

IN MEMORIAM GYÖZŐ LUGOSI

**CONFERENCE ON  
NON-CAPITALIST MIXED ECONOMIES  
(THEORY, HISTORY AND FUTURE)  
23-26 JUNE 2021**

**Organized by Karl Polanyi Center  
College for Advanced Studies in Social Theory  
Eszmélet Journal**

Supported by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation

Logos of partner organizations:

- TEK
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung
- eszmélet
- LEFT EAST
- PTITEM
- CRITICATAC
- FORDULAT
- INSTITUTUL PENTRU SOLIDARITATE SOCIALA
- transform! europe
- INSTITUTUL DE STUDII CONTEMPORANE
- Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy
- HELYZET MŰHELY
- Geopolitical Economy Research Group
- INTERNATIONAL KARL POLANYI SOCIETY

# Conference on Non-Capitalist Mixed Economies, (Theory, History and Future)

## Program

### Wednesday, June 23rd

Time (Central European Summer Time) (PM)	Activities	Topic	Chairs	Speakers	Title
			Fikadu T. Ayanie	Kari Polanyi Levitt and Joanna Gwiazdecka	Opening Remarks
7:00 - 8:00	Introductory Roundtable:			Radhika Desai, Margie Mendell, Alan Freeman, Tamás Krausz, Attila Melegh, Eszter Horváth	Why Are We Organizing This Series of Conference?

### Thursday, June 24th

Time (Central European Summer Time) (PM)	Activities	Topic	Chairs	Speakers	Title
1:00 - 2:30	Session 1	Socialisms, Post-Capitalisms and Mixed Economies	Florin Poenaru	1:00 - 1:15 : David Lane 1:15 - 1:30 : Radhika Desai 1:30 - 1:45 : Tamás Krausz 1:45 - 2:00 : Aleksandr Buzgalin	The Ambiguities of State Capitalism The Soviet Monetary System and the Functions of Money in Socialism Lenin's Socialism – From the Perspective of the Future. Some Considerations Theory of Post-Capitalist Mixed Economy: Content, Trends, Contradictions
		Debate		2:00 - 2:30	
2:30 - 3:00	Break				
3:00 - 4:30	Session 2	New Economic Policy and Transition: Historical Experiences	Michelle Crosby	3:00 - 3:15 Péter Szigeti 3:15 - 3:30 : Andrei Kolganov 3:30 - 3:45 : Prabhat Patnaik 3:45 - 4:00 : Ernesto Flores Sierra	State Socialist Experiments – Historical Lessons Historical Aspects and Lessons of the NEP Peasant Agriculture in the Transition to Socialism The Survival of the Agrarian Commune as an Alternative to Capitalism
		Debate		4:00 - 4:30	
4:30 - 5:00	Break				
5:00 - 6:30	Session 3	Planning, Future and Mixed Economies	Sorin Gog	5:00 - 5:15 : Fred Block 5:15 - 5:30 : Alan Freeman 5:30 - 5:45 : Elena Veduta 5:45 - 6:00 : Raquel Varela	Conceptualizing Socialism as Democratized Habitation Capitalist Planning: What Can Socialism Learn, and What Does It Have to Teach? Cybernetic Planning of the Economy - Is the Key to Solve Problems of Non-Capitalist Mixed Economies What Would Labour Be Like in a Socialist Society?
		Debate		6:00 - 6:30	

## Friday, June 25th

Time (Central European Summer Time) (PM)	Activities	Topic	Chairs	Speakers	Title
1:00 - 2:30	Session 4	Historical and Current Experiences	Ngoc Khanh	1:00 - 1:15 : József Böröcz	Socialism and the Quantity of Life
				1:15 - 1:30 : Gladys Hernandez	The Ordering Process in the Cuban Economy
				1:30 - 1:45 : Eszter Bartha	Workers' Culture and Ideology in the Consolidated Kádár Regime
		1:45 - 2:00 : Ljudmilla Bulavka		Cultural Revolution and Socialist Trend in Mixed Economy: Lessons of the New Economic Policy in the USSR (1921 – 1927)	
		Debate		2:00 - 2:30	
2:30 - 3:00	Break				
3:00 - 4:30	Session 5	Historical and Current Experiences	Kyle Shybunko	3:00-3:15 Cheng Enfu and Liu Zixu	Prioritizing the Development of a Mixed Economy Controlled by Public Capital
				3:15 - 3:30 : Mick Dunford	The Chinese Path to Socialism in the First 100 Years of the CCP
				3:30 - 3:45 : Tamás Gerőcs and András Pinkász	The Interdependence of Socialist Hungary's External and Internal Balances
		3:45 - 4:00 : Annamária Artner		Encirclement and the Vanguard	
		Debate		4:00 - 4:30	
4:30 - 5:00	Break				
5:00 - 6:30	Session 6	Land, Labour and Non-Capitalist Mixed Economies: Future Chances	Bruno de Conti	5:00 - 5:15 : João Pedro Stédile	Landless Workers Movement (MST) View on a New Type of Agrarian Reform
				5:15 - 5:30 : Roland Kulke	Cave! Hic Dragones. Central Economic Planning as Unchartered Territory for the Left in the 21st century
				5:30 - 5:45 : Tütő László	What Makes Socialism?
				5:45 - 6:00 : Savvas Matsas	The Death Agony of "Free Market" and Socialism
					Debate

## Saturday, June 26th

Time (Central European Summer Time) (PM)	Activities	Topic	Chairs	Speakers	Title
1:00 - 2:30	Session 7	Failures and the Lack of Mixed Economies	Gábor Dóra	1:00 - 1:15 : Michael Burke	Socialist Independence and Independence Without Socialism
				1:15 - 1:30 : Gavin Rae	Primitive Accumulation in Post-Socialist Capitalism
				1:30 - 1:45 Boris Kagarlitsky	Is reindustrialisation coming? Dilemmas of Post-COVID Reconstruction
				1:45 - 2:00 : Mihály Sárkány	Kenya and Self-Sufficiency – the Case of Coffee-Producing Kikuyu Farmers
		2:00 - 2:15 : Attila Melegh		Embeddedness in Socialist Mixed Economy: Memories of Workers and Peasants	
		Debate		2:15 - 2:45	
2:45 - 3:15	Break				
3:15 - 4:45		Conclusions and the Program for Next Year	Mary Taylor	Raquel Varela	
				Salvatore Engel Di-Mauro	
				Ágnes Gagyí	
				Attila Melegh	
	End				

## **Index**

**ARTNER, ANNAMÁRIA, 5**  
**BARTHA, ESZTER, 6**  
**BLOCK, FRED, 7**  
**BÖRÖCZ, JÓZSEF, 8**  
**BULAVKA, LJUDMILA, 9**  
**BURKE, MICHAEL, 10**  
**BUZGALIN, ALEKSANDR, 10**  
**DESAI, RADHIKA, 11**  
**DUMFORD, MICK, 11**  
**ENFU, CHENG, 12**  
**ENGEL-DI MAURO, SALVATORE, 12**  
**FREEMAN, ALAN, 13**  
**GERÓCS, TAMÁS, 15**  
**GWIAZDECKA, JOANNA, 16**  
**HERNANDEZ, GLADYS, 16**  
**HORVÁTH, ESZTER, 17**  
**KAGARLITSKY, BORIS, 17**  
**KOLGANOV, ANDREI, 18**  
**KRAUSZ, TAMÁS, 19**  
**KULKE, ROLAND, 19**  
**LANE, DAVID, 21**  
**LIU, ZIXU, 12**  
**MELEGH, ATTILA, 21**  
**MENDELL, MARGIE, 22**  
**PATNAIK, PRABHAT, 23**  
**PINKASZ, ANDRÁS, 15**  
**POLANYI LEVITT, KARI, 23**  
**RAE, GAVIN, 24**  
**SÁRKÁNY, MIHÁLY, 25**  
**SAVVAS, MICHAEL MATSAS, 26**  
**SIERRA, ERNESTO FLORES, 26**  
**STÉDILE, JOÃO PEDRO, 27**  
**SZIGETI, PÉTER, 28**  
**TÜTŐ, LÁSZLÓ, 28**  
**VARELA, RAQUEL, 29**  
**VEDUTA, ELENA, 29**

