. This process takes place in the concrete socio-economic conditions, hence the concrete forms and the method of shaping the growth process, its structure and dynamics, are largely determined by the economic basis and the political and ideological superstructure (7). The object of the economic policy, therefore, are not only the quantitative changes in production but also transformations of production relations, exchange and repartition relations, which develop in the framework of the socialist society.

The economic policy of the socialist state shows three mutually overlapping spheres of reference.

1. *The process of economic growth.* The economic policy aims at the possibly beneficial (optimal) utilization of traditional factors of production and of other elements of material growth of production to obtain the maximum rate of increase in national income with the given means. The aim of the economic policy is, therefore, to proliferate the society's productive potential in order to satisfy in this way the needs of the society. The process of accumulation of resources and means for extended reproduction always remains in conflict with the tendencies of different groups of the society in regard to the distribution of income. « The society finds more appreciation for the present income than for the future incomes ;

(7) J. TOMALA, *Relacje kapitalowe w teorii wzrostu gospodarczego (The Ratios of Capitals in Theory of Economic Growth)*, Warszawa, 1963, p. 17.

it is not only a subjective but also an objective factor which should be taken into consideration in decision-making » (8).

2. *Transformations in production relations.* In the course of implementing the process of economic growth the state's economic policy encounters some basic problems which go directly beyond the process of quantitative increase of production. If these problems remain unsolved the effective process of the economic growth is contemporaneously often impossible in the socialist states of Europe. There are, for example, following problems.

i. It is necessary, for example, to retain the previous principles of repartition of national product, or to introduce changes into this repartition oriented towards a relative slowing down of the rate of consumption growth. Such changes generally occur in effect of changes in man power's resources or the increase of the capital-output ratio (9).

ii. It is necessary to make use of all possibilities of organizational progress on the scale of an enterprise and of the economic ways for sustaining or increasing the growth rate of labour productivity as well as reducing to a minimum the increase in costs of technical equipment of labour, if it is not directly caused by technological requirements.

In both cases the effects of economic policy are oriented on a change of production relations in the sphere of production and repartition. Changes in this area are reflected in the political plane.

3. *Transformations in political relations.* It has already been mentioned that the economic policy of the socialist state calls for the determination of socio-economic objectives and for selection of means for the attainment of them. The interconnection between economic and political relations is apparent in long periods of time when, as a result of the economic development process, changes occur in the composition and structure of economy conceived as an economic system (10). Primarily this pertains to changes in the socio-professional structure of population which result in a qualitative change of the structure of the fundamental element of political relations, that is, of the class-strata relations.

The interconnection between economic and political relations within shorter periods reveals itself primarily in the selection of means for the implementation of the economic policy plans since it touches directly upon

(8) H. FISZEL, *Wstęp do teorii gospodarowania (Introduction to Theory of Manage)*, Warszawa, 1970, p. 62.

(9) M. KALECKI, *Zarys teorii wzrostu gospodarki socjalistycznej (Outline of Theory of Growth of Socialist Economy)*, Warszawa, 1968, pp. 51, 66, and others.

(10) B. MINC, *Zarys systemu ekonomii politycznej (Outline of the System of Political Economy)*, Warszawa, 1970, p. 543.

the interests of class-strata, groups and individuals. The periods in which there were changes of means for implementation of economic policy (in Poland these were the years of 1948-1950, 1956-1958, 1968-1970, and 1971) were characterized by an intensification of political relations. The intensification may be observed in attitudes and activities oriented on political approval or a given choice of premises for economic policy, but above all, of the means for its implementation.

In the present-day societies political relations are a direct extension of economic relations. It results from highly advanced civilization-and-culture levels in these societies. This brings about a very strong impact of political relations on the economic basis of the societies in question. It stems from the above why extra-economic factors play such an outstanding role in the economic policies of developed countries, and even more so, of the socialist countries.

The experience of Poland and of other countries indicates that within the process of formulating and implementation of the current economic policy we deal with two kinds of mutual interaction between the economic basis and political relations. Here is how this interaction finds an expression :

a) The level of utilization of particular production factors and the way of combining them ; the decisions concerning the policy of the national income repartition ; the range of organizational progress in economy — these three elements of economic policy are frequently the source of social tensions. The sense of political activities consists in keeping these tensions within the so called individual political relations. Otherwise the economic policy should, perhaps, undergo the necessary corrections.

b) The management system of the socialist economy is an important element of the productions relations. If in turn this system undergoes changes of essential character the effect shows changes in political relations (institutional and individual). This is most conspicuous in, for example, the centralization processes (e.g., the years of 1949-1950 or 1968-1970) and the decentralization (e.g., 1956-1958) processes in the system of administration of national economy in Poland.

