

Julita RUNC

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

The Articulation and Implementation of Ecological Interests in the Authoritarian Model

Relations between man and the environment have radically changed since the beginning of the 1970s, from an attitude of exploitation of its virtues and natural resources to one of making conscious actions to preserve them. This shift has been caused by raising awareness of the risk to mankind. The centre of gravity is now directed towards rescuing the highest virtues and using resources within their limits of renewability. The openness to the future from the ecological point of view is the conviction that finding appropriate ways for man to co-exist with nature is the way to survive. Better relations with nature are sought through the creation of ecological systems in protected areas that are spatial frameworks for social and economic activity, introducing pro-ecological technologies, appropriate legal regulations with varied levels of restriction, symbiosis between nature, cultural heritage and agriculture, as well as through the development of a society sympathetic to environmental protection and its natural virtues. The overall concept of the attitude towards environmental protection is the idea of constant balanced development linking current benefits with the essential precautions for the future.

Environmental protection is a set of deliberate actions depending on the rational usage of natural resources (environmental elements), on counteracting or preventing phenomena or conditions detrimental to the environment or which cause destruction, damage or a change in the physical features or the character of environmental elements as well as on restoring the environment or its particular elements to an appropriate condition.

In taking such as broad concept of environmental protection into consideration people decide to undertake or omit individual or social activity towards the environment and consider it a specific interest within their value systems.

The natural environment is a set of different animate and inanimate elements. One of them is man, whose existence and development are condi-

tioned by the other various components of the natural environment and whose actions in turn have been impacting upon the environment for ages.

The essence of the mutual relations between man and the environment is the social process of the exchange of subject matter between the population and nature. The characteristic feature of man is production – an activity which makes both natural resources and the forces of nature adaptable to producing goods and services to meet the needs of the population. The natural environment is the basis of economic development, consisting of a set of elements which condition human existence and fulfil its needs. This means that the greater the level of economic development the more intensive is the change in the environment. It stems from the fact that natural resources are used mainly in economic processes i.e. in the processes in which man realises, regulates and controls the exchange of subject matter between him and nature. The intervention of the economy into natural systems without taking account of the abilities of the environment to face anthropogenic burdens causes negative changes in the environment leading the destruction and devastation of eco-systems. Although production is an activity of a conscious and deliberate nature, its outcome has not only desirable effects but also unintentional undesirable side-effects by way of destroying some natural resources which cannot be renewed or emitting waste which causes biological and economic damage to the natural environment on a massive scale often causing irrevocable loss.

Man from almost the beginning of his existence has had to face the adverse effect of nature which often bore negative consequences and which significantly overcame its benefits. Man has always had to face the dilemma between what is beneficial in co-existing with nature in the short-term and also from a long-term perspective. These dilemmas were only related to some spheres and activities. Their number has however increased with the passing of time. For some time there was no attention paid to the damage resulting from the growth of intensive exploitation of natural resources which in conjunction with the development of the free market economy started to be on a massive scale¹.

The development of the free market economy creates the ability to highlight the contradictory nature between the interests of individuals acting in this sphere i.e. a conflict of interest which may in certain cases lead

¹ B. Campbell, *Ekologia człowieka. Historia naszego miejsca w przyrodzie od prehistorii do czasów współczesnych*, Warszawa 1995, p. 45.

to a conflict-like social interaction whereby participants undertake action towards achieving their own goal but contradictory to their partners goal, or try to interrupt the realisation of his goal in order to increase their own chances of succeeding.

Ecological conflict is one type of social conflict chosen due to the direct interaction between people characterised by the external indicators of conflict between people. The subject of the conflict is generally the condition of the environment in which man exists.

It should be noted that the specifics of ecological conflict are not expressed in its subject specification. The sources of ecological conflict should be sought in the objectively existing contradiction (conflict). The highlighted high degree of degradation of man's natural environment contributed to the fact that environmental conditions which were favourable to the general development of the human individual had become not easily accessible. In such a situation stopping the degradation processes and then the opportunity to improve the condition of the environment became valuable virtues. The interest in the topic of environmental protection evolved mainly from the fear of the effects of the risk to mankind and contemporary civilisation.