**ARTNER, ANNAMÁRIA**

## **Encirclement and the Vanguard**

*Dr. habil. Annamária ARTNER, C.Sc., economist, senior research fellow at the Institute of World Economics of the Centre for Economic and Regional Studies and college professor at Milton Friedman University, Budapest. Her main research interests are the transformation of the world system, the global capital accumulation, labour markets, crises and their socio-economic consequences. Her recent publications are “Samir Amin and Eastern Europe” (Review of African Political Economy, 2021), “Can China lead the change of the world?” (Third World Quarterly, 2020), “Accumulation of Advantage and Elimination of Scarcity—A Critique of the Neoclassical Approach” (International Critical Thought, 2019), “Is unconditional basic income feasible in capitalism?” (Critique, 2019) and “Marx 200” (2018 – a book in Hungarian).*

The paper aims to outline the theoretical lessons of the historical experiments for going beyond capitalism and apply them on global level in the present situation facing the future. These are cross-cutting issues as being related to all the three sets of questions of the conference call. First, the paper will delineate the tasks and problems that the first socialist experiments had to face because of their state of underdevelopment relative to the capitalist centre and the contradictions deriving from that. In this part the conditions under which market forces can be applied without a danger of turning back the society to the capitalist past will also be discussed. This is followed by the discussion of the problematic of the lower-end-integration into the capitalist world economy and the reasons and ways of changing this position and ceasing the drainage of national values from the periphery to the centre that this type of integration results. Here the conditions of the effective self-defence and the anti-imperialist fight based on Samir Amin’s delinking concept and new types of international cooperation of the non-capitalist societies gain relevance. Experiences of the Soviet Union, Hungary, North Korea and China are used here as illustrative examples. Lastly, the conditions of overcoming global capitalism – that means defeating the imperialist centre – will be discussed. Applying Mao Zedong’s guerrilla strategy – used also by Che Guevara – the role of the Global South in this historical change will be enlightened with special regard to China and the groupings of the developing countries beginning with the Asia-Africa conference in Bandung (1955), the launch of the Non-Aligned Movement (1961) and the Tricontinental Conference in Havana (1966) until the most recent initiatives led by the ASEAN and China as e.g. the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) or the Belt and Road project.

**BARTHA, ESZTER**

**„so that I can move forward the world”: Working-class Culture and Ideology in the Consolidated Kádár Regime**

*Dr. habil Eszter Bartha is Associate Professor at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) of Budapest, Hungary (Department of Eastern and Central European History and Russian History). Her main research field is the post-war social history of Eastern Europe, with an emphasis on labour history. She has published extensively on the state socialist era and the working class including her book *Alienating Labour: Workers on the Road from Socialism to Capitalism in East Germany and Hungary* (2013) published by Berghahn. In 2020-2021 she is a Marie Curie-Fellow in the Hannah Arendt-Arendt Institut für Totalitarismusforschung at TU Dresden. She is also editor of the *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* (JCCEE). Her current research focuses on the formation of the new industrial working class in East Germany and Hungary and the social and political attitudes of the blue-collar workers of multinational companies.*

The paper is based on an extensive oral history project, which was conducted in Hungary in the mid-1970s (“Working-class life and culture”), involving both with men and women workers. While women workers were more disadvantaged in several fields (skills, wages, household and childcare duties, educational opportunities, etc.), than men, the analysis of the interviews will show that for some of them the interview situation offered an opportunity to construct their subjectivity in their own terms, and talk back to the authorities, who failed to observe the difference constructed by gender between the lives and life chances of men and women workers. Most interviews ended with a short, “psychological” summary of the relevant researcher, who conducted the interview. These summaries allow us to study the language of contemporary social science and to question as to what extent the researchers were sensitive to gender differences. The analysis of the researchers’ reports testifies to the opposite; namely, that not only were they blind to gendered discourses, but they also displayed a remarkably patriarchal attitude not only to the workers in general but to the women workers in particular. Through the analysis of these materials the paper demonstrates that it was not only the workers, who harboured patriarchal social and cultural attitudes to gender roles, but the mainstream contemporary social science was also blind to the category of gender and the conceptualization of gendered difference.

**BLOCK, FRED**

### **Conceptualizing Socialism as Democratized Habitation**

*Fred Block is Research Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Davis. His books include *Capitalism: The Future of an Illusion* (2018), *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique* (with Margaret R. Somers, 2014), and *State of Innovation: The U.S. Government's Role in Technology Development* (with Matthew R. Keller, 2011)*

In *The Great Transformation*, Polanyi analyzes the conflict between habitation and improvement as exemplified by the Enclosures Acts in England. The search for increased agricultural productivity had destructive consequences for the habitation of the rural poor who could no longer graze animals on the commons. The same conflict recurred throughout the industrial era as working people struggled to create and maintain communities through the rise and fall of factory production. In the 21st century, however, particularly in more developed societies, we can finally envision institutions that would facilitate both habitation and improvement. The possibility exists because most employment is now focused on creating and maintaining the communities in which we live. People employed in education, health care, local government, transportation, construction, retail trade, and a variety of services are all habitation workers. At the same time, all of us are habitation consumers. And yet, within current political and economic structures, we have little voice in shaping the habitation that we collectively produce and consume. Among the consequences are homelessness, racial exclusion, and global climate change. Hence, we can understand the imperative to create a different kind of society, a socialist society, as the effort to democratize the production of habitation. But it is not sufficient to challenge the power of private capital since much of the production of habitation is organized through collaborations between business firms and government agencies. A radical democratization of governance must be at the heart of 21st century socialism.

**BÖRÖCZ, JÓZSEF**

## **Socialism and the Quantity of Life**

*József Böröcz is professor of sociology at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, founding president of the Karl Polányi Center for Global Social Studies and co-founder of Replika Open University. His work has focussed on global social change and inequalities, geopolitical economy, the historical sociologies of coloniality, 'whiteness', the EU, state socialisms and their legacies. Most of his published work is available at <https://rutgers.academia.edu/J%C3%B3zsefB%C3%B6r%C3%B6cz>*

A principal task before Polányian global studies is to work toward the development of truly alternative measures of economic, political, cultural and social development, indices that do not reproduce the capitalist biases of measures used world-wide. Life Expectancy at Birth (LEB) should be seen as one of the most useful, and most easily attainable, components of such an alternative Polányian-socialist measure of 'development'. This paper examines two generations' worth of empirical evidence concerning the marginal increases in the quantity of life experienced by societies in non-capitalist mixed economies. Controlling for per capita GDP, the presentation will examine the net balance in LEB by populations of non-capitalist mixed economies, grouped as follows: 1. east-central European socialist economies. 2. former Yugoslavia. 3. former USSR, 4. non-capitalist mixed economies in the Global South. Life expectancy results for those groups of societies will be contrasted to the ""baseline"" of all capitalist economies, for the years 1961, 1973, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2008. The data come from publicly available data sources as follows: LEB: IBRD, World Development Indicators; GDP/cap: Maddison: The World Economy.