Starting from the middle of the twentieth century it became clear that when the level of productive forces and of social wealth is high the structure of factors of economic growth must undergo changes. In connection with this process, K. Secomski writes that at higher stages of economic development an ever more significant role is played by the group of modern factors of development (e.g., scientific and technological advancement,

good results in contemporary organization and management of economy, transformations in the spatial structure of the country (11).

The significance of the modern factors of development has become strikingly obvious in, for instance, the change of structure of the factors which account for industrial production growth. An overwhelming part of the industrial output gain (80-90%) in the industrialized countries is achieved through a growth in labour productivity. According to J. Górski, the changes are due to the following reasons: technological progress, advancement in organization, improvement of qualifications and of the system of motivation and incentives (12). This fact entails an extension of the state's functions: apart from economic, one also social functions as well as that of a co-ordinator of development in science and technology.

The socialist state has always fulfilled these functions, nevertheless it turned out to be necessary to separate and expand them due to the influence exerted by social and scientific and technological factors on the gain in social labour productivity. It also means that the state's function in the process of repartition of gross national product is also expanded. In effect, to-day the social policy is distinguished from the economic policy of the socialist state and the former is given a particular rank in the socio-economic strategy (13).

The social function of the state is reflected by its social policy. W. Szubert defines the social policy as « a purposeful framing of living conditions as well as of working conditions and relations by the state, institutions and civic organizations, » (14) to secure the optimal conditions for the development of an individual and of the society. W. Szubert suggests that the distinction between economic policy and social policy be made by distinguishing two phases of operation. One of these phases consists in accumulating appropriate resources and means and in securing such a use of them that would be favourable to the general development of national economy. The other phase consists in organizing the rational use of these means for the sake of raising the standard of living and satisfying the needs of population. W. Szubert rightly points out that this dis-

(11) K. SECOMSKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 108.

(12) J. GORSKI, *Z teorii wzrostu gospodarki socjalistycznej (Some Problems of Theory of Growth of Socialist Economy)*. In a collective publication: *Z teorii i praktyki polityki gospodarczej (Some Problems of Theory and Practice of Economic Policy)*, Warszawa, 1972, pp. 47-48.

(13) A. RAJKIEWICZ, *Perspektywiczna polityka społeczna (Prospective Social Policy)*, in weekly *Zycie Gospodarcze (Economic Life)*, no 5 of 1972.

(14) W. SZUBERT, *Polityka społeczna w systemie gospodarki planowej (Social Policy in the System of Planning Economy)*, in scientific journal *Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne (Law and Economic Studies)*, Vol. I, Łódź, 1968, p. 20.

inction is only stipulated since already in the first phase social repercussions have to be taken into consideration, while in the second phase — repercussions of economic and political nature (15).

The social policy extends over vast areas of social life starting from the problems of shaping the demographic potential of the country, through some aspects of education health service, residential housing, employment, protection of labour, wages (in their function as income policy, social security, and, finally, the organization of rest and leisure time. This register of problems is not complete for it should include some aspects of price policy, the policy in regard to the shaping of the consumer's market, culture, and other issues directly in connection with meeting the demands of the working people as to the living conditions and the work conditions and relations.

In accordance with the adopted doctrine of industrialization the principle of rigorous hierarchization of the social policy objectives was applied in the past years. The rules of limited resources economy demanded it. The socialist societies entering higher stages of economic growth (and have exceeded the level of 1.000 dollars of national income per capita) are governed by different socio-economic rules. It is in this context that an active social policy becomes one of the modern factors of development which correspond to the demands and conditions of a fully grown socialist society.

Active social policy as a modern factor of development has the following functions to fulfill :

1. The regenerative function in regard to the population potential implemented by an appropriate family policy, health protection, protection of labour, organization of leisure time, and by social security policy. The social policy in its regenerative function is the most developed domain in relation to the remaining domains of this policy in the socialist countries.

2. The function of building the social infrastructure by means of a housing policy, protection of environment, development of health service and education, and in the future development of the new branch of services in the field of education and training, based on computers and modern means of communication ; by means of a policy of expanding « holiday industry », and by building a network of centers where civic and cultural activeness (during leisure time) could be properly channelled for small

(15) This problem is discussed by Z. Morecka, who analyses the influence of wages (intended or not) on social stratification. Cf Z. MORECKA, *Rola płac i zadania polityki płac w socjalizmie (The Role of Wages and the Aims of Wages' Policy in Socialism)* in book *Wybrane zagadnienia ekonomii politycznej socjalizmu (Selected Problems of the Political Economy of Socialism)*, Warszawa, 1971, p. 217.

social groups, etc. The active social policy then builds an extensive sector of services.

