

THE PLACE OF STATE ADMINISTRATION IN THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION IN POLAND

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1. Class and national character of PPR.

Polish People's Republic is a socialist state. All the power belongs to the working people in town and countryside, that is, to the working class, peasants, intelligentsia and artisans.

Two major stages are distinguished in the development of a socialist state: the stage of the construction of socialism, in which the state brings into effect the tasks of the dictatorship of the working class (proletariat), and the stage of the building of the foundations of communism, in which the state is already the nationwide organization of the working people.

The people's state of Poland has been constructing socialism in Poland since 1944. The process of the construction of socialism can be divided into two stages: the stage of the construction of the foundations of socialism and the period of the building of a developed socialist society.

PPR is a socialist state in which the foundations of socialism have been constructed and its political and socio-economic structure has been consolidated. The socialist relations of production dominate in industry and in other branches of economy, socialist agriculture is developing quantitatively and qualitatively. The bond of the Polish countryside with socialism is getting increasingly strong and all-round.

Socialism is shaping legal, customary and interhuman relations which are resting on socialist sense of social justice. Most tasks of the transitory period from capitalism to socialism have been implemented successfully.¹

This enabled Poland to enter a new, higher period of the construction of socialism — the stage of the building of a developed socialist society. The building of a developed socialist society in Poland is the task corresponding to the possibilities of at least one generation both in respect to necessary effort of the people and depth of transformations. The construction of a developed socialist society is realized in economic, social, political, ideological and international sphere.

In the economic sphere the construction of a developed socialist society means further consolidation of socialist relations of production, expansion and

reconstruction of material and technical base, amalgamation of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with social values of socialism, higher quality of work and effectiveness of management. All in all this brings a high rate of development of material production and creates conditions for satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people.²

In the social sphere the building of a developed socialist society means all-round realization of the idea of social justice, further solidification of the socialist principles in interhuman relations, socialist quality of life inseparably connected with raising the quality of work and respect for rights and duties.

In the political sphere the construction of a developed socialist society is reflected by a gradual transforming of a state realizing the tasks of the dictatorship of the working class into a nationwide state of the working people, which embodies the interests and will of all the people under the leadership of the working class. This is connected with the development and perfecting of socialist democracy with bigger political activity and growth of initiative of the working people.³

In the sphere of awareness and ideology the construction of a developed socialist society is expressed in shaping socialist way of life, deepening and strengthening of socialist patriotism, sense of duty and civic discipline, propagation of the principles of socialism in interhuman relations, in the way of thinking and attitudes of the people. It is also expressed in the flourish of socialist culture, in the development of spiritual needs of man, in constant moral advancement. Marxism-leninism, as the revolutionary theory and ideology of the working class and scientific basis of the policy of the party and state, will determine the direction of thinking of society more and more universally.

In the international sphere the building of a developed socialist society — as *E. Gierek* stressed during the 7th Congress of the PUWP — signifies further consolidation of internationalistic unity of Poland and the USSR, the unity with the commonwealth of sovereign socialist states, deepening of the socialist economic integration, strengthening of solidarity with international communist and working class movement as well as cooperation with the nations embarking upon the road of progress, democracy and socialism. It also signifies the developing by PPR of the active policy of peaceful coexistence with states with different social systems.

The socialist advancement of Poland is not even. The general level of the socialist advancement of the development of the country is high. In many spheres Poland already implements tasks typical of the stage of the construction of a developed socialist society to which the country is prepared as a whole. In other spheres, especially in agriculture, Poland is still in the stage of solving problems of the building of the foundations of socialism. The stages of development of a socialist society — said *E. Gierek* at the 7th Congress of the PUWP —

are not separated by rigid lines of division. The solving of the tasks of previous stages in proper forms in higher stages is only natural and fully possible. It is facilitated by a bigger economic potential and higher political maturity of society as well as — which is extremely important — by the pattern of international forces favourable for socialism.⁴

Thus, Poland is in the stage of the construction of a developed socialist society; however, she still has to seek solutions to some important problems of socialist development which are typical of the stage of building foundations of socialism, that is, the stage which Poland as a whole has already passed.

