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Tribute to Domenico Mario Nuti

Michael Ellman*

This article is a tribute to the late D.M.Nuti who died at the end of 2020. It details his contributions to economic theory, economic policy, the analysis of actually existing socialism, transition economics and economic systems. It also draws attention to his role as a teacher and manager of research. He linked economists in Rome, Florence, Warsaw, Budapest, London and Cambridge. Influenced by Kalecki and the Cambridge Keynesians, he devoted his life to the study of variants of socialism and ended up advocating an updated version of social democracy. This would replace the perverted social democracy of Blair and Schroder.

Key words: Economic planning, Socialism, Social democracy, Economic systems
JEL codes: P21, B24, B31

1. Introduction[1]

Nuti (1937–2020) was a founding editor of this journal and remained a co-editor for the first three years of its life (1977–79). For the rest of his life, he was a valued associate editor. He worked in Cambridge for 17 years. His contributions to economics can be considered under five heads, theory, policy, the analysis of actually existing socialism,[2] transition economics, and economic systems.

Nuti came to King's College Cambridge as a graduate student in 1963, after graduating cum laude in economics at the University of Rome (where he wrote a dissertation on growth models) and spending 1962–63 in Warsaw on a Fellowship of the Polish Academy of Sciences. His PhD thesis 'Problems of Investment planning in socialist economies' (1970) was supervised first by Kaldor and then by Dobb. At

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[1] For an earlier overview of Nuti's life and work, see the Introduction (by S. Estrin, G. Kolodko and M. Uvalic) to the Nuti festschrift (Estrin et al., 2007). This Introduction includes a long list of his most important publications. For a very well-informed obituary, see Estrin and Uvalic (2021A). For their longer and more detailed tribute to Nuti, see Estrin and Uvalic (2021B).

[2] 'Actually existing socialism' is a term that used to be widely used to describe the system in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and East Germany, before Gorbachev. It stresses the difference between the system that actually existed in those countries and what many people thought real socialism would be like.

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King's, he became a Research Fellow, tutor, lecturer, and Director of Studies. In the Economics Faculty, he became first an assistant lecturer and then a full lecturer. He left Cambridge in 1980 to take up a chair at Birmingham University, combined with the post of Director of Birmingham's Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES). Nuti left Cambridge with four Cambridge outlooks. They were: criticism of much of mainstream economics, interest in actually existing socialism, concerns about the distribution of income and wealth under capitalism, and admiration for Kalecki's work on capitalism.[3] While at Birmingham he increased the relative attention paid to Polish affairs and reduced the relative attention to Soviet affairs. In 1982 he moved to the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. In 1993 he was appointed to a chair in Comparative Economic Systems at the Sapienza University in Rome, which was combined with a visiting chair at the London Business School.

2. Nuti and economic theory

An important theoretical contribution was his Introduction (Nuti, 1974) to the English translation of Dmitriev. Dmitriev's book *Economic Essays on Value, Competition and Utility* was originally published (in Russian) in Moscow in 1904. Interest in it developed in Western Europe in the late 1960s. This led to a French edition being published in Paris in 1968 and an English edition being published by Cambridge University Press in 1974. This interest in a long-forgotten Russian economist was partly a reflection of the interest shown at that time in Dmitriev in the USSR, where, as a result of the emergence of a Soviet school of mathematical economists, he was treated as a Russian pioneer in mathematical economics. In Cambridge, it was partly a result of the publication of Sraffa's *The production of commodities by means of commodities* and the relationship between that book and the first of Dmitriev's three essays (about Ricardo's theory of prices).

In his Introduction, Nuti drew attention to the relationship of Dmitriev's work not only to that of well-known economists from the past such as Ricardo, Cournot and Walras (whose work was analysed by Dmitriev) but also to modern economists such as Leontief, Sraffa and Samuelson. He explained both what Dmitriev had done and how it related to the work of people whose publications were familiar to anglophone economists. It required considerable theoretical understanding and ability to present his explanations in a comprehensible way. It also provided a link between Russian economic thought and anglophone economics.

However, while an important contribution from a traditional theoretical point of view, it was in the deductivist tradition. It took for granted the possibility of throwing light on the behaviour of firms and individuals by a priori reasoning.