Preliminary results indicate that during the period of ""high socialism"" (1961-1980) each of the four groups of non-capitalist mixed economies has registered considerably higher LEB than the expected values for their capitalist counterparts. By the 1970s, the societies of east-central Europe and Yugoslavia had almost completely eliminated the net effects of per capita GDP on LEB. The USSR never completely did away with LEB differences associated with GDP/cap. Societies of east-central Europe, Yugoslavia and the USSR started to see a decline in their LEB 10-15 years before the elimination of the state socialist mode of production. The fastest decline was experienced among the wealthiest of the societies of east-central Europe, Yugoslavia and the USSR. The non-capitalist mixed economies of the Global South never managed to eliminate their LEB differences due to GDP/cap. The latter is strongly associated with wars -- offering the interpretation that colonial-imperialist war has been, among other things, a global geopolitical tool used to reduce the equalizing effects of socialist transformations. Cuba's and the PRC's amazing advantages in LEB can be explained, at least partly, as results of the inability of the capitalist world to wage imperialist wars on them.



**BULAVKA, LJUDMILA**

**Cultural Revolution and Socialist Trend in Mixed Economy: Lessons of the New Economic Policy in the USSR (1921 – 1927)**

*Ljudmila Bulavka-Buzgalina is a Professor of the Scientific and Educational Center for Modern Marxist Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation. She defended her candidate's dissertation on the topic-social and cultural practices of the 1920s in the field of culture and cinematography. Her doctoral dissertation is about The genesis of Soviet culture and the contradictions of its formation. Some of her main research topics are: 1) contradictions of Soviet culture, its dual nature, 2) concrete historical forms of the formation and development of Soviet culture at different stages of the history of the USSR, 3) contradictions between cultural and socio-political practices of the USSR. 4) Culture as a Market: Modern Russian Culture as a world of Simulacra. 5) The problem of overcoming the alienation of man and society from culture: historical practices of the USSR.*

New Economic Policy is mainly reflected as the combination of market and plan, private and state property. But it was also period of the intensive grows of mass social creativity and involvement of working people in the cultural life. Combination of last two trends created basis for the mass enthusiasm, which became one of the most important factors of the development of socialist relations within mixed economy during New Economic Policy. Enthusiasm as integration of mass social and cultural creativity confronted in this period with rebirth of social alienation, in particular, market fetishism and conformism as another typical characteristics of mass consciousness and behavior. Last trend became one of the main foundations for the genesis of Stalinism in 1930 Contradiction of social and cultural creativity with alienation and conformism was one of the key features of socio-economic life of that period.

**BURKE, MICHAEL**

### **Socialist Independence and Independence Without Socialism**

*Michael Burke is an economist currently working as a political adviser. He has written extensively on Irish politics and economics, including for The Guardian newspaper. He has been published on the economics of Irish unity, and a critique of the official economic data of Northern Ireland. He has contributions published on the Irish economy and politics in Irish New Left Review, Soundings and the website Socialist Economic Bulletin and other outlets.*

This paper will examine a key concept in James Connolly's political thought on the issue of Irish Independence from British colonial rule. It will do so relying on three important texts, an article by Connolly himself, another by Lenin, and a text from the proceedings of the Communist International. All three documents relate to the social forces required to achieve independence from colonialism against the will of the colonising power. It will be asserted that this combination of forces, and their relative weight effectively determines the character, outcome and consequences of the anti-colonial movement, using some empirical data to support that assertion.

**BUZGALIN, ALEKSANDR**

### **Theory of Post-Capitalist Mixed Economy: Content, Trends, Contradictions**

*Aleksandr Buzgalin is a Professor at Lomonosov Moscow State University. He is the director of the Center of Modern Marxist Studies. He is a specialist in Political Economy, Economic theory, Comparative Economic Systems, Transitional Economy; Russian economic policy, geopolitics, social policy, Globalization and its discontents, Social Philosophy, Philosophy of History. He has published more than 400 other books, articles, chapters in books, and other publications in Russian, Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish and others.*

Theory of post-capitalist mixed economy has some empirical foundations. One of them – practices of the USSR in the period of New Economic Policy (1921 – 1927). The history of this period shows, that mixed economy is (1) combination of system of relations of late capitalism and early socialism (not only market and plan, private and social property); (2) this combination is system of contradictions, struggle “Who – Whom”; (3) it has vector of development: either progress towards communism or regress back to capitalism; stable long term integration of this elements cannot exist. This 3 points are also consequence of the Marxist theory of transformation of the “realm of necessity” towards the “realm of freedom”.

**DESAI, RADHIKA**

### **The Soviet Monetary System and the Functions of Money in Socialism**

*Radhika Desai is Professor at the Department of Political Studies, and Director, Geopolitical Economy Research Group, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. She has just started her third term as President of the Society for Socialist Studies. She has proposed a new historical materialist approach to understanding world affairs, geopolitical economy, based on the materiality of nations. Some of her recent books include Geopolitical Economy: After US Hegemony, Globalization and Empire (2013), Karl Polanyi and Twenty First Century Capitalism (2020 co-edited) and Revolutions (2020 co-edited). Her articles and book chapters appear in international scholarly journals and edited volumes. With Alan Freeman, she co-edits the Geopolitical Economy book series with Manchester University Press and the Future of Capitalism book series with Pluto Press.*

*See also <https://radhikadesai.wordpress.com/>*

Money is an ancient social institution. It predated capitalism and existed in actually existing socialist societies. Only in capitalist societies, however, is it systematically misunderstood. The reason lies, I argue, in the fact that capitalism places contradictory demands on money, requiring it to behave like a commodity even as it must be managed as an institution. In this paper, I argue, on the one hand, that money returns to its original form, a form of account keeping, in socialism and understanding its working there provides us a unique ringside seat in understanding how its abuse in capitalism facilitates rentier activity and militates against productive accumulation.

**DUMFORD, MICK**

### **The Chinese Path to Socialism in the First 100 Years of the CCP**

*Michael Dunford is a Visiting Professor, Institute of Geographical Sciences and Natural Resources Research (IGSNRR), Chinese Academy of Sciences, Emeritus Professor, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, and Managing Editor of Area Development and Policy. He graduated with B.Sc in Geography and M.Sc in Quantitative Economics from the University of Bristol. His interests are in global development (at multiple geographical scales and with special reference at different times to Europe and the western world, China and Eurasia) drawing on materialist conceptions of history and geography and on theories of uneven and combined development, regulation and geopolitical economy.*

This contribution will start with the establishment of the party in 1921 and after outlining its path to victory against the Guomindang and Japan will examine the way in which China's path has evolved through joint transformations of economic structures and public institutions in the planned economy era, the era of rapprochement with the United States and reform and opening up and the strategic adjustments dating from 1999 towards people oriented development and ecological civilization to

address the new primary contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life.

**ENFU, CHENG AND LIU, ZIXU**

### **Prioritizing the Development of a Mixed Economy Controlled by Public Capital**

*Cheng Enfu, Director of the Center for Economic and Social Development of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Senior Professor of the University of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, President of the World Association for Political Economy.*

*Liu Zixu holds a PhD in communication from the University of Massachusetts Amherst. He is currently an Assistant Researcher at the Academy of Marxism, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. His research focuses on the political economy of communication, media and society, culture and ideology. His publications in English includes I Watch Therefore I Am: The Political Economy of Chinese Television Advertising (Canut International Publishers, 2018), "Once upon a Time in China: Nationalism, Modernity and Cinematic Representation" (Frontiers of Literary Studies in China, 2014), and "The Historical Contribution of the October Revolution to the Economic and Social Development of the Soviet Union" (International Critical Thought, 2017).*

The mode of resource allocation involves the choice between private ownership and public ownership of production factors, market regulation and government regulation. A modern mixed economy also has to deal with these two aspects. The property right system in a mixed economy must well handle the relationship between public economy as the main stay and non-public economy as supplement. The regulatory system in such mixed economy must also establish a healthy relationship between the decisive role of the market and the leading role of the government. This means an organic combination of the decisive role of the market in the allocation of general economic resources and the guiding and regulating role of the government in the allocation of important economic resources. The result would be an economic regulation system with benign complementary functions, coordinated effects and mutually enhancing mechanisms.