Taking into account this already very high level of Poland's development in the construction of socialism, the Constitution of PPR, after amendments passed by the *Sejm* on February 10, 1976, thus formulates the main tasks of the state.

It reads (art. 5) that PPR protects and develops the socialist achievements of the Polish working people of town and country, their power and freedom, guarantees the citizens participation in ruling and supports the development of various forms of self-governing of the working people, develops the productive forces and economy of the country by planned utilization and enrichment of its material resources, rational organization of work of the nation and constant progress of science and technique, strengthens social property as the major basis of the economic power of the country and well-being of the people, brings into being the principles of social justice, eliminates exploitation of man by man, creates conditions for constant rise in welfare and for gradual elimination of differences between town and country, between waged and salaried work, in favour of the development of the people, PPR takes care for family, mothers and education of young generation, takes care of the health of the people, develops and makes education universal, ensures an all-round development of science and national culture. The Constitution specifies the direction of development of systemic forms of PPR, saying that the state implements and develops socialist democracy.

PPR is a homogenous state — Polish; it is the state of the Polish people. The citizens of other than Polish origin constitute less than 2 % of the total number of the population, they do not densely populate one region, but strive for swift natural assimilation with the Polish people. This is due to, among other things, the policy of full equality of the citizens of PPR regardless of their nationality, race or religion.

National-Polish character of PPR will be consolidated in the process of a developed socialist society. This is reflected by the Constitution which says that PPR is guided by the interests of the Polish people, their sovereignty, independence, security, will of peace and international cooperation. Strengthening Polish, socialist, modern patriotism, PPR combines it with internationalism. This is referred to in the Constitution which reads that PPR refers to lofty tra-

ditions of solidarity with the forces of freedom and progress, she consolidates friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

These political and constitutional guidelines of the policy of PPR and of the principles of the activity of state are of decisive and binding importance for the contents and forms of activity of the entire system of organization of society in PPR, including state administration. These guidelines match also the most vital needs and aspirations of the working people and the entire nation. The working people and the entire nation implement these guidelines mainly through the state and other elements of the system of organization of society.

2. System of organization of socialist society in Poland

The system of organization of socialist society in Poland is an organizational reflection of historical conditions or the life of the people, of goals and tasks which Poland sets for herself today.

It is at the same time an instrument of realization of these goals, needs and aspirations of the people.

The system of organization of society (socialist) in Poland is composed of all legal Polish organizations and social movements, affiliating permanent inhabitants of the country. It embraces the state and all nonstate organizations. This term covers organizations whose task is to participate in the construction of socialism in Poland, and organizations whose tasks are impartial to the building of socialism, and even such organizations whose tasks are objectively opposite to the socialist construction. It is enough that they are legal.⁵ Outside this system there are only illegal organizations whose membership or organizing is an offence against the law.

The structure of the system of organization of socialist society in Poland is as follows:

- a. socialist state
- b. social organizations
- c. self-governments
- d. social movements

Within the system of organization of socialist society in Poland we distinguish the system of the power of the people. This system is composed, beside the socialist state, of all social organizations, self-governments and social movements which consciously and purposefully take part in the building of socialist system in Poland. Outside this system are only those organizations which, existing legally, do not aim at the construction of socialism. These are first and foremost religious organizations and associations grouping remnants of capitalist layers like, for instance, the association of private industry and trade or the association of the owners of tenement blocks in towns.

The core of the system of people's power is a set of organizations which compose the system of dictatorship of the working class. These are — beside the socialist state — also all organizations which serve the working class to realize its leadership in the nation. Marxist-leninist party takes the leading position in this system. An important part is played in this system by trade unions and ideological and upbringing organizations of youth.

Each organization belonging to the system of organization of socialist society in Poland has its rights of existence, fulfils its own functions in its own scope, satisfies certain needs of the society or of its part. The degree of importance of individual organizations varies, the level of their commitment to the process of building socialism varies, too. The most important role in the entire system of organization of socialist society is played by the socialist state. It is a major instrument in the hands of the working people and the entire nation in the cause of the construction of socialism. It embodies at the same time the basic aspirations, strivings and interests of all the people. It is the best possible form of the organization of the existence and development of the nation in today's world.