In 1969 he published in the *Review of Economic Studies* a Kaleckian critique of the Kaldor-Mirrlees growth model (Nuti, 1969), and in 1977 he published a clear exposition of the relationship between labour values, prices of production, and Marx's theory of exploitation (Nuti, 1977A). He also contributed to the debate on capital theory (Nuti, 1970, 1975, 1977C). Years later in a symposium on Kalecki, he made

[3] He may well have arrived in Cambridge with all four. Admiration for Kalecki's work on capitalism in Cambridge was largely confined to Joan Robinson. Nuti also had a positive view of Kalecki's work on socialist planning, which was unknown in Cambridge. For Nuti's exposition of Kalecki's work on socialist planning see Nuti (1986A).

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a useful comparison between Kalecki's work on capitalism and that of Keynes (Nuti, 2004). He replaced the priority debate by the argument that:

> . . . while Kalecki and Keynes have in common a theory of national income determination based on effective demand and driven by investment, and the important policy implications that descend from it, each of them followed a distinctive intellectual route, used very different building blocks and covered distinctly different additional ground. It is not a question of establishing priority in discovery, but of crediting both of them with equally original contributions to modern macroeconomic theory. (Nuti, 2004, p. 4)

He also drew attention (Nuti, 2004, pp. 6–7) to an important difference between Kalecki and Keynes. Keynes neglected foreign trade and developed what was essentially a closed economy model in which investment drives employment and output. Kalecki (1934/1990) considered an open economy in which exports played the role of investment in driving the economy.[4] This is very important for small trade-dependent countries. Its importance for the UK was pointed out decades later by Kaldor (1971).

3. Nuti and economic policy

Nuti considered that economics should be about understanding the world and using that understanding to help improve the life of its population. This was in line with the Cambridge tradition. As has been observed about Ajit Singh, another Cambridge economist and a founder and long-standing co-editor of this journal, 'Ajit Singh was committed to the view that economics should be useful and should contribute to the improvement of the human condition' (Eatwell, 2016 p. 370). As Singh himself wrote about yet another Cambridge economist, 'Like Keynes, Reddaway believed in using economic analysis to improve the world' (Singh, 2009, p. 377).

While a student in Rome Nuti had a research position at the Inter-Ministerial Committee for the Development of Southern Italy with a team in charge of locating growth poles. In 1989 Communist rule in Poland (and Hungary) came to an end and power was taken over by people who wanted to 'return to Europe'. This posed a problem for the Commission of the European Communities since it lacked expertise on Central Europe. As a result, Nuti was invited to Brussels and worked in 1990–93 as an advisor to the Department of Economic and Monetary Affairs of the Commission. This enabled the Commission to make decisions on the basis of a well-informed analysis of the situation in Poland (and other Central European countries) and about their economic needs.

In 1994, Kolodko became Minister of Finance in Poland (and also First Deputy Prime Minister), and Nuti was appointed his economic advisor. He held the position in 1994–97 and again in 2001–2. The important paper Kolodko and Nuti (1997) explains what Kolodko and Nuti had been trying to achieve and how it differed from the shock therapy implemented in Poland in 1990. In 1998–99, Nuti was a World Bank and EU consultant to the Presidential Administration in Belarus (1998) and Uzbekistan (1999). Unlike his work in Poland, which he found satisfying, and where he had some influence, in the two other countries he was frustrated and had little influence on policy.

[4] Keynes of course was aware of this possibility but regarded it as a beggar thy neighbour policy that could not lead to international full employment.

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In addition, in 1993–2000, Nuti was a member of the five-person Economic Group (the other four were John Eatwell, myself, Mats Karlsson and Judith Shapiro) of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity. He was a co-author of the three booklets the Group wrote. The European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity was an organisation set up in 1993 by West European Social Democratic parties to stimulate cooperation between European Social Democratic parties. The Group held meetings in a variety of countries (including Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Russia, Slovakia, Bulgaria and [former East] Germany) aimed at replacing liberal approaches to transition by a social democratic one aimed at the transformation of the former Soviet-type economies into modern European economies and societies. During this period Nuti also gave advice on the issues involved in transforming the inherited pension systems.