**ENGEL-DI MAURO, SALVATORE**

### **Concluding Remarks**

*Salvatore Engel-Di Mauro is professor at the Geography Department of SUNY New Paltz and chief editor for Capitalism Nature Socialism. His most recent books are Socialist States and Environment (Pluto) and Urban Food Production for Ecosocialism (Routledge), with George Martin. His research areas include soil contamination and acidification, urban food production, and socialism and environment.*

**FREEMAN, ALAN**

## **Capitalist Planning: What Can Socialism Learn, and What Does It Have to Teach?'**

*Alan Freeman is co-director, with Radhika Desai, of the Geopolitical Economy Research Group (GERG) at the University of Manitoba, and co-editor of GERG's news and analysis website [www.newcoldwar.org](http://www.newcoldwar.org). He was an economist at the Greater London Authority between 2000 and 2011, where he held the brief for the Creative Industries and the Living Wage. He wrote *The Benn Heresy*, a biography of British politician Tony Benn, and co-edited three books on value theory and was a founder member of the UK-based Association for Heterodox Economics. He is currently working on a book on the world economy and the failure of Western Economics. His main works are on his website at <https://geopoliticaconomy.academia.edu/AlanFreeman>*

This article argues that economic theory lacks an adequate concept of planning, and proposes how such a concept should be developed. It is based on both on an ongoing theoretical enquiry and on real empirical experience. I worked in the Economic Intelligence Unit of the Greater London Authority (GLA) from 2000 to 2008, with responsibility for producing the evidence base for the London Economic Plan, Planning for Growth, which the GLA was mandated by law to produce.

I also worked as a freelance programmer and database designer between 1974 and 1996, at a time when the modern concept of data-driven corporate planning was taking shape. He was employed by Sony, by Coca-Cola UK, by the UK health authority, by financial corporations and by Trade Unions representing workers at GM, Ford and Toyota, when modern 'Just-in-Time' production models were emerging. These involved the most detailed conceivable planning systems, only just being made possible by the interaction between corporate databases and automated communication systems.

Planning, I concluded, is a reality of modern capitalist life, not an abstract idea. Yet in economic theory, it is reduced to an all-or-nothing choice between an idealised free-market system and an equally idealised central planning system in which the interaction between production and consumption is reduced to the distribution of physical objects independent of their human effects.

On the one hand, this leads to the idea that political decisions have no connection with planning. Actually, every political decision, even by the most neo-liberal of governments, constitutes a plan. Whether it succeeds or not is another matter. The point is, it is an enunciated action with a measurable goal. To put it another way, it is a set of rules that govern the actions of agents in the economy, and which fulfil defined objectives. That is a plan.

On the other, the debate confuses the two separate issues of devising the rules and objectives of the plan with that of the agency or implementation of the plan. On the one hand, the rules and objectives may be decided either democratically, with the full participation and approval of the population, or

despotically, by government or executive decision. On the other, the agency of the plan may itself be despotic and corruptible if it is done by petty bureaucrats with no public accountability, or it may be automated, as with a growing range of traffic controls, or it may even be enacted by the citizens themselves, which happens when the great majority of people are happy with the rules and want them to work.

So there are many types of planning, and the task of planning theory is to help us identify which planning systems are good and which are bad, not to perpetuate the myth that we can live free lives without planning of any kind subject only to the lawless dictatorship of the market.

The Austrian economists, who laid the ideological basis for most of today's neo-liberal theory, created a successful caricature of the planning problem: what is the optimum method to provide the individual consumer with his individual consumption needs? This led to the so-called 'socialist planning debate', a quixotic duel of impossible ideals, from which the real social and political question 'how may we collectively determine our future?' was voided before battle was joined.

This paper proposes that a 'genuine' theory of planning is possible, in which the primary question is the emancipatory question 'how may we determine our own future together?'

**GAGYI, ÁGNES**

### **Concluding Remarks**

*Ágnes Gagyí works on politics and social movements in Eastern Europe from the perspective of the region's long-term world-economic and geopolitical integration. She is a researcher at the University of Gothenburg, where her current projects look at housing conflicts in Eastern Europe after 2008, and the social conditions of green-blue infrastructure development. She is member of the Working Group for Public Sociology "Helyzet", Budapest.*

GERÓCS, TAMÁS AND PINKASZ, ANDRÁS

## **The Interdependence of Socialist Hungary's External and Internal Balances: The Bridge Model and the Consolidation of the Kádár Era**

*Tamás Gerócs is a political economist who is currently doing his PhD in the State University of New York Binghamton. His research field of interest is semi-peripheral dependent development in Eastern Europe and labour relations in the automotive industry in Hungary. Gerócs is a research fellow at the Institute of World Economics, Centre of Economic and Regional Studies. He graduated from the Corvinus University of Budapest (CUB) in 2008 with the MA degree of International Relations. Gerócs is also a member of the Budapest-based Working Group for Public Sociology "Helyzet". His most recent publications are "The Formation of a New Patrie in the Multipolar World-System" (In: Gerócs, T. – Szanyi, M. (eds): *Market Liberalism and Economic Patriotism in the Capitalist World-System*), "Conflicting Interests in the Comecon Integration: State Socialist Debates on East-West-South Relations" (Co-authored along with András Pinkasz), "Debt- Ridden Development on Europe's Eastern Periphery" (Co-authored along with András Pinkasz).*

*András Pinkasz is a member of the Working Group for Public Sociology 'Helyzet'. He is the chair of the Union of Hungarian Central Statistical Office and a head of section at the Business Statistics Department. Meanwhile he is a PhD Candidate at Corvinus University of Budapest. His research field includes global political economy and economic history of Hungary.*

The following paper is an analysis of the interdependencies between Hungary's internal dynamics and its external integration into the world economy in the state-socialist era. Though countless scholars have studied state-socialist regimes' successful attempts to modernize their economies (and the reasons for their failures to do so), their debates—such as the so-called state-capitalism debate—typically take into account only these countries' forms of integration into the external environment, such as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), or are limited to the functions of these countries' domestic institutions—as is the case, for example, in discussions of the internal contradictions of centrally planned economic systems. Our study, on the other hand, involves the use of the dependent-development paradigm, which emphasizes the interdependence of the global economic environment and the social conditions in the particular countries that comprise it. The following study is an attempt to use the framework of dependent development to demonstrate the interconnectedness of Hungary's domestic political processes and its integration into the world economy through Comecon—that is, to shed light on the interdependence of its internal political processes and its external economic environment. We demonstrate the interdependence of Hungary's East-West trade specialization, the so-called "bridge model" and the preservation of the Kádár-era consolidation. It is our assumption that the balance of power which developed in the context of Hungary's domestic-political compromise was also influenced by global economic processes, such as Hungary's growing external-financing needs and unsustainable debt, which exacerbated the conflict between the country's agricultural and industrial lobbies, as well as the farmers and workers they

represented. The path that led to the system change of 1989 was determined by crises particular to the “bridge model”.