Characterizing today's Polish state, E. Gierek said: »Such a state is the best organizer of collective effort and it most fully embodies the vital interests of the people. It implements the principles of people's power, develops and deepens socialist democracy. It is the supreme and common good of all Poles.»⁶

Today the most significant ideological task is the consolidation of respect for the state in the Polish society, in all its strata and generations, for observing its law and understanding of its interests. The basic interest of the Polish people calls for it.⁷

3. Special place of state in system of organization of socialist society in Poland

Why is the state a major organization in the entire system of organization of society? The state is the main organization of authority in modern society. The construction of socialism is not possible without a socialist state. The taking of state authority by the working class and its class allies constitutes an inevitable condition of embarking upon the road to socialism in a given country. This is so first of all because a socialist state, same as any other state after all, is an organization embracing the whole of the society. It embraces both all the working people, who participate in steering its activity, and bourgeois elements as long as they exist in a given country. It is the most universal organization of society, reflects the interests and will of all the people. Being the most powerful organization of the working people and the entire society, the state is not

able on its own to satisfy all the important needs of the population and realize all the tasks of socialist construction.

The state is not only the main organization of political power in society, but it is also the main economic organization. It possesses all the basic means of production, it organizes the activity of the entire national economy, it plans its development and creates necessary conditions for this development. The state conducts direct economic activity by means of state enterprises.

However, it exerts impact of determining character on economic activity of cooperatives, on all sorts of social organizations and individual owners. The state has the monopoly in the sphere of economic relations with abroad. Only the state can secure proper position of the nation in the international division of labour, including that within the international economic organization of the socialist countries.

A socialist state is also the main organization of ideological influencing the society. It exerts this influence through state schools — elementary, secondary, higher — through mass media — belonging to the state or controlled by the state — through publishing houses and other numerous ways of influencing the awareness of the people. The state is the main body educating the people in a socialist spirit. It is also the state that, through its various institutions, develops science, culture, develops a socialist system of values in society.

Finally, the state has the monopoly of the apparatus of compulsion. It can, in case of extreme necessity, force out the respect for its norms and imperatives. It also has all the necessary means for protecting the country against an attack from the outside. Putting into life the basic interests of the nation, the state takes care of the integrity of its frontiers and respect for its rights in the world. It is also concerned with maintaining peace among states. It is an official representative of a society of a given country in relations with other states and in relations with organizations composed of states, and also in relations with some other international organizations.

Other organizations of the system of organization of socialist society guide their members in political, productive and other spheres or satisfy some partial, group or more refined needs and interests. On the other hand, the state is the organization that guides the people, the entire population of the country in all the important spheres of life — political, economic and ideological. It expresses first of all the common interests of the working classes and the entire nation, it satisfies the most principal and elementary needs and interests.

All these specific traits of a socialist state make it the major force and means through which the working class is guiding the society. All the other organizations and bodies, belonging to the system of organization of socialist society, cooperate with the state, inspire it, help it, complement its activity, and at least they act within the frames created by the state. Only the state is able to

secure proper position of a given society in relation to other societies, to ensure necessary international alliances without which the Polish nation would not be able to develop.

A socialist state has the same high rank in the life of all societies that embarked upon the road of socialism and communism.

4. Relations between state and other elements of system of organization of socialist society in Poland

The relations between state and social organizations belonging to the system of organization of socialist society can be formed on one of the following four platforms: on the platform of leadership-like influence exerted by some organizations on the state, on the platform of partnership between given organizations and the state, on the platform of leadership-like influence exerted by the state on given organizations and on the platform of state's consent to the existence and activity of some organizations.