The existence of ecological conflict is conditioned by a range of subjective factors. A fundamental factor among them is the awareness of risk. Common knowledge of the condition of the natural environment contributed to a significant increase in the awareness of the risk to ecological virtues. This awareness created an intuitive belief that the existence of some element of nature was being threatened or was a threat in some way to the health needs of man. Studies indicate that this type of awareness of environmental threats happens very often and is relatively widespread in society².

This intuitive belief may be enhanced by ecological knowledge which is made common by the "movement for environmental protection" which is an organisational manifestation of the existence of ecological interest groups. This movement depending on system conditions is of a cultural nature ("green as an alternative viewpoint and social practice") or a social political nature (e.g. Green Parties).

The ecological movement belongs to the new types of social movement which depends on the creation and action of groups who express op-

² J. Małecki, *Prawno-finansowe instrumenty ochrony i kształtowania środowiska*, Poznań 1982, p. 13.

position when their interests or values are threatened. From the outset of its existence this movement has been connected with a social manifestation which involves undertaking collective actions of a confrontational nature. Ecological groups are formed around specific virtues and issues. These virtues are created through the negative system of reference³ which is the reality of state-politics which constitutes opposition of official axiology connected with the so-called development of civilisation. The act of protesting is the reflection of this negativity. Groups and organisations that deal with traditionally understood environmental protection are included in the mainstream of the ecological movement in so far as they are able to act positively but also engage in protest. Ecological objection is considered to be an essential element of this movement⁴.

The importance of the forms of protest of pressure groups and pro-ecological groups is due to the role they perform in the environmental conflict. In one sense it's a universal and cultural conflict (or social-cultural). This is due to the wide range of environmental threats (requiring a universal review of the philosophical and general counteractions) and the shift of the primary axis of social conflicts from economic and political plains into a cultural one. These are the challenges between the old and the new concepts of social and cultural life, old and new lifestyle, the struggle for a new framework of collective sense, new normative and language codes, and a place for the implementation of new forms of symbolic culture⁵. From this perspective the area of conflict is the sphere of everyday life and the participants of the ecological movement are based on the criterion of the interests of mankind.

The form of protest itself is an alternative formulation of the environmental movement, an "internal" mode of action whose aim is to create a collective community – "the practice of new values by individuals and small groups in order to create a community"⁶. The "external" activity of the environmental movement is of social importance.

The second type of mobile activity includes demonstrations and other forms of protest using a collective and physical presence of large numbers

³ K. W. Kapp, *Zakłócenia środowiska a koszty społeczne: wyzwania dla ekonomii*, in: *Środowisko człowieka a rozwój społeczno-ekonomiczny*, Warszawa 1975, p. 98–99.

⁴ K. W. Kapp, *Spoleczne koszty funkcjonowania przedsiębiorstw prywatnych*, Warszawa 1960, p. 40.

⁵ P. Wonnacot, R. Wonnacot, *Economics*, Nowy Jork 1979, p. 510.

⁶ J. Semkow, *Ekonomia a ekologia*, Warszawa 1980, p. 177.

of people. These are generally legal actions but actions which use unconventional methods. An important feature of environmental protest is the fact that before the demonstration actually begins its participants are engaged in self education and the distribution of information related to the purpose of the protest. The aim of the protest becomes the subject of the discussion and experts provide the required knowledge which is latterly distributed to the public through appropriate methods⁷. In expressing its opposition the environmental protest uses a whole range of measures and tactics, ranging from verbal protest through demonstration and manifestation actions to more radical forms of protest (such as fasting, blockades, occupations of buildings etc).