3. The educational and civilizational function carried out by the system of education and upbringing, the system of supplementary training and re-training, the policy of development of various forms of consumption of material goods and of culture, and by the policy of organizing the leisure time, etc.

In the socialist countries some of the discussed domains of the social policy (in the analysed function) have not yet been developed due to the dominating extensive pattern of economic growth. It may be predicted that already in the 1970's and more so in the '80s technical improvements and automation of production will bring about shifting of large masses of the working people to different jobs (not always related), which means that a number of social issues, retraining and adaptation problems will appear. Other questions will be connected with the developing of new habits in spending the leisure time after the future switch into a five-work-day week, and later on (or may be parallelly) into a four-workday week.

Unquestionably, the range of the civilizational and educational function of the social policy includes also the expanding of services in the psychology of labour and in human relations as well as in selection of personnel (16). The function of social policy being discussed is of particular significance to the securing of a high level of labour productivity and of employees' qualifications (17), conditioning the size of the national income and the standard of living.

4. The function of stimulating the consumption. It concerns both its level as well as its forms and directions. A higher level of consumption and transformations in its structure have a direct influence on the rate of economic growth, which in turn provides a further increase of the level of consumption. The favoured directions and forms of consumption on the other hand — apart from their economic significance — provide, first of all, the optimal development of the individual.

In the actual social policy of the recent period in Poland, the USSR and in other socialist countries, particular attention is being paid to the effects of stimulating the consumption which have economic significance, since they enhance a quicker growth of labour productivity by sustaining the rate of gain in real wages above the threshold of perceptibility ; they pro-

(16) J. KLUCZYNSKI, *Kwalifikacje a rozwój gospodarczy (Employees' Qualifications and Economic Development)*, Warszawa, 1970, p. 165.

(17) M. FRANK, *Elementy polityki presonalnej w zakladzie pracy (Elements of Personnel Policy in Workshop)*, Warszawa, 1971, pp. 59 and 82.

vide for optimalization of industrial structures, secure the high rate of economic development (e.g., light industries, automobile industry, residential housing) (18).

The social policy in its consumption stimulating function should always be guided by the principle of reducing the degree of economic inequality of the individual member of society what not only has a social and political significance but also brings positive (during long periods of time) effects in the rate of economic growth and by the same token consolidating the advantageous effects of social and political character resulting from the implementation of this principle.

5. The function of co-responsibility in shaping the model of socialist organization of social life. This function would secure an all-round promotion of the individual, developing in him (or her) the sense of being bound with the social community and its aims, while in the community this function would strengthen the feeling of social value of the individual and the right to reveal these values. It is connected with the problem of the socialist model of consumption, including the favoured tendencies towards the development of collective consumption and collective life. The choice of patterns for meeting the needs of the society is, therefore, not only a social but also a political problem.

It results from the analysis of the function of social policy that it is a field where next to the state there are civic organizations commissioned by the state to operate, (including economic organizations) which play an important role. The role of the social and the political organization of citizens in formulating and implementation of social policy will continue to grow. Also in the economic administration the social problem will attain an ever higher rank. The domain of social policy, particularly if considered in long-range terms, is the sphere, which may carry out the pregnant tasks of developing the socialist political relations by expanding the more or less institutionalized forms of selfgovernment that give vent energies, interests and aspirations of individuals and social groups. From this point of view the domain under discussion will, in the future, become one of the factors intensifying the political life and expanding the political relations in the socialist societies. According to this tendency, the role of the state in the sphere of social policy would, in my opinion, be limited gradually to the role of an economic institution, while all the other functions would be taken over by the political organizations of citizens and the organs of civic self-government.

(18) J. KLEER, *Wzrost intensywny w krajach socjalistycznych (Intensive Growth in Socialist Countries)*, Warszawa, 1972, pp. 192-193.

The development of the function of social policy is a derivative of the economic possibilities of the socialist society. The experience of industrial developed countries in the second half of the twentieth century proves that the developed societies reach contemporaneously such a level of economic growth at which they have an ever-growing economic surplus permitting the allocation of ever greater means for social consumption and for the development of science and technology. In the capitalist countries this surplus is used mainly for technological and production incorporation of scientific attainments.

The mentioned economic surplus was the source of an accelerated development of science and technology in relation to economic development, and that is an essential feature of the scientific and technological revolution. This revolution has encompassed the industrial countries in capitalism and in socialism. These phenomena consequently provided at the same time for the distinguishing of the function of state as a co-ordinator of the development of science and technology and they also have given birth to a host of brand new social and political questions.