Social organizations which exert leadership-like influence on the state are the political parties, especially marxist-leninist party — the Polish United Workers Party. It is the leading political force of the society in the construction of socialism. Its ideology is the basis of state activity, its political programme and the programme of socio-economic development of the country, and of foreign policy, is the programme of the state. The PUWP offers its activists for candidates to leading state posts and determines all the cadres policy in the country. It organizes the working people to control state activity with a view to the interests of the working people and concord of this activity with the ideology and programme of the party.

Exerting leadership-like influence on the state and the entire life of the country, the PUWP cooperates with the allied parties — the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party. This cooperation is the basis of the unity of the people in the National Unity Front. The PUWP is the only political representative of the working class — the leading force of the people. It also participates in political representation of peasants, intelligentsia and intermediate strata in towns. Thus, it represents not only the working class but is becoming to an increasingly large extent the party of all the working people, the nationwide party. The UPP is a milieu party. It acts in peasant milieu and partially in intelligentsia milieu. It also has a global programme but its major line of interest is agriculture and the questions of the diet of the nation. It is mainly in these spheres that the UPP cooperates with the PUWP. The DP is also a milieu party. It acts chiefly among artisans and some circles of intelligentsia.

The UPP and the DP recognize the leading role of the working class in the

construction of socialism and the guiding role of the PUWP in the nation. Their programme is also a programme of the building of socialism. They advocate lasting cooperation with the PUWP. On the other hand, the PUWP recognizes independence of the UPP and the DP in all other spheres. It is of the opinion that the two parties play an important and continuous role in the building of socialism in Poland. Both the UPP and the DP — according to their social base and ideological and organizational possibilities — exert leadership-like influence on the state bearing some responsibility for its development, power and functioning. The PUWP and the allied parties ensure social support for the activity of the state. They closely connect the state apparatus with the needs and strivings of the working people. The PUWP and other political parties are concerned about the fact that the forces alien to socialism and interests of the Polish people would not affect adversely the state apparatus, the selection of goals and the policy of the state.

There are relations of partnership between the state and trade unions and ideological and upbringing organizations of youth. The state does not exert leadership-like influence upon the activity of these organizations. These organizations, unlike the political parties, do not influence the state in that way neither. The trade unions represent the interests of the working people, they are the school of civic activeness and commitment to the construction of a developed socialist society. They lend support to the policy of the socialist state, constituting its organized support.

On the other hand, the trade unions enjoy the support and assistance of the state which has complete confidence to the unions.

The ideological and upbringing organizations of youth participate in socialist upbringing of the young generation, make it possible for the youth to be co-responsible for the development of the country and creative influence upon the shaping of its future and the present day. They support the goals and the policy of the state and encourage the young people to take part in their realization. They receive state support and assistance.

The state exerts leadership-like influence upon the cooperatives and associations of various kind. They act within state-provided frames. The state sees to it that their activeness is smoothly geared to the basic goals and tasks of the state, that it is implemented in compliance to the law and the principles of coexistence in a socialist society.

These organizations partially back and complement the activity of the state. They guarantee the participation of broad circles of the citizens in public life, release their initiative and serve to satisfy specific needs of some circles of citizens.

Similar is the attitude of the state to multifarious local groups of social initiative, for instance, to committees organizing some volunteer social commitments,

committees of school building, organizing committees of various public events, jubilees, etc.

The state adopts the attitude of consent in relations with organizations which are not the organizations of the working people of town and countryside and which do not set for themselves the goal of taking part in the construction of socialism. The state consents to the activity of these organizations within the regulations of the law and in compliance to the requirements of lawfulness. It is of the opinion that some needs of citizens, satisfied by these organizations, justify their existence.

On the other hand the PPR does not consent to the formation of associations or to their membership whose goal or activity attack the political and social system of Poland or the legal order of Poland. This kind of associations or their membership are forbidden.

The PPR, being a democratic state, is not a liberal state which allows for the existence in an organized way of all attitudes and socio-political strivings present in society. The PPR is the state of the dictatorship of the working people. It opposes the realization of the interests and strivings of class foes of the working people, it evaluates them as socially adverse, adverse not only towards the working people, but also towards the nation.

