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ENTERPRISE AS AN INSTITUTION IN POLAND

Discussions on the economic reform being implemented in Poland at present are focused on the enterprise, which should undergo major changes according to the assumptions of the reform. The principles of the economic reform published in 1981, i.e. autonomy, self-financing, and self-management are not only to increase production effectiveness of enterprises but also lead to recovery of the entire national economy. The fact that a special attention is attached to changes in the enterprise activity suggest that fundamental barriers to effective economic development of the country causing dislocations in the functioning of the whole economic system were to be found in the enterprise.

Such way of reasoning makes us ponder over circumstances in which the enterprise functions in Polish economy, its model concept, assumed activities and possibilities of their realization. Therefore, presenting my views I would like to focus attention to conditions which led to deviations from the model of enterprise assumed in socialism and economic and social consequences resulting from these deviations. In premise of model transformation of the enterprise as an institution characteristic for post-war Poland, mechanisms began to appear aiming at adaptation of this institution to real conditions of activity, decisive for the role of enterprise in economy and society. These mechanisms should be included in discussion about changes in Polish economic system, because they decide about effectiveness of the assumed changes and reveal dilemmas facing the reformers.

1. Assumed model of the enterprise

A specific characteristic of the political system in Poland realized after 1945 was a central control of all spheres of the social life with emphasis on all spheres of economy. The significance of economic power for exercising political power was earlier acknowledged by the communist party and included in its ideological programmes (concept of struggle for power, model of economy, concept of economic development). The moment the political power was won, central control over economy constituted a basic mechanism of controlling economic structures and the main instrument of consolidating the political power [K a l i Ń s k i, 1977].

Referring to genesis of the economic and political system in the post-war Poland I do not intend to describe well known facts and circumstances. It seems, however, that it is necessary to outline them because it was in this period of Poland's history that the specific type of relationships between the political and economic spheres was developing. Its essence lay in dominance of the political sphere over the economic life, on the one hand, and a strong dependence of the former on effective performance of the latter [W i a t r, 1974].

This first dependence was revealed in subordination of the entire economy to political centres of the state power in a direct way, with its practical expression being not only determination of the economic development strategy (forced industrialization, predominance of sector I) by political centres but also determination of organizational structure of the economy and management mechanisms (centralism based on administrative intermediate structures between the Centre and the enterprise, system of management based on commands, centralized allocation of industrial supplies and control). Monopolization of the economy facilitated subordination of its development to political and ideological goals represented by the Centre.

Political dominance of the structures of power over the economy, centralization of commands and control were to serve not only the exercising of power in the society but also its social

validation and therefore the ever-growing importance of effective functioning of the new system of economy started to be emphasized. Thus, there is revealed the second dependence accounting for a great sensitivity of the political-ideological sphere on the scale and mode of attaining the assumed economic goals by the economy. Effective economic performance of the national economy becomes not only a criterion of efficiency of the political power but it also plays a role of a criterion of relevance and feasibility of the ideology lying at foundations of the socio-political system [M o r a w s k i, 1985].

The strategy of exercising political power in Poland is therefore closely connected with effectiveness of the strategy of economic development. A syndrome of dependences "the political power - the economy" gave a definite character to the Polish economic structures and their functions which was reflected in attitude of the political power to the enterprise as an institution. It is revealed in determining by the political power its basic role not only in the process of production but also in the concept of construction and functioning of the political system. Activities of the political power fully subordinated enterprises to political goals of the state and restricted their activity to implementation of planned tasks imposed from above (entrance of the party to organizational structures of enterprises, liquidation of workers councils, branch centralization of trade unions and subordination of their activity to political goals of the party and the state). In this situation, enterprises were deprived of their classical attribute such as entrepreneurship and an equally important characteristic such as self-financing of their activity.

In such circumstances, the enterprise was only a place of performing productive work, with active involvement and entrepreneurship of management and personnel being directed at lowering their planned tasks. The economic structure, along with consolidation of centralization and command system in management of the economy, evolved in the direction of the "state-enterprises" model, or at best - the "enterprises-branches" model, in which the role of nominal enterprise was reduced to an executive agency of these huge and bureaucratized structures.