He became very critical of what he considered the perversion of the European Social Democratic parties (and their leaders such as Blair and Schröder) at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries. He criticised them for their support for what he termed 'hyperliberalism' (Nuti, 2018C, pp. 6–8). By this, he meant, in particular, three things. First, 'The acceptance of the primacy and desirability of internal and external markets, fully recognising their global nature in the modern world'. Secondly, 'The rejection of public ownership and enterprise, in support of private entrepreneurship and a decisive and continued privatisation of state assets . . . the neglect of essential public services and the diffusion of *public-private partnerships* (PPPs) that collectivise risk and privatise profit'. Thirdly, their adherence to fiscal and monetary discipline and resulting austerity. As he argued in Nuti (2018B, p. 62):

> The current debacle of social democracy is not due to the refusal of the social democratic model as such but to its perversion in following hyper-liberal, austerian [*sic*] and globalist tendencies, not only in trade but also in capital movements, foreign direct investments, production de-localisation to low-wage emerging economies, and labour migrations. These tendencies favour large multi-national companies, dry up fiscal revenue by encouraging fiscal competition between states, facilitate fiscal avoidance and evasion with the proliferation of fiscal paradises and greatly reduce the policy space of national governments. This is the perverted social democracy that today has lost electoral consensus in the greater part of the whole developed world.

4. Nuti and actually existing socialism

Nuti's PhD thesis and some subsequent publications were largely about investment criteria in planned economies. At the time this was an interesting area of academic research. However, it was within the normative approach to economic planning. It assumed that economic planning was about achieving the most efficient allocation of resources, and the job of the economist was to facilitate this by developing suitable methods to realise it. However, studying how economic planning actually worked led to the replacement of the normative approach to economic planning by the behavioural approach. The significance of this for investment criteria was that:

> The development of new and better criteria for project evaluation is no guarantee that project evaluation will improve, since the criteria are often not in fact used to evaluate projects (Amann 1982, p. 25). Their main function is to provide an acceptable common language in which various bureaucratic agencies conduct their struggles. Agencies adopt projects on normal bureaucratic grounds and they try to get them adopted by higher agencies, or defend them against attack, by presenting calculations using the official methodology but relying on carefully

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selected data. Economists and their criteria do not determine events, they are simply tools in the bureaucratic conflict (Gustafson 1981, chapter 4). Hence there is no reason to expect that improvements in the official investment criteria (which has taken place) will necessarily lead to an improvement in decision making. (Ellman, 1983, p. 16)

Nuti closely followed developments in Poland. He analysed the Polish discussion of price policy (Nuti, 1971), the consolidation of Polish enterprises into large corporations (Nuti, 1977B), and the crisis of 1980–81 (Nuti, 1981A). He also made a very useful contribution (Nuti, 1986B) to a debate that was raging in academic circles about the existence, or otherwise, of repressed inflation in Eastern Europe. Following Grossman (1977), he drew attention to the importance of the (legal and illegal) private sector in limiting repressed inflation in the private sector and state sectors taken together. He also drew attention to the limitations of the econometric estimates of repressed inflation and to the difficulties of stabilising the situation. However, he did make one mistake, which shows that he had a better knowledge of Marxism than Marxism-Leninism. He wrote (Nuti, 1986, p. 76) that: 'There is nothing "socialist" or even "Marxist-Leninist" about excess demand'. That ignores Stalin's argument that the growth of consumer purchasing power at a faster rate than the growth of production is a positive feature of socialism since it stimulates the growth of production. On the other hand, under capitalism, it is the growth of production that exceeds the growth of consumption, leading to perpetual crises (Stalin, 1955, pp. 300 and 332).

In 1972, he co-edited a collection of readings on the theory and practice of socialist economics (Nove and Nuti, 1972), which provided a useful collection of texts for those unfamiliar with the subject. It was published in a cheap paperback edition which made it useful not just for the classroom but also for individual study. Another useful pedagogic contribution was his piece in the *New Palgrave* about socialist banking (Nuti, 1992).

He also attempted a political economy analysis of the reform cycle in the countries of actually existing socialism (e.g. Nuti, 1979). His approach was in the Marxist and Kaleckian traditions. He stressed the need, if economic reform were to be successful, for political liberalisation and the elimination of excess demand (e.g. by reducing accumulation or a relaxation of the defence effort). In retrospect the limitations of that analysis are clear. It was largely a generalisation of the experience of Poland. It was less relevant to the situation in the USSR. Furthermore, like most 'experts', he ruled out the future collapse of the system (Nuti, 1979, p. 258). This was because of the claimed adaptability of the system and the illusion that capitalism did not represent a credible alternative.