The PPR excludes the possibility of existence of organizations opposing the socialist system and the policy of the leadership of the state. It also excludes the possibility of taking over political power from the PUWP and the allied parties by any other oppositional groupings. It would be a threat to the most vital interests of the working people and the nation. The working people did not take over power in the country through a revolutionary struggle to give it back to the classes and social strata which brought Poland to the verge of biological annihilation.⁸

At the same time the development of socialist construction calls for the creation of the widest possible opportunities for the working people and all the Polish patriots to take initiatives, reveal creative ideas, development of criticism of true mistakes. Creative dissatisfaction is the basis for development. A socialist system creates conditions for the release of this dissatisfaction. This allows for the utilization of all talent and good will of the people for the good of the country and all its citizens. Generalizing the experience gained during the building of the foundations of socialism and meeting half way the new needs of the people, the Constitution provides legal grounds for the participation of the citizens in exercising social control, in consultations and discussions concerning the key problems of the development of the country. It strengthens the right of the citizens of turning to all the organs of the state with complaints.

It is understandable and only natural that in face of complex tasks there

may emerge and do emerge differences of opinions, views and propositions in the society.

The existence of this kind of differences is a driving power of the development of society and of the functioning of the entire system of organization of socialist society. However, not every way of expression of different opinions and strivings serves the development of Poland. Referring to the experience of the consultations of June 1976, E. Gierek stressed that:

»The discussion over the matters of fatherland can never be held at a cost of fatherland. Only then our discussions will trigger off the capital of social thinking and collective experience, providing grounds for making the right decisions.»⁹

5. State and self-government organizations.

In the socialist system there are also many local or milieu social needs and aspirations which may be satisfied and realized through the organizations of the people interested. They can be realized by these organizations better or at least equally well as they would be or are realized by the state apparatus. There are also issues deserving realization and the state apparatus is not able to do so. The realization of these needs and aspirations calls for the activities in forms typical of social organizations, and at the same time the activities which are legally as effective as the direct activity of the state. The organizations which take up and realize the above mentioned activities are self-government organizations.¹⁰

There are several types of self-government organizations in the PPR: workers self-government in state enterprises by means of which factory crews take part in management of these enterprises, farmers self-government — today mainly in form of agricultural circles and farming cooperatives and various associations of agricultural producers — artisans self-government represented by guilds and their unions, self-government of inhabitants in towns. The features of the basic organs of self-governments of the working people in town and country can be found in peoples councils which are the bodies of state authority in a region.

Self-government organizations and their bodies are most closely connected with the population of a given region, trade and milieu. They are established by means of elections and remain under strict control of the voters. The existence of self-governments and their development are resting on the conviction that the people interested know best what they want in the scope of issues covered by the activity of a self-government organization. The self-government organs are an excellent school of administration and social life on a broad scale.

The scope of authority of individual kinds of self-government is determined legally to match the social needs and possibilities of state and a given milieu. Self-governments consolidate state apparatus and are a form of socialist democracy. They enjoy the assistance and state care, as they constitute an important factor of the development of the country. Self-government constitute important elements of the system of organization of socialist society in Poland. That is why the Constitution secures for the citizens the participation in ruling and supports the development of various forms of self-governing of the working people.

6. National Unity Front.

The National Unity Front is an important element of the system of organization of socialist society in Poland. It is partially an institutionalized social movement. Its aim is to consolidate the unity of the people in the realization of the tasks of a developed socialist society. It is a platform of common activity of party members and the nonparty people.

The political basis of the NUF is the cooperation of the PUWP, the UPP and the DP.¹¹ Its activeness realizes the participation of the working people in the political and social life of the country. It makes it possible to gear all the citizens into the work for Poland, promotes broader participation of millions of the non-party people in the political and social life of the country.

The NUF committees play an important part in the process of elections to the *Sejm* and people's councils and in organizing contact between representatives and the voters. They also organize social control, activeness and civic initiative.¹² The idea of unity of the nation gathered in the NUF fills up the activity of the state and all social organizations, self-governments and all the Polish patriots.