The main function of the enterprise is production. Initially, this function enjoyed a strict priority (production regardless of costs, at all means) with the volume of production fixed in the central plan being the main criterion in evaluation of the enterprise's performance. That allowed to realize a slogan about a common access to employment (unit cost and individual productivity of a worker were not directly linked with wages) but it also blocked effectively introduction of modern technologies based on reduction of direct labour, and also it hampered development of mechanisms providing motivation to qualitatively better, more efficient and better organized work.

In the assumed model of socialist enterprise an essential role was played by a set of nonproductive functions imposed on enterprise. There could be distinguished among them two main categories, i.e. political and social. The former consist in mobilizing enterprises and their work force around political goals of the party and it concerns not only implementation or overimplementation of the plan (production always fulfills political function in socialism), but also execution of various undertakings of non-productive, propaganda and political character organized by the party (participation in elections, celebrations of party holidays, mass meetings, festive celebrations etc. - see: N a r o j e k, 1973). Presence of the party in the enterprise organizational structure facilitates organization of activities of such kind constituting, at the same time an essential element of control over this basic area of development of the working class and its activity.

The category of social functions encompasses a wide range of tasks ensuing from the functioning of the enterprise as a social system and, in part, from the protective function performed by the state. The authors dealing with analysis of this sphere of the enterprise activity distinguish many different functions here such as recreation, supply of personnel with cheaper goods or those in short supply, social education, professional and ideological education and training, cultural function, and even urbanization function [K u l p i ń s k a, 1969, 1972; K o h o u t, 1976]. It should be noted here that significance of these functions becomes largely enhanced along with market dis-

ruptions caused by consecutive economic collapses. At such times, employees exert a strong pressure on their enlargement (this refers especially to the socio-welfare function), while the economic and political administration tends to be much more inclined to fulfill these expectations (pacifying of workers' dissatisfaction moods).

Consequently, the model of enterprise, assumed by the variant of socialism existing in Poland, is an institution performing many different functions. Apart from production, these functions include political and ideological indoctrination, welfare assistance, propagation of specific cultural values, education etc. The assumed model was, thus, perceiving the work establishment as an institution, which while executing its production tasks - basic in economic and political categories for the political system - would be playing, at the same time, a role integrating the personnel, creating an aggregation of "community" character, and concentrating its activity on work, the party policy and the ideology of real socialism [K o h o u t, 1976].

2. Dilemmas of multifunctional activity

The enterprise model assumed by the creators of the social-economics system was a true reflection of the concept about creation of the system and strategy of its functioning. The role of the enterprise was boiled down to a place of executing a definite fragment of tasks planned at the level of the central state power, which having at its disposal means of production, raw materials, and mechanisms shaping prices and wages took over, in fact, the role of the enterprise monopolizing, moreover, not only production but market as well (distribution of goods).

Presumed intention of those who created such a system and concept of the enterprise was to base economy on rational utilization of resources possessed by the "state - enterprise" striving to accomplish the planned economic goals. Their accomplishment was to ensure, simultaneously, realization of political and ideological goals. Meanwhile, the expanded system of the state bureaucracy (planning, administration, control) was to ensure

effective functioning of this monopolistic giant. An assumption, on which such a concept had to rely, was a conviction that economic successes would be the best showpiece of the new political power being accompanied by increased social support for it. At the same time it was hoped that the society and the work force would accept and identify as their own not only production goals posed before them but also conditions in which these goals should be executed. There began to appear various problems connected with the functioning of newly-established economic, social and political structures, clearly testifying and drawing attention to falseness of such assumptions.

In the economic sphere, these problems were connected with ineffectiveness characterizing functioning mechanisms of industrial structures, detachment of their activity from criteria of economic rationality, arbitrary - compatible with goals pursued by the centres of power - valuation of work (branch priorities for heavy and extractive industries), wastage of resources and qualifications (criteria of appraisal of employees and their promotion not based on their performance and skills but political engagement), fetishization of planned tasks (appraisal criteria based on indices of production activity expressed in terms of value), lack of elasticity in planning and production etc. Generally speaking, it appeared to be easier to build the new economic system through realization of the industrialization strategy than to ensure effective functioning of newly-formed model structures. Demanding attitude of the working class, the basic because ideological element in construction of the model of economy and social life for the political power, became another problem appearing before the political authorities.

