

Mieczysław Maneli, *O funkcjach państwa* [The Functions of the State], Warszawa 1963, PWN, 355 pages.

Professor Maneli's book on the functions of the State is the first Polish monograph on this subject—a subject of great theoretical and practical political importance. The devotion of a monograph to this subject is fully justified, and has come at the right time.

The book consists of three parts. The first deals with general concepts, e.g. the purpose and the function of the State, (pages 5-100). The second discusses the internal function of the State. Here the author has confined himself to an examination of the internal function of the capitalist State, general problems concerning the internal function of the socialist State, and the activity of the socialist State in the economic field as well as in the development of culture and education (p. 101-272). The third part of the book deals with the external function of the State (p. 273-344). The author only gives a general description of the external function of the State. He discusses the foundations of modern international relations and outlines the basic principles of international law and peaceful co-existence. Thus the external function of the State is only roughly sketched, while the author's main attention is focussed on the internal function.

Professor Maneli defines some of the basic terms in the science of the State. He rightly draws a difference between the purpose of the State and its functions. He offers a definition of the purpose of the State (p. 39). At the same time he convincingly criticizes other conceptions as to the purpose of the State (the theological, the subjective-idealistic, the deterministic and fatalistic, the eclectic, the individual-nominalistic, and the Platonic-realistic conceptions). His arguments against those conceptions are to the point and convincing. In giving a general definition of the function of the State, the author takes the view that there are two spheres of the State's activities—an internal sphere and an external one. "The function of the State is the essence of the given sphere of the State's activity" (p. 58). He also defines separately the internal function of the State (p. 58-59), and its external function (p. 59).

According to Professor Maneli, every State has only two functions. He rejects the view that is fairly common in Marxist literature, that apart from these two functions the socialist State has additional functions—especially an economic-organizational function and a cultural-educational one. He rejects the view that the internal function of the socialist State withers away earlier than the State itself. He also considers it a mistake to divide the functions of the State into basic and non-basic. In his view, what some people look on as the basic function of the State is a manifestation of either the internal or the external function.

The author's views are very different from those of other thinkers on the functions of the State, and, in particular, thinkers on the functions of the socialist State. He

amends our knowledge of the functions of the State, in certain cases enriching it with new ideas, and in others rejecting ideas and classifications which he regards as useless.

Professor Maneli's originality of thought is to be commended. But it is to be doubted whether he is right in denying that the socialist State has a special function apart from the functions belonging to every State—that is, an economic-organizational and cultural educational function. For there is a qualitative difference between what the pre-socialist State did in the field of economics and education, and what the socialist State does in these fields. In Professor Maneli this difference has been lost. The author would seem to have been led away by the idea that in recent years the capitalist State, copying the socialist State, has taken much more to do with the economy and with education than it did before.

Much of the book is polemical in character. Professor Maneli argues from the socialist standpoint, and attacks bourgeois and pre-bourgeois views. His arguments are scholarly, to the point, and fair towards his opponents, while at the same time convincing in their championship of the socialist point of view. The author also takes up the cudgels against certain views which, in his opinion, are mistakenly held by writers whose standpoint is that of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. In this case the argument is levelled against the mistakes and deviations connected with the Stalinist cult. Professor Maneli particularly criticizes all those who showed a one-sided interest in political struggle and administrative repression, and who left the economic, moral and humanitarian merits of socialism in the shade. The author emphasizes above all the economic and ideological side of the struggle for socialism. He puts great stress on the need for gradually democratizing the entire socialist system, for developing the rights of the individual, for limiting repression by the State to an absolute minimum, even towards members of the exploiting classes. He points out quite rightly that even in socialism the democratization of the political system, the maintenance and consolidation of law and order and the respecting of citizens' rights, do not come about by themselves, but have to be deliberately fought for (p. 154-155, 192, 194, 198-199, 226-227, et seq.), that deliberate planning and action are needed to turn the existing opportunities into reality.

Professor Maneli is also correct in observing that even the socialist countries can slow down economic development in certain sectors and at certain periods (p. 214). Thus the organization and functioning of the socialist state must be continually perfected if economic development is to be achieved in every sector and all the time.

The Author augments his dissertation on the socialist State with passages on human rights (p. 207-208, 257, et seq.) and on the question of training for citizenship (pages 268-269, 272 et seq.). He has a number of interesting things to say on these questions.

The book shows a wide knowledge of the literature on the subject. It deals with matters that are of the most topical interest. It stimulates discussion. Altogether it represents a valuable contribution to the theory of the State.

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