The NUF was born in the struggle against *Hitler's* oppressors for national and social liberation. Its ideological contents, its socio-political tasks and organizational forms develop according to the transformations in the country and world-wide. However, the everlasting core of the NUF is to gather the people around the working class and its marxist-leninist party in order to rule the country and solve the most vital, current needs of fatherland.

7. State and its apparatus.

The state — as it has already been stressed — is the most important but not the only organization in the society. The working people need not only the state for the realization of the tasks of the building of socialism. The

state has a compulsory character, it realizes the interests of work and subordinates to them all the interests of social strata. The state realizes the functions and tasks in the implementation of which no other organization can replace it. It embodies the sovereignty of the people.

The state organizes its apparatus in order to properly carry out its social role. This apparatus is composed of all the state organs with all the offices subordinated to them and armed forces as well as the state enterprises and factories. The size of the apparatus and its organization along with principles of functioning depend on the size of the state, on the tasks it sets for itself and on its possibilities. The state apparatus serves the state. It cannot be identified with the state though the state acts mainly through its apparatus. Besides serving the state, this apparatus serves in a sense other elements of the system of organization of socialist society.

The state apparatus is organizationally separated within the state. However, the line of division between the apparatus and the citizenry is not sharp. The development of the socialist society aims at gradual elimination of border lines between the state apparatus and the citizenry. Yet, under the current historical conditions the preservation of separation between the state apparatus and the citizens is indispensable.

The state apparatus of the PPR is composed of the organs of state authority which occupy dominant position in the entire state apparatus. These are: organs of jurisdiction which execute the law in the state, organs established in order to safeguard lawfulness and to carry out supervision and organs of state administration. These organs act through proper offices.

They have armed forces at their disposal and supervise state enterprises and factories. Their activity expresses the continuity of the existence of the state. The citizens have every day contact with the organs of state administration and their offices.

State administration is of executive and managing character. Its activity is based on acts of law and consists in organizing social, economic and cultural life of the country and in securing the rights and freedoms of the citizens.¹³

The entire activity of state administration must concentrate around the goals of the society, it must take advantage of broad cooperation of all the links of the system of organizations of socialist society whose target is to take part in the construction of socialism. This activity must be guided by the values recognized by the state. It is not the society for the state but the state for the society. It is not the state for the state apparatus but the state apparatus for the state. State administration is an important and indispensable element of state apparatus. It plays much more important role in a socialist than in bourgeois society. This is so due to the fact that the state is not the major political organization in a society, but also its main economic and social organization.

8. Model of organization of society and its realization.

The above outlined concept of political organization of the Polish society is the generalization of the results of political development of Peoples Poland achieved so far.

It reflects social reality, but at the same time it contains some normative features. It speaks about how the society building for developed socialism in Poland should look like. This concept reflects historical continuity between the process of the construction of foundations of socialism and the process of the building of a developed socialist society. Both of these processes constitute the principal historical stage of passing from capitalism to socialism in Poland. The conclusion of these processes will produce complete and final construction of socialism in Poland. This model cannot be treated as immutable and perfect. It is subject to the process of historical testing and perfecting. Its further development is also positively influenced by experiences in this sphere of other socialist countries as well as by the progressing process of tightening political, economic, ideological and cultural ties among the countries belonging to the commonwealth of sovereign socialist states. Nonetheless, we can say with large probability that during the entire process of building a developed socialist society Poland will not have to face the need of radical transformation of the model of her political organization.

We can also ask whether this model acts efficiently. The answer is that it acts effectively and smoothly, that it is well adjusted to the needs of building socialism in Poland. However, it does not mean that the model functions without any disturbances. The disturbances occurred in the past and they cannot be excluded in future. The important feature of this model is the fact that it can overcome difficulties by its own internal forces and use experience gained for further perfecting.

The hitherto emerged (after all infrequent and only in some links of the model) disturbances in the functioning of the model resulted directly from malfunctioning of some basic links of the system of organization of the socialist society in Poland. They were present within the marxist—leninist party along the line — party masses and part of the leadership of the party — and in the sphere of activity of trade unions. Trade union organizations not always managed to realize fully the tasks set for them in the presented model of organization of socialist society.