At the enterprise level these problems revolved around ensuring a state of relative equilibrium between its production function and remaining functions. The former constituted an essential element safeguarding not only legitimization of efficiency of the new authorities but also creating a chance for enhanced social support for them (thus, ensuring their stability). On the other hand, the remaining functions were becoming an indispensable condition to realize the first function, which was considered to

be of fundamental importance in this sense that it was paving the way for accomplishment of political and ideological goals.

Omitting here other factors, which were influencing effectiveness of the centralistic model, the above mentioned circumstances determined, to a big extent, appearance of dilemmas facing the "state - enterprise" whose solution was sought by the state in the area of nominal "enterprises - places of work". That solution aimed at definition of conditions for activity of enterprises so as to allow them to lose as little as possible from their basic production function in connection with the appearing necessity of expanding their non-productive functions, with foremost among them being the socio-welfare and the ensuing political functions.

The forty-year history of the enterprise in the Polish political-social system provides an illustration of attempts to solve this dilemma, with periods of political-economic crises being clinical examples of undertaken steps. These steps consisted in attaching greater importance to socio-welfare functions (June and October 1956, December 1970, August 1980) and enlarging self-management powers of employees and economic autonomy of enterprises. These were, however, shammed activities because they never changed the rules of the economic game and mechanisms defining their conditions. It was stated that model of central control over economy can be identified with the essence of socialism, such situation being described as "democratic decentralization" in economy, all this resembled shifting of the same elements within the frames of assumed unchangeable construction [B e k s i a k, 1976]. Productive work, on the other hand, due to its close relationship with provision of always poor market, never lost its political character. In period of crisis, and, thus, at times of drastic disclosure of the system's disfunctions, it was assuming the significance of an index of ideological and patriotic attitudes and a basic solution allowing to overcome crisis situation in the propaganda.

Thus, the main dilemmas appearing in the field of activity of the "state - enterprise" result from the assumed multi-functional character of enterprises and at times irreconcilable divergences between the economic and political calculus. It is es-

pecially difficult to solve dilemmas occurring when in the field of activity of enterprises there appear economic entities accepting perception of the reality contradictory to the vision assumed in the centralistic model of the functioning of the enterprise and the economy.

3. Adaptative model of the socialist enterprise

The sources of disturbances in assumed centralistic model could be found in a misleading conviction that degree of responsiveness of participants of the enterprise's social system to mobilizing appeals of "struggle for the plan" was big enough to cope successfully with requirements posed by centrally planned tasks. The model of the socio-economic system based on "pure economy" and assumptions about effectiveness of the centralistic management had to be submitted to adjustments as a result of intervention of the "social factor" whose needs were performing a secondary and less important role in the model assumptions in relation to economic parameters and functions of the system [N a r o j e k, 1973]. However, the atmosphere of struggle and total mobilization of the society for execution of production goals (characteristic for the war economy) could not provide motivation for the long run self-denial of society even for the sake of better future. Other sources of disturbances were priorities granted to definite industries resulting in progressive differentiation of importance and privileges possessed by various industrial branches, which caused that the model monolith began to crack from inside. Thus, in practice, the monocentric system of economy was transforming into multi-unit structure of group of interest, which led to growing divergences between the assumed and real functions of the economy. At the enterprise level of activity, new determinants began to manifest themselves clearly, determinants which haven't been considered yet in model assumptions. These were the interests of enterprises and their workforce - a significant element of industrial reality.

The enterprise was becoming an area of collision between the activity strategy of the political power units (external determinants) and the activity strategy of employees (internal

determinants). The external determinants create formal-legal frames for activity of the enterprise, and apart from reflecting the strategy of economy's management and its functioning, they also represent the main goals of the political system. They are oriented at two basic goals - (1) preservation of the political power and its legitimization through effective achievement of economic goals by the enterprise (and the entire economic system), and (2) ideological indoctrination (socialization) through influencing awareness and attitudes of workers [J a ś k i e w i c z, 1985].