**GWIAZDECKA, JOANNA**

### **Opening Remarks**

*Joanna Gwiazdecka gained a doctor degree in philosophy, in her scholarly work she focused on Platonic ethic. 2010-2017 head of RLS office in Warsaw, since 2017 in Prague. Her main fields of interest are projects on feminism, LGBTIQ rights and youth organizations, leftwing think tanks and labor unions.*

**HERNANDEZ, GLADYS**

### **The Ordering Process in the Cuban Economy**

*Gladys Cecilia Hernandez-Pedraza is Deputy Director of Department of Global Financial Tendencies, Center for World Economy Studies, Senior Research Fellow Center for World Economy Studies. Topics of research: From the beginning, her research has dealt with world economic issues. Her activity at the Center for World Economy Studies, in Cuba has focused on economic, and social reforms, environmental, cultural and religious policies in the developing economies. Specially her research on Asian economic and social reforms had been crucial to asses Cuban officials about the experiences that could be of interest for Cuba. Her recent research activity includes some analytical contributions regarding the international financial system, and the climate change impacts. Some of her academic achievements during the last 37 years are the publication of several papers and books, participation in various international and Cuban symposiums and workshops, and the advising of government and non-government institutions on economic issues related to world economy and environmental issues. She has been key researcher in more than a dozen of major research programs on world economy, China, Cuba and Latin America.*

Updating the Cuban economic model requires that the Cuban peso recover the functions of money, which is why it is necessary to arrange for the implementation of the monetary ordering process. Decree-Law no. 17 of the implementation of the monetary ordering process in its chapter I Generalities establishes: Start the implementation of the monetary ordering process of the country, which includes the following aspects: a) Monetary and exchange rate unification. b) Correction of relative prices in the segment of legal persons. c) Elimination of excessive subsidies and undue gratuities. d) Transformation in the distribution of the population's income, with regard to salaries, pensions and social assistance benefits. This paper delves into the process to be carried out by the comprehensive reform of wages, pensions and social assistance benefits, to allow the gradual elimination of excessive subsidies and existing wage distortions; as well as making the salary become the main source to finance the consumption of the worker and his family. Additionally, this process



will raise the minimum wage, in correspondence with the cost of the basket of goods and services in order to satisfy the minimum nutritional requirements of the worker and his family.

**HORVÁTH, ESZTER**

**Introductory Comments**

*Eszter Horváth is a student at the College of Advanced Studies in Social Theory. Next year she will be pursuing a master's degree in Cultural Heritage Studies at ELTE, Budapest and EHESS, Paris. She has a broad research interest in critical studies, especially in the socio-economic context of cultural production.*

**KAGARLITSKY, BORIS**

**Is Reindustrialisation Coming? Dilemmas of Post-COVID Reconstruction**

*Boris Kagarlitsky is a professor of Moscow Higher School for Social and Economic Sciences*

Neoliberal global economic reconstruction not only undermined the welfare state in older industrial counties but also was accompanied by a radical shift in economic geography which itself created radical social disproportions within the labour force of each of the countries involved. This creates an objective need for an economic reconstruction including reindustrialisation of the countries of Global North. This industrialisation project is often presented in the context of the Green New Deal, new environmentally friendly productive technologies and Modern Monetary Theory. But it is not going to take place without generating a whole set of new problems and contradictions, both within Northern countries and in the Global South. Property regimes, political institutions and social systems have all to undergo dramatic and often traumatic changes.

**KOLGANOV, ANDREI**

## **Historical Aspects and Lessons of the NEP**

*Andrei Kolganov is an economist, Professor, and the Chief of the Laboratory on Comparative Studies of Socio-Economic Systems, Faculty of Economics, Moscow State University. His relevant research interests include "Theory of Transitional Economy", "National Innovative System of Russian Federation", and „Economic Contradictions and Crisis in the Modern Economy."*

*His main publications:*

- *The Road to Socialism: the Tragedy and the Feat (Moscow: Economica, 1990);*
- *Collective Ownership and Collective Entrepreneurship (Moscow: Economicheskaya Demokratia, 1993);*
- *Limits of Capital (Moscow: URSS, 2004 and 2007), with Co-author Alexandr Buzgalin;*
- *Global Capital (first edition – Moscow: URSS, 2004; fifth edition revisited in 2 volumes – Moscow: URSS, 2019) with Co-author Alexandr Buzgalin;*
- *Critical political economy: the 'market-centric' model of economic theory must remain in the past – notes of the Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism. Cambridge Journal of Economics, 2016, vol. 40, No.2, p. 575-598. DOI 10.1093/cje/beu080 with Co-author Alexandr Buzgalin;*
- *The road to socialism: passed and not taken (Moscow: LENAND, 2018)*

*He is author of numerous additional books and articles in Russian, English, German, and in other languages*

In my presentation I mostly pay attention on the historical experience of NEP in the field of the state regulation of mixed economy. The model of Soviet economy in that period was not a centralized planning economy, but mainly the market economy, including the state sector. The state regulation based on the strategic planning, and the first plan of this sort was the State plan of the electrification of Russia, adopted in 1920. On the basis of the commission elaborated this plan, the Gosplan (State Committee on Planning) was created in 1921. The methods of planning in NEP period included the state purchasing (about 27% of the production of state industry produced for state contracts), direct budget investments, budget subsidies, tax and credit preferences, agreements on prices. These methods were implemented in the USSR mostly for the state sector of economy, but they are suitable for the private sector also. It is possible to see, that some of the similar methods were implemented in the period of New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt administration in USA, and in post-war period in some countries of Western Europe and in the Japan. Thus, the NEP period was the first historical experience of the indicative planning in the mixed economy. The main difference between Soviet model of indicative planning and the indicative planning in the capitalist economies is the difference in the social goals and balance of social interests. The shift to the direct planning in USSR accompanied with short period of active involvement of working people in management and planning at team and factory level. But, unfortunately, instead of increase of this involvement, the further

development of Soviet model of planned economy resulted in the growing of bureaucratization and of suspension of working people from real participation in the decision-making.

**KRAUSZ, TAMÁS**

### **Lenin's Socialism – from the Perspective of the Future. Some Considerations**

*Tamás Krausz is a scholar of the Soviet and Russian history, Professor Emeritus at EötvösLoránd University of Budapest. His book entitled *Reconstructing Lenin: An Intellectual Biography* was awarded the *Deutscher Memorial Prize 2015* and *Friendship of the People* (award in Russia), which he received for his academic work in 2014. He is a founding member of the journal *Eszmélet* (Consciousness), established in 1989. He has accomplished a theoretical and organizational work to keep the left-wing thought alive in Eastern Europe and in Hungary. He is editor of a wide range of books in Russian and in Hungarian, and he has published extensively on issues related to the theory of socialism in some languages.*

There is a great variety of theories and discussions on the views of V. I. Lenin on socialism as well as on his revolutionary praxis, which often leads to chaos and intellectual-theoretical confusions. In every country of contemporary Eastern Europe, ideologists and propagandists of the power elites tremendously falsify or even criminalize the figure of Lenin, only with one goal: to block the socialist alternative and the efforts for finding one against the second issue of capitalism. The present paper seeks to make some order in this chaos or at least clarify some contested issues. 1 As a preliminary methodological consideration, I stress that theoretical thinking and political practice follow essentially different “logics”, therefore we have to isolate the various levels during the analysis. Several authors disregard this aspect, which leads to much confusion and misinterpretation.

