

Sylwester Zawadzki, *"Państwo dobrobytu." Doktryna i praktyka* ["The Welfare State." Doctrine and Practice], Warszawa 1964, PWN, 474 pages.

This book acquaints the reader with the origin and essence of "the welfare state," as well as the stages through which it has developed. It also discusses the effect of that conception on the constitutional and practical activities of present-day capitalist countries. A notable feature of the author's approach is the extensive use he makes of the other social sciences (apart from jurisprudence), and of economics and sociology in particular.

The first part of the book, entitled "From The nightwatchman state' to the welfare state' ". contains several chapters in which the objective reasons for the emergence of "the welfare state," its ideological roots and the successive stages through which it has passed are discussed. In this section the author begins by pointing out the class limitations on the liberal conception of the state. State non-interference in social and economic matters meant that the factual preponderance of the economically stronger classes, that is, the property class, was accepted. On the other hand, the need to remove the dangers threatening the capitalist system as a whole induced the State to increase its control, and in fact led to a number of deviations from the principles of liberal doctrine. Important factors that stimulated this process were: the aggravation of the basic social conflicts in the capitalist system between the bourgeoisie, and the working class, between the public character of production and appropriation by individuals, and, finally conflicts within the bourgeoisie itself, the First World War and the growth of State intervention to meet the needs of wartime economy, the appearance of a new constitutional pattern following the victory of the Russian Revolution, the world economic crisis of 1929-1933, and finally the Second World War during which there was again a growth of State intervention to meet the war needs as well as reconstruction needs after the war, and which was followed by a great increase in the power of socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, and the utter defeat of fascism as a system of government.

In our own times, competition with socialism is compelling the bourgeoisie to make certain concessions to the working class. The particular interests of the individual entrepreneur are being subordinated to the interests of his class as a whole, and in particular to the maintenance of capitalism as an economic system. But in leading Western countries the working classes are subjectively incapable of taking over power, since they are under influence of reformist, social democratic theories. The balance of forces described above provided the objective background for the emergence of "the welfare state."

Events which influenced the development of this conception, and which at the same time were manifestations of its realization, were: 1) the social reforms of Bismarck in Germany, 2) the social reforms in Britain in the period 1906-1914, 3) Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States, 4) the Labour Party reforms in Britain in 1945-1950. All these reforms were conservative in purpose—they all aimed at the preservation of the capitalist system, and at avoiding, by making partial concessions to the demands of the working class, all situations that endangered that system.

In Part II, headed "The essence of The welfare state' and the effect of that conception on bourgeois constitutions," the author suggests that the conception is based on awareness of the necessity of so modifying the activities of the State as to enable it, without touching the foundations of the existing social system, to avoid defeat in its competition with socialism. Hence it is wrong both to contrast the liberal

doctrine of the State with the doctrine of "the welfare state," and ignore the profound differences which do occur between the two. "The welfare state" is said to be an alternative of the socialist State, but it is also an alternative of the fascist State. Professor Zawadzki criticizes those who regard "the welfare state" as a half-way house between socialist revolution and capitalism, for in his opinion such views blur the essence of the conception of "the welfare state" as described above.

According to the author, the conception of "the welfare state" has its place in the ordinary legislation, but (with the exception of France and Italy) it is hardly taken into account at all by the constitutional law of the various countries—even those that are regarded as being in the vanguard in this field. The explanation for this would seem to lie in the fact that the propertied classes are afraid to create a constitutional basis for the struggle for structural reforms, especially where there are prospects for the possibility of a peaceful transfer from capitalism to socialism.

Part III is entitled "The conception of 'the welfare state' and the actions of contemporary bourgeois states". Besides providing abundant statistical data, the author presents a critique of three fundamental aspects of the theory of "the welfare state"—the conception of State intervention in economic affairs, the postulate of full employment, and the idea of a universal system of social security. His view is that since at the present time State intervention determines the functioning of the capitalist economy altogether, and, since the borderline between political superstructure and economic base is therefore becoming blurred, the economic activity of the capitalist State may be regarded basically as one of its fundamental functions. The final chapter of Part III, and of the book as a whole, is headed "The role and place of the theory of 'the welfare state' in the contemporary world." It contrasts the conceptions of neoliberalism with those of neofascism, and also presents the author's final conclusions on the whole argument of the book.

An index of names is supplied, as well as summaries in Russian and English.

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