

letters

should have two branches with complete symmetry: one in the US and another one in the USSR. Each branch should have distinguished permanent and visiting American and Soviet scientists, economists, political scientists, military strategists, and so on. Such an interdisciplinary group could focus their know-how on this most important problem of all time and, from time to time, make their findings known to the entire world in both the East and the West. The American and Soviet heads of each branch, respectively, should have an equal number of American and Soviet advisers to establish the research aims of the two branches. This proposed institute could be the basis of an important bilateral enterprise on which we should try to establish a meaningful nuclear rapprochement.

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10/82

Problems of Polish scientists

As a recent and relatively frequent visitor to Poland, I have the unhappy task of reporting to the Western scientific community the particularly unfortunate situation that Polish scientists now find themselves in. Specifically, they are caught in a pincer between the scientific policies of the Polish and US governments.

On the Polish side, in this time of economic crisis during which the average Polish standard of living has already decreased by 25%, it is the fact that the relative decrease in salaries for scientists is far greater than for most other economic groups. For example, under the new system, coal miner's earnings are about four times that of professors and, more important, coal miners have access to stores that have something for sale other than the most basic foods while professors do not. The reasons for this especially poor treatment of scientists by the politically captive Polish government are:

- Universities and Institutes have generally been organizational centers for Solidarity
- The scientific community is generally Western-oriented in its values and has been particularly tainted by extensive contacts and visits to the West
- This Western orientation precludes its usefulness to the East-bloc defense establishment
- The Soviet Union has little intrinsic interest in the cultural value of Polish science.

As such, salaries, prices and availability of goods have been restructured

to the great detriment of scientists. Polish scientists, thanks to money saved during visits to the West, have lived relatively well in the sense of better apartments, clothes and cars. Their Polish salary has only paid for subsistence at a moderate level. The reduced salaries now barely cover monthly expenses in normal markets, where little is available, and are certainly very inadequate on the black market where such luxuries as decent soap, toothpaste and shirts are to be purchased.

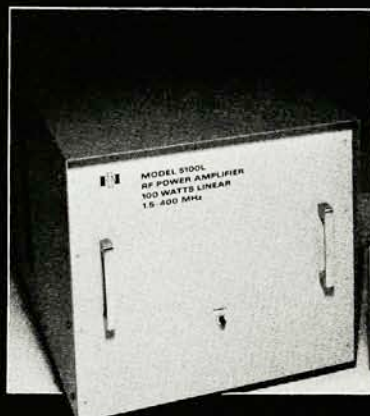
Clearly the future is economically even more downhill for Polish scientists than it is for the general worker. The second arm of the pincer is the American policy of cutting support for joint US-Polish projects. This money was very important in that it financed travel to Western scientific conferences. The Polish government rarely releases its foreign exchange for such purposes. The US policy is based on the idea that actions that punish Polish science and culture will cause Polish scientific and cultural groups to apply pressure on the Polish government, thereby affecting its policies. As sensible as this may seem in countries whose governments serve their people, we see from the above discussion that this policy cannot be effective in Poland. In fact, the policy is damaging to Western interests in that it helps destroy one of the most Western-oriented communities in Poland.

Can we in the West do anything to help our Polish colleagues? The answer is yes. I have already communicated the contents of this letter to the US government at the highest levels. On the economic and intellectual side, invitations both to established and to young Polish scientists to come West, even if only for short visits, can be helpful. It will keep the Poles abreast of Western scientific work. It will also be amazingly effective in helping them survive economically. To appreciate this one must realize that \$100 saved when converted to Zloty on the over-present and unofficially tolerated black market (the government wants the dollars) is roughly equal to four to five months salary for a scientist at the beginning of his scientific career. Importantly, it has been my experience that Polish visitors return excellent value for their salaries. They truly value their chance to work in the luxury of Western scientific facilities and, because of the limited time they have, they work very hard. Finally, invitations to visit the West help elevate the spirit of our Polish colleagues who truly live these days under the heavy foot of external oppression.

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10/82

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