

In this Issue

We would like to dedicate the fifth issue of Warsaw Forum of Economic Sociology to the memory of the truly remarkable Polish economist Tadeusz Kowalik (1926–2012). Born to a peasant family in the small city of Kajatenówka in Eastern Poland, Tadeusz knew very well the meaning of social inequalities, which gnawed endlessly at pre-war Poland's social fabric. In the countryside small farmers struggled mightily to survive in the shadow of large landowners. Many young people, sensitive to the rampant injustice, decried such a social order. One of those rebels was young Tadeusz. It is no surprise that Tadeusz became a socialist at a young age, and stayed one. After World War II, like many his peers, Kowalik accepted the new socialist state, which promptly launched radical reforms in agriculture, parceling huge latifundia and promised to build a just, classless society. Along with thousands of other people of leftist convictions, Tadeusz joined the communist party. He studied economics at the University of Warsaw with Oskar Lange, and became deeply involved in the reform movement of 1956. He served as editor of *Życie Gospodarcze* from 1956–1958, where he strongly promoted the reform of state socialism. Removed from that position when the authorities broke with their reformism, he soon left the Party as well, but never ceased being a socialist. Following the collapse of the authoritarian state socialist system in 1989 and the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy and market economy, Kowalik emerged as a leading opponent of the neoliberal course of reforms, advocating the idea of a social market economy instead. In numerous articles in the early 1990s, he promoted alternative models of a socially just market economy. Indeed, he was one of the few in all of Eastern Europe at the time to discuss the 'varieties of capitalism' that existed, long before that term became a catchword in social science. He was a strong advocate of the Swedish model of social democratic capitalism, and wrote tirelessly of the crucial role of trade unions for a successful, stable, just market economy. He is credited with the saying that while Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first democratic Prime Minister in Poland, 'wanted to go to Bonn' (that is, to emulate

the *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*), his Deputy, Leszek Balcerowicz, known for neo-liberal inclinations, ‘directed the Polish economy towards Chicago’. Comparative political economy was one of the key interests to Kowalik, who for the rest of his life studied the variety of capitalism and remained a fervent critic of neo-liberalism.

Our journal has always had the greatest respect for Professor Kowalik. Two of us, David Ost and Juliusz Gardawski, fondly remember our numerous stimulating discussions with him. We did not always agree, we quarreled about whether Poland could really disregard the Washington Consensus in the 1990s; about whether ‘Bonn’ or ‘Stockholm’ were really options for Poland at the time. But conversations with Tadeusz were always stimulating and provocative, and we never ceased learning from him. In his last years, Tadeusz returned to the experience of the early 1990s and the specifics of the Polish transition, and produced three of the most important books about that time. The first is his 2009 book ‘www.polskatransformacja.pl’ (published in English in 2012 under the harsher title *From Solidarity to Sellout*), where he summarizes the developments at the time and develops his argument about why alternatives existed. In 2010, he published *Stanisław Gomułka i transformacja polska*, [*Stanisław Gomułka and the Polish Transformation*] containing primary documents from the 1980s archives of Stanisław Gomułka, and an extended conversation with Gomułka about the development of the neoliberal reform program at the time, and about how it ended up victorious. A year later he published *Transformacja polska: dokumenty i analizy 1990* [*Polish Transformation. Documents and Analyses 1990*], with still more Gomułka archives and his own analysis of them. In the future, no history of the period can be written without reference to of these works.

The project with Gomułka allows us to see another side of the Professor’s personality: he never let political and ideological differences interfere with personal relations or friendships. Tadeusz knew Gomułka from the 1960s, when the latter was a radical left student activist in Warsaw, before leaving the country in 1969. Abroad, Gomułka changed his views diametrically and became a prominent neoliberal economist, and one of the architects of Poland’s transformation. Yet the two eminent scholars remained friends.

Just three months before Tadeusz’s death, the editors of WFES spoke with him about publishing a debate on the nature of Polish capitalism in the context of the Varieties of Capitalism approach. He knew of the paper by Jerzy Hausner, which eventually appeared in the previous issue, very critical about Kowalik’s thesis concerning the Polish mode of capitalism. Tadeusz wanted to respond. He even told us the title, quite simple, of his projected paper: ‘Polish Capitalism’. Sadly, the paper

will never be written. The debate, however, will go forward, and it is and will be much richer debate thanks to the work of our friend, Tadeusz Kowalik.

At the end of this issue, we publish a review of his 2009 book ‘*www.polska transformacja.pl*’. In the forthcoming issue, we will publish some excerpts from Kowalik’s late works, to allow our non-Polish readers to become more acquainted with his thoughts.

In the previous issue of WFES we presented a paper by Jerzy Hauser on Polish model of capitalism. It was planned as a starting point for a debate on varieties of capitalism. In the current issue the debate is taken forward with a series of papers devoted to an analysis of various modes of capitalism in Europe and beyond.

The current issue of WFES consists of five articles. The first, ‘History and Current Developments of Trade Unionism in Poland’, by Juliusz Gardawski, Adam Mrozowicki and Jan Czarzasty, is based on a report prepared by the authors for the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), but enhanced here with the latest available statistical data on union membership. The article explores the structures and dynamics of the three national trade union organisations (Solidarity, OPZZ and FZZ), utilizing survey data collected on a regular basis by Poland’s public research agency as well as long-term data obtained directly from the trade unions.

Guglielmo Meardi’s piece, “‘Mediterranean Capitalism’ under EU Pressure: Labour Market Reforms in Spain and Italy, 2010–2012’, discusses recent labour market developments in Spain and Italy. The author uses the field of labour relations as the exemplary area to analyse tensions between the embedded, traditional forms of capitalism entrenched in each country’s national context, and the ‘disembedded’ model currently being promoted and prescribed to member states by the European Union today.

Thanks to Krystian Karnia, we offer our readers a close look at contemporary Chinese political economy. In his paper, ‘China’s capitalism’, the author investigates the evolution of the ‘hybrid capitalism’ which emerged following the market reforms of the 1980s. Giving examples of escalating economic problems, Karnia argues that China’s current form of capitalism is marked by profound inefficiencies, and that further development of the country will depend on the withdrawal of economic decision-making by state and party officials.

Italy is also the site for empirical analysis in Antonio Russo’s ‘Governing the innovation’. The paper compares the development of two different technological parks in Italy’s North-East: the Area Science Park of Trieste, and the Vega of Venezia, whose strategies for innovation governance vary to a substantial degree. Using both

qualitative and quantitative methods, the author shows that institutional settings at the local level can be powered by a model of governance innovation.

Damian Byszewski delivers a thorough analysis of the Irish model of social dialogue in his article, 'Social Partnership in Ireland', a paper which contributes to debates on European and Polish social dialogue conducted in previous issues of WFES. Byszewski explores the origins, evolution and significance of social dialogue in Ireland, and looks at its fate in the context of the all-embracing crisis that has been sweeping the country (no longer known as the 'Celtic Tiger') in recent years.

Finally, Wojciech Morawski's 'The Aviation Industry in Communist Poland and the Barriers to its Development', discusses how aircraft manufacturing after World War II struggled in the shadow of the USSR, yet still managed to survive, what did not happen everywhere in the Eastern Bloc. Morawski's case study shows us some of the barriers to development that were pervasive in the central-command economy of state socialism.

We hope that the current issue allows the debate on varieties of capitalism to gain momentum, and that readers will keenly await our next issue containing another set of papers on the diverse faces of modern capitalist economies around the world.