When perestroika began Nuti (1988) considered it as a step towards market socialism. This had been advocated by academics such as Lange and Brus, and Nuti took it seriously as a destination. System collapse and the reintroduction of capitalism he did not anticipate. His negative scenario was just a continuation of the reform cycle 'with reform failure leading to recentralisation, followed by greater shortages and inefficiencies, leading to popular unrest and renewed pressure for reform' (Nuti,1988, p. 384). This underestimated the fragility of actually existing socialism and the limited support for any kind of socialism.

Looking back after the collapse of actually existing socialism, he argued (Nuti, 2018B) that its main economic fault had been its rejection of economic laws. By this, he meant such things as its voluntarism, its overambitious plans, and its failure to

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accept that holding prices below market-clearing levels would inevitably cause shortages (a result in his opinion, unlike that of Kornai, not of the soft budget constraint of state-owned enterprises, but simply of prices being below market-clearing levels[5]).

5. Nuti and transition economics

In addition to his advisory role at the European Commission and for the Polish government, and his active membership of the Economic Group of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, Nuti also participated in numerous discussions about so-called transition and published extensively on transition issues (e.g. Nuti, 1991A, 1991B, 1996B, 2001, 2002). His policy proposals in the 1990s combined a good knowledge of the economic situation in Eastern Europe and in the EU with a good knowledge of both economics and political economy, and a traditional social democratic perspective.

His view on the causes of the transformational recession,[6] and the relatively favourable developments in Poland in the 1990s, were both at variance with mainstream views. On the transformational recession, he argued that it might have been 'slightly exaggerated by statistics and to some extent was due to monetary disintegration, [but] its main thrust was due to the adoption of inappropriate economic policies' (Nuti, 2018B, p. 49). He listed what he thought were the inappropriate economic policies. These ranged from rapid liberalisation of capital flows; mass privatisation by the issue to the population of vouchers exchangeable for shares in formerly state-owned enterprises; the dismantling of the welfare state; state desertion; gaps in market regulation; the costly transition from Pay as You Go pensions to a capitalised system; the absence of a progressive income tax and capital gains tax; and a lack of coordination of monetary and fiscal policy (Nuti, 2018B, pp. 49–50).

As for the relative success of early recovery and fast growth in Poland in the 1990s, he rejected the view that they were due to the much-advertised shock therapy of 1990. On the contrary, he argued that they were due to 'the slow pace of its dis-inflation, that took over a decade to come down to one digit inflation, to a fiscal policy that did not neglect public investment, to the accidental slowness of its mass privatisation and to the adoption of an industrial policy' (Nuti, 2018B, p. 51).

He also pointed out (Nuti, 1996B) that in some countries the post-Communist period had turned out to be not a transition to a successful market economy but to the development of a mutant economic system that no one had ever advocated.

6. Nuti and economic systems

Nuti devoted much of his life to teaching and researching economic systems. He was a founder-member of the European Association for Comparative Economic Systems (EACES), a member of the first Executive Committee of EACES and its President in 2001–02. The two systems to which he devoted most attention were capitalism and actually existing socialism. He also analysed hypothetical economic systems such as

[5] This last argument is relevant for consumer goods. For producer goods it is not relevant since it ignores the fact that the demand for producer goods was determined by the plan and not by prices. However, for producer goods the arguments about voluntarism and overambitious plans were relevant.

[6] This term was coined by Kornai (1993) and (1994). It refers to the initial sharp economic declines in the transition countries.

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that in Orwell's *1984* (Nuti, 1985). About capitalism, he took a sophisticated Marxist view which took account of the limitations of Marx's analysis. Following a well-known passage in the *Communist Manifesto*, he argued that (Nuti, 1981B, pp. 391–2):

> Capitalism is one of the greatest social inventions of mankind. The combination of wage labour, private property, market monetary exchange and free enterprise, has liberated a fantastic amount of human potential and led to the industrialisation, urbanisation, scientific progress and unprecedented prosperity of a large part of the globe for many generations since the mid-eighteenth century.