The internal determinants have their roots in characteristics of participants of the enterprise's social system and its structure. A special role is played here by groups and categories of employees and institutional entities (socio-political organizations) differing in their share in the power, varying (sometimes quite considerably) goals and strategies of activity subordinated to them. All participants of the enterprise's social system act within the framework of conditions determined externally but their different interests and expectations addressed to the system lead to differentiation of their attitudes and behaviours.

The enterprise's functioning is an effect of adjustment of its social system to conditions generated outside its premises. The adjustment process consists in modifying the strategies of activities of the system participants striving to safeguard their interests in given conditions of activity. Appearance of elements of game and different strategies of employees' activities on the area of the enterprise, frequently met differences in their goals in comparison with the enterprise's formal goals constitute, as it was already mentioned, an element of the reality, which was not envisaged by the assumptions of centralistic model. Such a situation exerts obviously its influence on the way in which the enterprise functions, with the scope in which it modifies its functioning being dependent on the scale of divergences between goals of the enterprise and those of participants of its social system.

Elements of game and interests also appear in contacts maintained by the enterprise with external entities, since ex-

ternal determinants resulting from the command-type model of management favour developments of narrowly-conceived interests contradictory with the state interests (declaring a lower real productive potential, excessive building of inventories, false reports, restriction of production assortments etc.). These phenomena become symptomatic for all levels of organization and management of the economic system, with game, interest and bargaining becoming categories replacing general social rationality in real mechanisms of economy's functioning. They block any changes which could increase the existing margin of uncertainty in activities of economic entities [R y c h a r d, 1980].

The resulting situation is characterized with features, which verify the negatively assumed model of the "state - enterprise" and it is contradictory with the assumptions and expectations connected with construction of the centralistic model of the national economy management. Transfer of basic characteristics of the enterprise - its autonomy and entrepreneurship - to external system of managing economic structures leads in effect to autonomization of goals of the entire economy. The model of enterprise as an effectively operating executive unit has transformed into the model of institution adjusting itself to conditions of activity imposed upon it and striving, simultaneously, to protect its oftentime distinct, narrowly-conceived interests. Meanwhile, effectiveness of assimilated mechanisms of adaptation to relatively stable conditions of activity minimizes production risk, and makes it unnecessary for the enterprise to involve fully into production activity and display innovativeness in its operations. This undermines the effectiveness of production and socialization functions assumed in the model. The ultimate result is a mix of determinants, being negative from social and economic points of view, causing that adaptability becomes a basic skill to be possessed by all units of the economic system.

4. Dilemmas of the reform

The absence of natural mechanisms regulating social and economic life in socialism accounts for the fact that each social

change must be generated within the political centre of power. Strong interrelationships of economy with the ideological sphere and ideologization of the society functioning model cause that the existing solutions tend to petrify themselves [Szczepański, 1973].

Petrification mechanisms fixed within the assumed model of social reality in Poland are very deep rooted and to overcome them is the main condition of any successful attempt at the reform of the existing reality. Apart from ideologization for which the existing political, economic, administrative and social structures are synonymous with socialism - permanence of the model is generated from the logic of adaptative activities of political and economic entities (social groups and organizations). Each change in the existing thus recognized situation constitutes a danger of restricting their present possibilities of attaining goals and interests. The strategy of their activity is to block any reformatory initiatives. Low effectiveness in economy, however, provokes the Centre to make attempts at its recovery.

All attempts of economic reforms which have been made so far prove that the Centre confines the main reasons of poor economic situation to the area of the enterprise. Also the legal regulations connected with the last reform of economy (1981) mainly concern the enterprises (bills of 1981 about enterprise and self-managed workers councils). The enterprise is described there as autonomous, self-managed institution self-financing its activity - therefore - having organizational and work-force entity. Legal opportunities have been created to change the present concept of role and function of enterprise in the economic system on condition that changes will follow as regards mechanisms of functioning of this system, consequently also changes in the political system. Up till now, no such changes have been observed, and the reform in its present form does not influence increase of effectiveness in economy. The political centre still faces obstacles difficult to overcome and must answer questions as: (1) is it possible to reconcile the central planning and subordination of economy to political goals with autonomy of production enterprises, (2) how to reconcile autonomy of enterprise with priority of national economy goals, (3) how to reconcile autonomy and self-

-management of enterprise keeping the attribute of entrepreneurship outside its area (government participation in the distribution of means and raw materials), (4) how to reconcile self-financing of enterprise with suppressive tendency towards autonomization of its goals in relation to goals of the whole economy and political interests of the Centre.