In local environmental conflicts the actions undertaken are not directly aimed at the realisation of the overall welfare but primarily at the implementation of the specific interest. Most often they happen to be a spontaneous form of protest among the inhabitants of the area which only during the course of social conflict get institutionalised into a form of organised citizens initiatives. An established ecological group is less likely to be a party to the conflict; it's rather the case that the creation of such groups is derived from the conflict. Only some of these groups continue their activity after the conflict – being a direct stimulus to action – has been resolved; they are usually organised to be active in carrying out a specific task. With the repetition of similar threats in different parts of the country or if their occurrence is associated with a wider territorial investment programme, the operation of the environmental movement makes it easier for a particular conflict to be given a more important ecological meaning, extending its range to wider social groups or even transforming it into a conflict of a national nature⁸.

Giving the public the right environmental conditions for growth is of significant importance to the aims of modern society as a whole. The tasks undertaken in this area are of a multi faceted nature and require the involvement of virtually the entire nation. The emergence of environmental tasks always causes conflicts in the processes of the transformation of the environment and the development of society. These are the contradictions between the elements of the natural environment, the anthropogenic ele-

⁷ K. Valaskakis, P. S. Sindell, J. G. Smith, J. Fitzparick-Martin, *Propozycje dla przyszłości. Społeczeństwo konserwacyjne*, Warszawa 1988, p. 102.

⁸ J. Runc, *Ochrona środowiska a konflikty społeczne w Polsce*, Poznań 1998, p. 58.

ments, and the contradictions between the interests of individuals, groups and wider society.

These contradictions always arise and should be dealt with in a conscious way – not by playing games of self-interests, such as with a low overall environmental awareness (in the case of Poland) – so that the interests of environmental protection will always be in a favourable position. Environmental policy must provide and use specific ways of resolving the above mentioned contradictions taking into account the weaker position of the environmental protection interests.

In the event of a conflict of social interests in the field of environmental protection it happens that the conflict takes on the characteristics of a political conflict. From this point of view the environmental policy of the nation covers not only an element of the task of an integrating nature but also an element of resolving conflict situations. The government in this case may act as the body to settle the conflict by making a final judgement (a legal mediator between the parties), but it can also become a party in a politicised environmental conflict by showing preference to certain interests but not meeting the expectations of other particular groups and consequently its decisions and actions can contribute in a decisive way to the creation of a crisis situation and conflicts. This is related mainly to the government in authoritative models such as so-called Real Socialism which covers a specific part of the productive apparatus and was the party which was formerly responsible for the degradation of the environment.

Regardless of which element (integrational or conflicting) prevails in the environmental policy of a particular state, this policy's shape is influenced by:

- a) the political stage,
- b) the political actors,
- c) the normative system,
- d) the power of authority and the influence of individual actors⁹.

There is no denying the fact that the protection of the environment becomes a self contained political value. This means that referring to it can be treated as bargaining in the battle to determine the positions of various parties or political groups¹⁰, a part of the political game. The actors in the political scene manifest their support for environmental issues by declar-

⁹ A. Antoszewski, A. Ferens, *Uwarunkowania procesu decyzyjnego w przedmiocie ochrony środowiska w strukturach władzy lokalnej*, Warszawa 1990, p. 29 and further.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 21 and further.

ing an understanding of its threats and formulating an environmental policy. That's the way they answer to the expectations of the public which often in various forms express their concern about the progressive deterioration of the environment. Frequently there is much demagoguery in the behaviour of the political actors but it doesn't change the fact that environmental policy is an important part of the political agenda.

The characteristic feature of environmental values is its "novelty". The changing conditions of human existence and their social-cultural position etc. represent problematic situations and are a force to search for such values that contain a response to the emerging new issues or issues as yet unresolved. These attitudes are a form of manifestation of human needs, aspirations and fears. The creation of new values can be spontaneous and deliberate. Firstly there are some statements about the facts and on the basis of moral claims which when brought to the attention of people become the order of actions and deeds. This process in current conditions is particularly evident in relation to environmental values. Its increasing importance in the totality of social values is reflected in attempts to formulate the principle of ecological ethics where the object of interest is, generally speaking, the moral relationship between man and nature.