However, as Marxists have rightly stressed, the capitalist system is also marked by poverty, inequality, unemployment, unutilised capacity, sharp fluctuations, and periodic crises. Nevertheless, what Marx did not appreciate is that this apparently chaotic and anarchic system has some inbuilt system-specific mechanisms that enable it to adjust to changing circumstances. These are: prices that respond to supply and demand; quantities produced that respond to actual and expected demand; and production capacities that also respond to actual and expected demand (Nuti, 2018A).

About actually existing socialism, he rapidly moved from the normative approach to planning to a critical Marxist–Kaleckian approach (Nuti, 1979). Instead of attempting to help the planners by improving their methods, he attempted to formulate 'Marxian "laws of motion" of the model of centralized socialism' (Nuti, 1979, p. 258). Nuti's law was based on the reform–counter-reform cycle observed in Poland and elsewhere in the countries of actually existing socialism and explained its dynamics. It took full account of the view, partially based on Kalecki, that 'accumulation is excessive in Eastern Europe' (Nuti, 1979, p. 263). It was quite at variance with the official basic economic law of socialism formulated by Stalin in his 1952 booklet *Economic problems of socialism in the USSR*. (Stalin, 1952, p. 45).[7]

Hence, in view of the problems of both systems, he became sympathetic to the attempt to develop a system that was neither a capitalist system nor a Soviet-type system, but combined the attractive features of both and incorporated elements of workers' participation/self-management (on the latter, see Nuti, 1993, 1995, 1996A). In 1983, he initiated at the EUI a research project on producer cooperatives in Italy (and the labour-managed firm). In 1988 he obtained funding from the European Commission to explore the experience of profit-sharing in European Community member states. One product of this was Uvalic (1990) which was intended as an input into the formulation of European social policy. It provided a detailed account of the already-existing extent of employee profit-sharing in the countries of the European Community. This was a very useful source of information about the situation in 12 European countries by country specialists. It showed that, although there were many already-existing schemes, they were quite marginal. 'At present, the benefits accruing to workers from PEPPER[8] schemes, whether on the basis of profit-sharing or of employee share-ownership, in most cases remain small'. (Uvalic, 1990, p. 201 footnote added). In Nuti (1996A), beginning from a characterisation of the traditional capitalist labour contract, he provided a lucid

[7] Stalin's basic economic law of socialism was 'the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques'.

[8] PEPPER is an acronym coined by Nuti for Promotion of Employee Participation in Profits and Enterprise Results.

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overview of the possible ways of modifying or replacing it and their economic consequences.

At the end of his life, he advocated as the future of socialism 'a soclal-democratic economic model, characterised by institutions and policies rather than by a specific allocative "system"'. What this meant he outlined in Nuti (2018C, pp. 14–5):

> Fundamentally this would be a market economy, fully furnished however with all the traditional instruments of economic policy (à la Tinbergen 1954 and 1956): fiscal policy through the determination of the level and structure of public revenues and expenditures; monetary policy through the management of the level of credit, the interest rate and the exchange rate (preferably floating), acting as a lender of last resort to commercial banks and to the government, co-ordinated with fiscal policy and responsible for the management of the national debt; the use of the price and investment policies of state enterprises, though limited to sectors of strategic national importance; whenever necessary, direct controls as a last resort.
>
> Such a model would be characterised by a policy of high and stable employment, a full-fledged welfare state, with provisions for unemployment insurance, poverty relief, health insurance at least for basic treatments (the cost of unrestricted medical assistance is approaching prohibitive levels and would have to be contributory or subjected to expensive insurance), free primary education, secondary and university education provided at cost except for generous allowances for deserving students, public provision of low-cost housing (in place of subsidies for owner-occupied house purchases). Pensions might be provided on a contributory basis or a distributive basis but with a minimum pension guaranteed by the state and without facing the costs of moving from the distributive (Pay as You Go) basis to the contributory even if the latter was regarded as preferable at full regime. There would be generous facilities for public consumption (libraries, swimming pools, gyms, parks, hospitals, in preference to a Universal Basic Income, which raises the prospect of being wasted by recipients, the danger of forcing citizens to buy social services from privatised institutions, and may be unaffordable anyway). There would be an industrial policy, with the state not ''picking winners'' arbitrarily among individual enterprises, but facilitating technical progress and innovation in general, and encouraging activities characterised by high value-added-per-man [*sic*], and export-oriented. International trade policy would be accompanied by compensation measures for the losers of whatever trade policy is adopted (whether trade opening or protectionism). In the almost certain absence of compensatory international transfers, additional revenue would have to be raised by the government for the purpose. These might be raised by possible and desirable concerted efforts to tap the potential tax revenue obtainable from multinational companies (that usually minimise their tax liability through arbitrary transfer prices in international transactions with their own subsidiaries abroad), and from their web operations (which are gradually being successfully tapped, often voluntarily, in the case of trillion dollars companies like Apple and Amazon). A concerted effort to end fiscal paradises would have to be drastically implemented.