Such situation at the same time makes it impossible to achieve the main goal of the reform - i.e. increase of active production involvement of enterprises and their employees. Anticipating the point of view represented by the Centre - two-out of three fundamental assumptions of the reform - autonomy and self-management - constitute only means leading to this goal. They aim at releasing social factors of production (involvement, innovation propensity, savings etc.). Self-financing, as the third element of changes, is to ensure in enterprise a priority for the production function, mitigate the pressure of employees' claims on management of enterprise and the state by subordinating the scope of benefits provided within the framework of socio-welfare to effectiveness with which economic goals, strictly connected with production, are achieved.

Modifications of the model of centrally managed economy performed mainly at the level of the enterprise create situation, in which responsibility for success of the reform, productive activity, economic effectiveness of enterprises and the entire economy is shifted from the Centre onto enterprises and their work-force. This aspect of reform enhances the priority of production function and becomes common goal of the Centre, enterprises and employees. The significance of the political function is not undermined at all, but is being equipped with a more concrete dimension of good and efficient work. The remaining functions of the enterprise must be limited in such a situation, with odium of responsibility for their performance resting, to some extent, on employees themselves. It also contributes to developing a sense of coresponsibility for the country's economic situation among employees.

Inconsistency in execution of the reform assumptions in areas lying outside the enterprise weakens its basic elements such as increased rights of enterprise and consequently, severs the

assumed ties between a change in the enterprise situation and increase in economic effectiveness of management on the global scale.

A different group of issues appears if we consider the point of view represented by individual and group entities constituting the social system of enterprise. Assumed changes in the reform must also affect the possibility of realization of their goals and interests together with present strategy of activities within the enterprise.

On the area of enterprise there is a confrontation of mechanisms and goals of reform viewed from the Centre's perspective and expectations of enterprises and employees connected with the reform. On the one hand the reform is viewed as a tool to increase effectivity of work, on the other hand - as a variable affecting possibility of realization of individual and group interests (power, prestige, career, entity in industrial and human relationships etc.). Distrust of employees (society) towards intentions of Centre's activities, fear of being burdened with main costs connected with coming out of the economic crisis, together with limited motivation of payment (inflation, market shortages) may result in effects contrary to the reformers' expectations. Instead of prerequisite social readiness to participate in the reform and increased productive activity the employees may exert pressure on development of social and protective functions of the enterprise (natural services and benefits such as flats, consumer durables, etc.).

Reformation of Polish economy, being restricted to the level of enterprise, has again failed its goals in the post-war history of Poland and the reformers are constantly facing the same dilemmas.

The most important problem results from the absence of a model mechanisms that would boost the economic system, increasing elasticity of its functioning. Reforms always follow collapse of economic and political assumptions, they are thus, implemented in unfavourable conditions. Such situation increases effectivity of performances aiming at blocking all changes by those, whose feel endangered since their interests were in existing conditions. Politization of economy characteristic for centrally planned and

controlled model makes it easy to refer to political and ideological arguments both by those who strive for changes and by those who perceive symptoms of socio-political deviations in changes. The next problem appears - what are the limits of system identity. It is an extremely difficult problem to solve in a situation where each change implemented in the existing model of social life may be considered as violation of system identification.

These problems result in lack of consequence in change of conditions in which economy functions, unsuccessful attempts of reconciliation of centrally controlled economy with autonomy of enterprises and permanent coexistence of two models - centralistic and adaptative.

5. An outline of a new model

Almost 10 years old period of reforming Polish system of economy may give rise to a question about the possibilities of solving dilemmas presented earlier. An attempt at finding the answer must be preceded by the definition of the character and prerequisite determining reformatory activities.

The meaning attached to the idea of "economic reform" coded in social consciousness is restricted to changes of economic structures in such a way that they would increase their effectivity. The idea of economic rationality based on relation of goals (production, division) and incurred costs.