**KULKE, ROLAND**

### **Cave! Hic Dragones**

### **Central Economic Planning as Unchartered Territory for the Left in the 21st century**

*Roland Kulke, PhD in political science is facilitator for the “productive transformation” project of transform! europe. Besides this, he is the representative of transform! europe to the EU institutions in Brussels.*

The “limits of growth” prove to the sceptical public more clearly than ever the “limits of capitalism”. The corona virus is a prove that the capitalist, profit driven regime, has already reached the limits of capitalist enclosure, both vis-à-vis the environment and vis-à-vis humans.

This is of course an intellectual endeavour, but also a practical journey. In hundreds of lived experiences left, green and progressive actors act in non-profit oriented economic entities. We call them cooperatives, social economy actors, (re-)municipalised energy producers, just to name a few. However, in most of the cases these actors are based on the lowest scale of the societies, in villages and cities. Only rarely, they cross the municipal boundaries.

Real existing alternatives to capitalist production and distribution hence exist mostly only in niches. This situation poses two challenges to the radical left. On the one side, we leave an ideological vacuum. The larger public knows that long-term planning takes place – but so far only in the big multinational firms, and not in the public sphere.

Beyond this ideological weakness, we also have to challenge the real material world. In the year 2020 humanity must reach peak CO2 production. We must ask ourselves how we can achieve this only by decentralised lower-scale solutions. Our societies are based on material centralised structures like the car industries, power grids, ports, basic research facilities etc pp. These structures cannot be decentralised. We hence must search for democratic answers how to manage and plan these macro social infrastructures.

Currently we have three ways of thinking about socio-economic planning in the left:

1. “Fully Automated Digital Planning” - It is based on an updated version of Salvador Allendes Cybersyn project.
2. “Decentralised cooperative federalism” - The second approach exists especially in the area of energy democracy. Here we find strong sentiments of green/left actors against central planning.
3. “Good Ol’ ‘technocratic’ planning” – After WW2, we see a debate on the democratisation of industrial societies, in East and West Europe. We see echoes of this debate nowadays in the post-Keynesian circles in the EU.

These three discourses all have their undisputed gains and contribute much positive thinking and practical knowledge to our debate. Still they are not sufficient to solve the current problems. Possible first steps and research questions will be formulated in this contribution.

**LANE, DAVID**

### **The Ambiguities of State Capitalism**

*David Lane is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (UK) and currently Emeritus Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. He was previously Professor of Sociology at the University of Birmingham and is a visiting professor at Peking University. He has written extensively on Marxism, socialism (particularly the USSR) and post-socialism, capitalism and industrial societies, the world economy, elites and classes. Recent publications include: (With V. Samokhvalov) *The Eurasian Project and Europe* (2015); *Elites and Identity in the Transformation of State Socialism* (2014); *The Capitalist Transformation of State Socialism* (2014). He has recently had articles published in *Critical Sociology*, *The Third World Quarterly*, *International Critical Thought* and *Mir Rossii*.*

The paper outlines and criticises different interpretations of the concept of state capitalism as applied to societies moving from capitalism to socialism. Distinctions are made in the paper between the state as owner of the means of production, as a form of economic coordination, as a dominant institution of political power and as a means to extract and allocate surplus value. Lenin's description of the New Economic Policy as 'state capitalist' is contrasted with the views of recent and current theorists of 'state capitalism'. The paper distinguishes between state capitalism, state-controlled capitalism and state socialism. State capitalist approaches are criticised for neglecting the structure of classes derived from the ownership of productive assets and conflating bureaucratic control with class exploitation. The author contends that the extraction and allocation of economic surplus by the state have to be measured by its end uses and evaluated in the context of the dominant political values.

**MELEGH, ATTILA**

### **Embeddeness in a Socialist Mixed Economy: Memories of Workers and Peasants**

*Attila Melegh is a sociologist, economist and historian. He has taught in the United States, Russia, Georgia and Hungary. He is associate professor at Corvinus University, Budapest, and a senior researcher at the Demographic Research Institute. He has led four major international projects on migration, migration statistics, population discourses and East/West discourses. He has published extensively in the global history of social change in the 20th century, and international migration. Author of the book 'On the East/West Slope, Globalization, Nationalism, Racism and Discourses on Central and Eastern Europe' published at CEU Press. He is the founding director of Karl Polányi Research Center at Corvinus University.*

In this paper socialism is understood as a historically evolving system of social forms and it claims that it was moving toward more balanced systems of market, state, household allowing the flourishing of various forms of ownership including cooperatives, family economies. Following Chris Hann the study also understands embeddedness-disembeddedness as a historical category, which sheds light on

the building or the disruption of everyday customary social systems and practices. Within this system workers and peasants were maneuvering with their historically taken predispositions and experiences. The paper shows some life history interviews which shed light on what tensions and problems they had to face in the historically changing socialist mix in Hungary between the 1950s and 1980s, or what stability and balances they themselves enjoyed. It also show how they remembered this and how they looked back onto this from a market utopia imposed upon them by elites from the late 1980s.

**MENDELL, MARGIE**

### **Opening Remarks**

*Margie Mendell is an economist and Distinguished Professor Emerita, School of Community and Public Affairs, Concordia University. She is also co-founder and Director, Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy, Concordia University and curator of the Karl Polanyi Archive. She has also published on the work of Karl Polanyi. In addition to her publications, she edited Europe. Central and East with Klaus Nielsen in 1995, a collection of articles that address post 1989 in the region. Margie Mendell has published extensively on the social economy in Quebec and internationally, on democratizing capital and solidarity finance in Quebec and on the evolution of public policy enabling the social economy and social finance internationally. Her work appears in several languages. Margie Mendell is an honorary member of the Board of Advisors of the Chantier de l'économie sociale, the social economy network of networks in Quebec, the Advisory Committee of the Social Economy Partnership for Community-based Sustainable Development for the City of Montreal and was a member the Advisory Policy Committee for the development of the social economy, Government of Quebec, that prepared the draft legislation on the social economy, adopted by the National Assembly in 2013 as well as the provincial Action Plan for the social economy (2016-2020). She has collaborated with social economy actors, researchers and government over several years, in Quebec and internationally. Margie Mendell is an Honorary Member of GSEF as well as a Member of the GSEF Advisory Committee. Margie Mendell was awarded the inaugural Prix Pierre-Dansereau in 2012 from the Association francophone pour le savoir (ACFAS), a Prix du Québec (2013), the highest distinction awarded by the Government of Quebec in culture and in social sciences. She was named Officer of the Order of Quebec (2014) in recognition of her contribution to the development of the social economy and to engaged scholarship and in 2017, she was named a Member of the Order of Canada.*

**PATNAIK, PRABHAT**

### **Peasant Agriculture in the Transition to Socialism**

*Prabhat Patnaik has been a member of the economics faculty at the University of Cambridge, U.K. and at Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, where he is currently Professor Emeritus. He has written a number of books and articles in the areas of Macroeconomics, Development Economics and Political Economy. His books include Accumulation and Stability Under Capitalism, The Value of Money, Re-Envisioning Socialism, and (co-authored with Utsa Patnaik) A Theory of Imperialism. His new book (co-authored with Utsa Patnaik) Capital and Imperialism: Theory, History and the Present has been published in 2021.*

The tendency under capitalism, especially monopoly capitalism, is to destroy petty production. The working class, in its struggle against capitalism, therefore, must ally itself with petty producers, including the peasantry, and defend them against the onslaught of monopoly capital. Thus while capitalism destroys peasant agriculture and pauperizes the peasantry, socialism must strive to protect peasant agriculture and transform it on a voluntary basis into newer forms of organization like co-operatives and collectives, without undermining it.