Opinions will naturally be divided about the feasibility, attractiveness, and universal applicability of such a model. Essentially it is a model of a regulated market economy with a policy of high and stable employment, a welfare state, extensive public consumption, and compensation for the losers from international trade. Gone are universal state ownership and Soviet-type economic planning which characterised actually existing socialism. Gone is the 'hyper-liberal' stress on the free market and reduction in the role of the state which characterised capitalism in recent decades. Arrived is the Tinbergenian approach to economic policy.[9] What is novel is its advocacy of compensation for the losers from international trade.

[9] Nuti may also have had in mind Tinbergen (1952). For a comparison of Soviet-style planning and Tinbergenian planning see Ellman (1990).

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Nuti himself did not regard his desired model as a prediction of what will come.

> You should not think that I am an optimist. I am deeply pessimistic: the alternative to this conjectured systemic evolution is too dismal to even contemplate: the certainty of our children, if not ourselves, ending up very soon facing a monumentally unjust inequality of income and wealth; a conflictual world with warring regions, religions and ethnic groups; a depleted, desertified [*sic*] and unviable planet, dominated by squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease. (Nuti, 2018C, p. 15)

This cri de coeur from 2018 is slightly less topical in 2021 after the election in the USA of a President who is committed to reducing both inequality and global warming.

7. Nuti as a teacher and manager of research

In his long period as a professor at various institutions, Nuti devoted a lot of attention to stimulating the work of his PhD students. Several of them subsequently became professors themselves and continued his tradition of the combination of economic theory and political economy with the changing facts of reality and the social aspects of economic life. On arrival at the EUI, he rapidly created an environment that attracted international scholars such as Marie Lavigne (from France) and Saul Estrin (from the UK) for lengthy visits. His project at the EUI on Italian cooperatives led, among other things, to the informative study Bartlett et al. (1992). While a visiting professor at LBS, together with Saul Estrin, he helped to run a course for LBS MBA students who went to transition countries to advise companies on how to raise productivity and exploit new markets in the West (Estrin and Uvalic, 2021B).

8. Nuti as a European

In contrast to most Anglophone economists, Nuti was able to benefit from a broad European outlook. An Italian by birth, with a first degree from an Italian university, a period of study in Poland, a PhD from Cambridge and academic positions there, chairs at Birmingham and London, a post with the European Commission in Brussels, chairs at Florence and Rome, the position of economic adviser to the Polish government, and many conferences and meetings elsewhere in Europe, he was a model European and immune to the limitations of those who only know the country they are born in.

9. Conclusion

Nuti made significant contributions to economic theory, political economy, and economic policy. He formed a link between developments in Soviet-type economies, especially Poland, and anglophone economics. This enabled him to explain developments in self-proclaimed socialist Poland to anglophone economists. It also enabled him to understand and assist the transformation process, both as an academic and as an adviser to policymakers, when Soviet-type socialism was destroyed in the USSR and collapsed in Eastern Europe. He also played a useful role as a teacher, a manager of research, and a guide to younger economists. He linked economists in Rome, Florence, Warsaw, Budapest, Belgrade, London, Cambridge and Pau.[10] He devoted his life to

[10] Pau is a town in southern France. At one time Marie Lavigne worked at the University of Pau. Nuti had a close intellectual relationship with her.

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sympathetically studying variants of socialism and ended up recommending for the future an updated social-democratic model.

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