Economic calculus in socialism based on these relations is subordinative to political calculus encompassing larger class of phenomena than economy and different criteria of effectivity. These criteria can be boiled down to ensuring power for communist party which gives full control over social life in this also over economic system of the state [B i e ł y c h, 1960]. Economic reform in socialism (centrally controlled model) has not only political aspects but is an evident example of political activity. Increased effectivity of economic system is a strategic political goal of the Centre (power). It is manifested by the party control over "forces, groups and forms of activity desirable from the political point of view" and encouragement of only such

social forces to active performance [Szczepański, 1972]. It concerns also industrial enterprise and activity of entities operating there.

Political prerequisites of the reform make it possible to expand interpretation of phenomena connected with functioning of economic institution and enhance influence of model disfunction of political-economic system on tensions and conflicts existing within the enterprise. The source of low effectivity of economic system lies outside enterprise. They are rooted in model assumptions of centrally controlled political system characteristic for Polish variant of socialism [Staniszkis, 1980; Jaśkiewicz, 1985]. The influence of political and system factors on functioning of economy and failure of the reformatory process clarifies reasons of economic crisis in postwar Poland [Iaras, 1986].

The present function of the enterprise and chances to change the conditions of its activity will become real, when the rules of economic game are changed, together with the existing political system. The change of political system constitutes an indispensable condition for the successful implementation of reform in Polish economy.

Social relations in socialism can be seen as the resultant of mutually references of two social groups - "the deciders" and "employees". The first group represents the centre of political power and therefore, their activity (mainly legal and regulatory) is directed at stimulations of employees' reactions complaisant with the interests of power. The behaviour of employees often diverges from "the deciders'" expectations and give rise to subsequent regulatory reactions which change the previous ones which in the power's opinion were not perfect enough. The intentional activity of "the deciders" provoking spontaneous reactions of employees create a tangle of mutual interreactions characteristic for social relations in socialism [Narojek, 1973].

Referring to this vision of double-entities, the possibilities of change in conditions of enterprise activity depend on the readiness of deciders to change political concept of power in the system and also to lift off the priority of politics over economy. Proper legal regulations should be the index of centre's readiness

to introduce political changes. They would create conditions for political and in consequence decisive pluralism. The deciders's activities would be self restrict their own power, thus, they would be unprecedented in the postwar history of Poland. The centre of power would again face the dilemma accompanying all attempts of reforms in socialism - definition and the extent of changes acceptable within the system identity. Each solution fulfilling the condition of preserving entity of economic organizations (enterprise), employees and political entity of society has a chance of full success in economic reforms.

Assuming that such activities of the centre are realistic, they would create essential changes in conditions of enterprise activity and orientate it towards economic rationality. Organizational entity (autonomy) makes it possible to change enterprise goals and strategy of activity. Emphasis put on productive function shifts the area of game from economic centre to the market, and the game of interests is played with other producers. The competition of market offers replaces lobbistic pressures and bargaining with the centre. It influences criteria of production profitability. Also, it exerts pressure on economic rationalization in enterprise structure and changes conditions of its performance. The social system of enterprise undergoes changes and present strategies of its participants. Thus, the fundamental changes would occur in enterprise functions they would affect outside relations with the system and internal structure. We would be able to speak about the change of present, socialistic model of enterprise.

Restoration of classical attributes of enterprise such as autonomy, self-financing and entrepreneurship, do not solve to full extent the problem of economic effectivity of the system. This goal may be limited by the reaction of its social entities. Dilemmas of how to reconcile contradictions between production function and social function may appear in the enterprise. Economic arguments may contradict social goals, and employees' (self-management) and enterprise's entities (autonomy) may be exploited to obstruct rationalization processes and preference may be granted to narrowly conceived interests. This pessimistic variant is based on the assumption that effects of crisis (shortage of

resources, raw materials, consumer durables) exert stronger influence on strategy of enterprise performance than political and social effects resulting from self-limitation of centre of power. Since there is probability that such situation may occur, the concept of "managerial" enterprise based on sole dominance of economic calculus and professional skills of employees seems unreal. Social barriers existing in enterprise would hinder its implementation although that would be the most effective way to cure Polish economy.