Communists have generally underscored the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, but they see the working class having a varying attitude towards the peasantry during the revolutionary process. The rich peasantry for instance is seen as an ally in the democratic revolution, but is to be fought when a transition is being made to socialism. But if the rich peasantry knows this in advance, then it will never even join the revolutionary process to start with. The commitment of the working class to its allies therefore must be a durable one and the emphasis must be on their voluntary transformation. The fear that this would subvert the transition to socialism, that it would create a tendency towards capitalist restoration, and that commodity production necessarily breeds capitalism, is based on a lack of understanding both of commodity production and of capitalism.

**POLANYI LEVITT, KARI**

### **Opening Remarks**

*Kari Polanyi Levitt is Emerita Professor at McGill University, specializing in Political Economy and Economics of Development. She holds an honorary doctorate from the University of the West Indies; is honorary president of the Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy at Concordia University; a recipient of the J. K. Galbraith Prize from the Progressive Economics Forum of Canada and a recipient of the Order of Canada. Among her publications are Life and Work of Karl Polanyi (1990); Karl Polanyi in Vienna (2006), co-edited with Kenneth McRobbie; Reclaiming Development: Independent Thought and Caribbean Community (2005); Essays on the Theory of Plantation Economy: A Historical and Institutional Approach to Caribbean Economic Development (2009), co-authored with Lloyd Best; and From the Great Transformation to the Great Financialization: on Karl Polanyi and Other Essays (2013)*

**RAE, GAVIN**

### **Primitive Accumulation in Post-Socialist Capitalism**

*Gavin Rae is an Associate Professor of sociology at Kozminski University in Warsaw, Poland. He has written extensively on Polish politics, society and economy and on developments occurring in Central and Eastern Europe. He has had two books published: 'Poland's Return to Capitalism. From the Socialist Bloc to the European Union' and 'Privatising Capital. The Commodification of Poland's Welfare State'. He is a founding member of the think-tank Naprzód (Forward), the Polish member organization of the Transform Network.*

Primitive accumulation describes the process of divorcing the producer from the means of production, which is a necessity for the free development of capitalist relations of production. In the transition from feudalism to capitalism this meant 'freeing' producers (peasants and small manufacturers) from feudal bonds and subsistence. This had traditionally been understood as something that occurred only when capitalism was being formed, and the process that gave birth to capitalism. Rosa Luxemburg re-interpreted primitive accumulation as being a continuous element of capitalist development ('untrammelled accumulation'), seeing it as a component of capitalism's expansion into pre-capitalist countries, regions and branches of production.

In recent years, some attempts have also been made to reintegrate the theory of primitive accumulation into an understanding of contemporary capitalist development. It has been argued that primitive accumulation occurs any time that producers place themselves as an obstacle to their separation from the means of production. Capitalist expansion can be blocked by restrictions into certain geographical areas and also by the historical gains of the working class that restrict the dominance of monopoly capital. The transition from socialism in Eastern Europe is a contemporary example of capitalist expansion, through primitive accumulation, as well as an historically unique case of creating capitalism.

During the original transition to capitalism (that is from feudalism) labourers were separated from their means of production and subsistence, primarily via the expropriation of the agricultural producer from the soil and the destruction of petty-commodity production. Within the post-socialist countries, a new situation existed. Capitalism here confronted an industrialised economy, yet with a class of labourers that has a largely decommodified existence. The initial barrier to the growth of capitalism is this decommodified nature of labour (upheld primarily by the policy of full-employment) and the state's monopoly control over production. By removing these barriers, private (primarily foreign) capital was able to become the dominating form of capital in these economies and a new private field of power was created.



As the transition from Communism is prolonged (despite the rapid shock-therapy reforms introduced throughout the region) many structures from the socialist era survive. Even to this day some elements of the state-owned productive system continue to exist. Furthermore, much of the inherited welfare protections and social guarantees have at least partially survived the transition and some new welfare benefits and services have been constructed. This paper analyses the particular mixed nature of the post-socialist capitalist economies in the context of the ongoing primitive accumulation of capital in these countries.

**SÁRKÁNY, MIHÁLY**

### **Kenya and Self-Sufficiency– the Case of Coffee-Producing Kikuyu Farmers**

*Mihály Sárkány is Senior Honoris Causa at the Institute of Ethnology, Research Centre for the Humanities of the Eötvös Loránd Research Network (MTA Institute of Excellence) and a retired associate professor at the Department of Cultural Anthropology, ELTE University, Budapest, Hungary. His main research fields are economic anthropology, peasant studies, history and theories of sociocultural anthropology.*

Certain forms of self-sufficiency and exchange are practised in every society, but their relevance is varying with very extreme values. Self-sufficiency is more marked in agrarian societies than in others, and this is true for most African societies south of the Sahara, where agrarian producers were the majority at the time, when their states became independent, but existed within a network of international trade relations as a heritage of a colonial period of their history. Kenya belonged to that group of states, which tried to enhance market economy with extending the production of cash crops, coffee, tea, mainly for export and for supplying tourism within Kenya. This strategy led to a massive economic development for two decades from 1964, but the pace of development broke for a couple of years after 1990 with a recovery from the end of the 1990. This resulted in a five times increase of the nominal per capita GDP from 1964 to 2020 in a country, where the population grew from 9 million in 1964 to 53 millions in 2020 and the majority works in the agriculture or animal husbandry today. I had the opportunity to carry out fieldwork in a Kikuyu village in 1993 and 1995, after the great decrease of the coffee prices on the world market and studied individual strategies of the agrarian producers taking into account the size of the holding, the property relations, products, the proportion of coffee plant within the holding, the division of labour, the knowledge of agricultural technologies and marketing of products including the payment for the coffee, sources of incomes, the size and compositions of the family, the education level of its members, their occupations and plans for the future. This research revealed that it is worth to remind on Marx's comment on the existence of

'intermediate forms' (Zwitterformen) in the process of subordination of agrarian production to the rule of the market. It became also obvious that Pierra Bourdieu's theory about three forms of capital, material, social and cultural is of a great relevance in understanding individual decisions within a context, which is defined by powerful outsiders: world market, state, trading organization.

**SAVVAS, MICHAEL MATSAS**

### **The Death Agony of "Free Market" and Socialism**

*Writer, author of many books and articles on philosophy, political economy, and cultural studies in Greek, some of them translated into English, French, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese. Currently (2020-2021) lecturing in post graduate programs in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.*

The Neo-liberal order of the last forty years and its "free market" fetishism are in a protracted death agony, starting with the 2008 Crash, the still unresolved global capitalist crisis and culminating with the COVID 19 pandemic and its disastrous consequences. The so-called "invisible hand" of the market proved to be paralyzed, the role of the State re- appears enhanced, but the future remains still uncertain, as humanity enters in uncharted waters.

What could be the future of the State, of the market and of their interrelation, in this inflection point of the history of our transitional epoch? The dilemma posed by Rosa Luxemburg on Socialism or barbarism? is more actual than ever as well as the need to elaborate a socialist strategy for way out from the dramatic historic impasse.