The efficient functioning of the model may also be disturbed in case when some organizations belonging to it want to play somewhat different part from that which results from their nature. For instance, when some religious organization wants to play the role of a political party, opposing to some extent the construction of socialism, or when other secular organizations or associations would like to become a political party.

Bearing this in mind, we can say that the existence and correct development of the system of organization of society in Poland are conditioned by many circumstances, that they call for conscious and organized activity in favour of consolidation and betterment of this system. They also call for preventing the existing, even if only potentially, factors disturbing the functioning of the system. Marxist—leninist party is the social force, the architect and guardian of the model in question. It is also the key to the functioning and development of this model.

The socialist, Polish model of organization of society is a pluralistic one. It is one of many types of such models. On the organizational political platform, it takes into account the fact of differentiation (internal one) of the society: differentiation according to class and social strata and professional criteria, according to extent of commitment to the course of construction of socialist Poland, according to regions, outlook on life, education, age sex, etc. However, this model differs considerably from bourgeois and democratic pluralistic model. The main difference is that the existence of political parties opposing socialist system and leadership of the state is alien to the socialist model. It is characterized by the lasting, leading position of the same party — marxist—leninist. Its vital element is the strive for exposing interests and aspirations common for all the working people, the striving for the moral and political unity of the people on the platform of the construction of socialist system and consolidation of Poland's power. A characteristic feature of this model is the promotion of the domination of socialist ideology and socialist way of life in all spheres. A socialist model wants every milieu of the working people to be able to fully voice its needs and aspirations, to be able to contribute every value possible to the common national achievement.

It is a faulty opinion that only democratic bourgeois systems of political organization of society are pluralistic. There is not only one model of pluralistic society which on top of everything would be identified with a system of organization of bourgeois society in some countries.

There are historically different models of pluralistic organization of society, and within their frames there are various degrees of pluralism in various spheres of life.

It is also a faulty opinion that the socialist model of organization of society is not pluralistic, that it is monistic. A non-pluralistic model of organization could not be a democratic one. Neither would it be able to develop and to be consolidated. It would be alien to the peoples and democratic nature of socialism.

NOTES

1 Resolution of the 7th Congress of PUWP, For further dynamic development of socialist construction — for higher quality of work and living conditions of the people, *Nowe Drogi* nr. 1, 1976, p. 119—120.

2 Same source page 120.

3 Programmatic Report of Political Bureau delivered by the 1st Secretary of PUWP CC comrade Edward Gierek, 'for further dynamic development of socialist construction — for higher quality of work and living conditions of the people, *Nowe Drogi* nr 1, 1976, p. 73.

4 Same source page 73.

5 Collective work titled *Organizacija socialisticzeskogo obszczestwa* (Organization of socialist society in Poland), Moscow 1975, p. 12. It is the Russian translation of the book published by PWN publishing house in 1971.

6 Speech of 1st Secretary of PUWP CC comrade Edward Gierek made at the 13th Plenum of PUWP CC, *Nowe Drogi* nr. 3; 1974, p. 8—9.

7 Speech of 1st Secretary of PUWP CC comrade Edward Gierek delivered at a meeting of the 1st Secretaries of PUWP organizations in biggest factories of July 19, 1976, *Nowe Drogi* nr. 8, 1976, p. 10.

8 A. Lopatka — Socializm i tak nazywajemaja swobodnaja igra politiceskich sil, in the work entitled *Aktualnyje problemy bordy s antikommunizmom*, Moscow, 1973, p. 159 and next.

9 Speech of 1st Secretary of PUWP CC comrade Edward Gierek, *Nowe Drogi* nr. 8 1976, p. 10.

10 A. Lopatka, *Introduction to jurisprudence*, Third corrected edition, Warsaw 1975, p. 141.

11 Resolution of the 7th PUWP Congress, same source page 139.

12 A. Redelbach, *National Unity Front, its systemic function*, Warsaw 1974, p. 41 and passim.

13 A. Burda — *Polish state law*, fifth complemented edition, Warsaw 1976 p. 300.