Another variant of scenario assumes that enterprise (employees) will be ready to cover the costs connected with lifting economy from crisis in exchange for changes in political system (political pluralism, democracy). In such situation it would be necessary to abandon expectations and demands directed at centre, to grant agreement for the priority of productive function, to be ready to bear costs connected with reorganization of enterprise structure. In other words selflimitation of employees' interests would be essential in such situation. Employees' entity (self-management) may constitute an important element which would make the implementation of such variant possible. The main role of employees' self-management would boil down to - apart from definition of enterprise strategy of activity - controlling management decisions and safeguarding fundamental interests of personnel. The self-management council would on the one hand restrict the managerial activities of the directors on the other hand - ensure the feeling of security and causativity and closer identification of employees with enterprise goals [G l i s z c z y Ń s k a, 1981]. Employees' entity rooted in the "self-managerial" concept of enterprise constitutes essential, although insufficient condition of success in economic reform. It may, however, exert a positive influence on processes of changes if the enterprise finally obtains possibilities to realize the remaining attributes of reform - autonomy and self-financing (granted according to bill in 1981).

Self restriction of the Centre and change of its function in economic system will change the model of enterprise and its role in this system. The enterprise will approach the productive institution whose activity is based on entrepreneurship and readi-

ness to bear risks connected with such activity. The internal structure of enterprise will be based on organizational and economic rationality. These features approximate the model to classical definition of enterprise. Features of model must emphasize the role of self-management institutions guaranteeing social entity of employees. The model must reconcile economic rationality (goal of reform) with social rationality (decisive condition for its success), therefore it can be described as "self-governed and managerial".

The chances of creating such model of enterprise lie outside its area. They depend on change of socio-economic system and consequence of the centre in putting an end to 40 years of economic experimentations.

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PRZEDSIĘBIORSTWO JAKO INSTYTUCJA W POLSCE

Artykuł opisuje przemiany modelu przedsiębiorstwa w kontekście warunków jego funkcjonowania w systemie polityczno-gospodarczym. Dominacja celów politycznych w życiu gospodarczym i społecznym oraz cechy stworzonego po wojnie modelu organizacji społecznej znalazły swoje odbicie w założonym modelu przedsiębiorstwa. Stanowiło ono filię centralnie zarządzanego "państwa-przedsiębiorstwa", a przedsiębiorczość, samofinansowanie i samodzielność były przypisane Centrum polityczno-gospodarczemu. Pozbawione swoich definicyjnych atrybutów, poddane ścisłej kontroli politycznej i administracyjnej, było zmuszone realizować, obok produkcji, narzucone funkcje pozaprodukcyjne (w tym - polityczne). Pełniły one ważną rolę w założonej strategii indoktrynacji ideologicznej i politycznej pracowników i społeczeństwa. Założona wielofunkcyjność rodziła dylematy optymalizacji poszczególnych funkcji (sprzecznosc rachunku politycznego i ekonomicznego), wynikające nie tylko z odmiennych logik racjonalności, ale także z negatywnych konsekwencji w postawach i strategiach działań pracowniczych

(działania pozorne, partykularyzm, grupy interesu). Racjonalność założonego modelu przedsiębiorstwa jest zastępowana racjonalnością adaptacji w działaniach, zabezpieczającej organizacyjne i grupowe interesy. Niezmiennosc warunków działania przedsiębiorstwa (gospodarki) wpływała na dużą skuteczność wyuczonych sposobów działań chroniących różne interesy. Stwarzało to poczucie bezpieczeństwa uczestnikom systemu społecznego przedsiębiorstwa (gospodarki), ale jednocześnie hamowało próby wprowadzania zmian. Wszystkie dotychczasowe zmiany, nie zmieniając zasad systemu polityczno-gospodarczego, nie mogły wpłynąć na większą efektywność ekonomiczną przedsiębiorstwa. Istotne bariery reformy gospodarki z 1981 r. stanowią, założone przez centrum, granice identyfikacji socjalistycznego systemu (atrybut centralizacji władzy politycznej i gospodarczej) oraz zakres gotowości ponoszenia kosztów reformy przez pracowników. Wzajemne samoograniczenie interesów stwarza szansę na nowy model przedsiębiorstwa w Polsce (menedżersko-samorządowy).