**SIERRA, ERNESTO FLORES**

### **The Survival of the Agrarian Commune as an Alternative to Capitalism**

*Ernesto Flores Sierra was born in Quito, 1st April of 1984. Flores Sierra is a Clinical Psychologist by the Universidad Central del Ecuador -Central University of Ecuador-, Master in Cultural Studies from the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar (Simon Bolivar Andean University, Ecuador) and PhD (c) of Humanities and Arts of the Universidad Nacional de Rosario (National University of Rosario, Argentina). He has published books on psychology, literature and philosophy where he has added transversal historical and economic analysis that question the reality of the oppressed and vulnerable while proposing potential transformational possibilities. His bibliography has been published in Spanish but its titles may be translated as follows: *The oppressed creature's howl (El aullido de la criatura oprimida, 2015); Heterogeneity and scschizophrenia in the literary worlds of Jorge Icaza and Jose de la Cuadra (Heterogeneidad y esquizofrenia en los universos literarios de Jorge Icaza y José de la Cuadra, 2015); Dialects of the spirit and the phantom (La dialéctica del espíritu y el fantasma, 2018); Cultural-historical psychology (Psicología Histórico-Cultural, 2018); Chronicles of the global proletarian revolution (Crónicas de la Revolución Proletaria Mundial 2020); and Popular psychology of scschizophrenia (Psicología Popular de la Esquizofrenia, 2021). Nowadays he serves as faculty professor in the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador**

*(Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador, Quito) and as psychologist in the Centro de Psicología Popular (Popular Psychologist Center, Quito). He is a guest writer for the media El Petrolero.*

The paper analyzes the contemporary survival of the Andean commune in which factual non-capitalist social relations of production are still reproduced. Andean relations such as ayllu and communal behaviors are founded on ancestral productive practices known as minka, ayni and correspondence which are different from capitalists' relations and stand as fundamentals of an alternative economic system. The Andean community system is dialectic and contradicts the dependent and semi-feudal capitalist development that has determined the existence of Ecuadorian society.

This paper analyzes the Ecuadorian socio-economic development process from the perspective of José Carlos Mariátegui and Agustín Cueva, who encouraged the analysis of the singular and specific socio-economic characteristics of the Andean region to understand its historical particularities and to envision its social transformation. Social transformation is possible upon the basis of the Andean commune, still present as a living and potential alternative to capitalist development.

This analysis is the basis for establishing the dynamics of the political struggle in Ecuadorian society where the indigenous and the peasants' movements are key actors to understand the ever-ongoing political dispute. The revolutionary proposal in Ecuadorian society does not start from an external economic model, but from the same Andean community model which takes from the Marxist perspective in the sense that understands that the basis of the society of the future is born from the same economic and social relations that already exist within itself.

**STÉDILE, JOÃO PEDRO**

### **Landless Workers Movement (MST) view on a new type of agrarian reform**

*Militant of the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), the International Peasants' Movement and the International People's Assembly. One of the founders and leaders of MST. Economist, with post-graduation at the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM). Coming from a family of peasants and migrants from Trento (Italy), since his youth he has fought for agrarian reform in Brazil and Latin America.*

This contribution will start with a discussion on the essence of the agrarian reforms implemented in the 20th century. After that, we will present the model of agriculture the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) defends as a transition and part of the construction of an egalitarian and post-capitalist society.

**SZIGETI, PÉTER**

### **State Socialist Experiments – Historical Lessons**

*Szigeti, Péter (DSc.), Professor, Head of the Doctoral Programme, Széchenyi István University (Győr). He is a legal philosopher and a political scientist. His major books include: Világrendszernézőben: globális "szabad verseny"; - a vilákapitalizmus jelenlegi stádiuma (Budapest, Napvilág, 2005); Problémáink vonzásában: Társadalomismereti tanulmányok (Győr, Universitas-Győr Alapítvány, 2015). Together with Tamás Krausz, he is editor of Eszmélet. Selected Essays (Budapest, Eszmélet Alapítvány 2005) and the book Államszocializmus – értelmezések, viták, tanulmányok (Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2007).*

The paper of Péter Szigeti offers a contribution to the evaluation of state socialism as a social-historical phenomenon. The description of the object of study: next to the domination of public property, it is a society, which is integrated politically and not through the mechanisms of the market. The article defines the boundaries of its historical validity and lists the typological characteristics of the reform experiments. Their headings include: direct socialization, collectivism. Planned economy – New Economic Mechanism – theories of commodity relations and property rights. Power-political relations and the one-party system.

**TÜTŐ, LÁSZLÓ**

### **What Makes Socialism?**

*Hungarian historian of philosophy and economic philosopher. Between 1975 and 2007 he was a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy History of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. Academic degree: Candidate of Philosophical Science.*

The European capitalism has successfully integrated the producers it exploits into the system. Since they also have something to lose, it is not typical for them to take risks and rebel against their vulnerability. Is it possible in this situation to take action that does not strengthen the neoliberal system?

**VARELA, RAQUEL**

### **What Would Labour Be Like in a Socialist Society?**

*Raquel Varela is a labour historian, researcher and professor with Habilitation at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. She is honorary fellow at the IISH, Amsterdam. In 2020 she was the first awarded of Simone-Veil Grant (LMU Munich) and she is at the moment visiting senior research at EuropaInstitut Institute for European Global Studies (Universität Basel). She has published 34 books, among them *The People's History of The Portuguese Revolution* and *The Peoples History of Europe in the XX Century*, both in Pluto Press.*

What would labour be like in a socialist society? Free, realized, concrete, not alienated, creative and wealth creator. In this communication we will analyze what work would be like in an alternative society based on the end of abstract work, the absence of profit, and its impact on individual freedom and on the construction of the individual and the impact of this in everyday life questions. From faber man to imaginus man. On second part of this debate we will analyze if this radical changes in labor can also be foreseen in a mixed economy society.

**VEDUTA, ELENA**

### **Cybernetic Planning of the Economy - Is the Key to Solve Problems of Non-Capitalist Mixed Economies**

*Elena Veduta is the Head of Department of Strategic Planning and Economic Policy of the Faculty of Public Administration named after M.V. Lomonosov. In 2003–2011 worked as Deputy Head of the Department of Economic Policy, Faculty of Philosophy, Moscow State University. In 2011-2014 worked as Deputy Head of the Department of Strategic Planning and Economic Policy, Faculty of Public Administration, Moscow State University. From 2014 to the present works as Head of the Department of Strategic Planning and Economic Policy, Faculty of Public Administration, Moscow State University. Author of over 90 scientific works on economic cybernetics, political economy, strategy and economic policy of the state, strategic planning for the development of the national economy, economic security, economic integration of interstate blocks.*

Cybernetic planning of the economy - is the key to solve problems of non-capitalist mixed economies” The article analyzes the evolution of the experience of the State Planning Committee of the USSR. It is shown the decisive role of the method of successive approximations in planning calculations, which made it possible to draw up balanced plans that ensure the development of the economy in the direction of realizing the strategic goals of the state and, in fact, ensured the country's victory in the Second World War and the leadership of the country in the bipolar world. It is proved the necessity of applying the methodology of cybernetics in developing of the method of successive approximations after economic recovery in the 50s. It is Explained the reasons for the ignorance of cybernetics by the party nomenclature and the commodity theorists serving their interests, who

believed that commodity production takes place under socialism. They launched reforms to increase spontaneity in the management of the economy, which led to the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The contradiction of interests between the commodity workers - the followers of the vicious theory of commodity production under socialism invented by them, who led socialism to collapse with their economic reforms, and cybernetics - professionals, who sought to automate the management of the economy in the interests of people, are clarified. They were resisted by cybernetics. It is shown the reasons that led to the split of cybernetics due to the prevailing system of production relations in the country which created different interests of cybernetics too. There were explained the reasons for the transition of the State Planning Committee of the USSR from the automation of planned calculations of the balanced movement of the economy to the automation of planning documents. It is proved that only the application of the methodology of economic cybernetics, which develops the method of successive approximations of drawing up a plan of the national economy using knowledge of objective economic laws discovered by Karl Marx, makes it possible to create an automated system (Artificial Intelligence in economy) for managing the economy based on mixed ownership and taking into account the feedback of the consumer market on the proportions of the plan, in the interests of people.