Searching for the principles of ecological ethics is part of the broader context of cultural activities and is closely connected with a different current of social-philosophical interests including religion. Among the contemporary research attention is focused in two areas: the "deep ecology", and the moral over-evaluation of society to the environment in Christian ethics (so significant in the value system of Polish society).

Environmental values are a key element of the environmental awareness of a particular society. This awareness is "a state of knowledge, ideas and the perception of people about the role of the environment in human life, its anthropogenic level, the level of exploitation, threats and protection, including the state of knowledge about the means and mechanisms to control the uses and the protection of the environment¹¹".

In authoritarian systems (undemocratic) the ruling power under pressure from independent grass roots environmental movements can verify its position taking into account the demands of the environmental lobby as quasi political rather than strictly political. Authoritarian systems respect environmental interests under the influence of grass roots pressure but not

¹¹ J. Runc, *Ochrona środowiska...*, op. cit., p. 38.

non-authoritarian pressure as a result of the polarisation of public opinion which has been transformed into a democratic form of pressure.

An important feature of authoritarianism is in its complexity and being syndrome like. Certain beliefs and tendencies do not occur in isolation. Most studies show a strong correlation between particular elements of the authoritarian syndrome of people living in a different culture although certain volatility can be observed within the range of most characteristic features of different societies.

One of the most important features of authoritarianism, especially evident in Poland, is the strong belief in respecting authority combined with the need to be submissive to it. Authoritarianism is related to the views and attitudes of a particular political system but is not identical to it¹². The relationship between the state and the citizen is one of the main categories in the theories of civil society. In authoritarian and totalitarian states, society struggles with the state for the attainment of its rights. The Polish experiences pre-1989 are a good example.

Communism created a political-economic system which created crises. An economic system of crisis which created an economy unable to meet the basic needs of the population being unilaterally directed to production. Environmentally it also created crisis in that the economy to a large extent destroyed the natural resources and put a heavy burden on the environment. The communist economic model, developed conceptually and executed by Stalin in the Soviet Union, was later imposed on the countries dominated by him. This model, known as the Stalin model, was characterised by development giving priority to heavy industries and raw materials industries – to back up the creation of armaments – alongside the continued under development of areas for human needs which were only maintained at a level of basic reproduction by the labour force and which reserved personnel for the army.

This economic and ecological destruction of the communist economy led to an increase in economic shortage and social deprivation (in a real socialism society this is a “social deficit” as described by M. Maroda) as well as degradation on a huge scale which affected even vast areas of the Soviet Union (which is only now gradually being revealed).

In all the countries of real socialism, anti-regime opposition amidst allegations presented to the communist rule, granted a high priority to envi-

¹² J. Koralewicz, *Autorytaryzm, lęk, konformizm*, Warszawa 2008, p. 233–235.

ronmental issues due to the accusations from society. In Poland in the late 1970s attempts from “the underground” were made to warn the public about the disastrous state of the environment which had been effectively hidden by the authorities. During the years 1980–81 the freedom of society increased and the first national social environmental organisation was formed – The Polish Ecological Club (Polski Klub Ekologiczny – PKE). Martial Law and the accompanying counter-communist forces failed to dampen public sensitivity to environmental issues and the gradual liberalisation of ideas progressed more quickly in this sphere¹³.

The sources of environmental crisis lie in the system of real socialism shaped by decades of the interests of professional and commercial groups. It was formed by the distributive activities of the communist state which constituted the functional equivalent of the economic level of the market circulation of goods (known as centralised planning), and in the social sphere – the basic instrument of social differentiation. These groups tried to gain the largest share of goods by influencing the state authority, where the strongest groups were the priority interests for communism and these were the in the following sectors – mining, metallurgy and engineering.

Despite the collapse of communism its legacy persisted both in terms of material-technical (production equipment along with infrastructure) and, as indicated above, institutional-social in the form of social interest groups associated with sectors or large industries seeking to maintain the status quo within the range of production, working conditions and scale of workforce. It was revealed by conflicts in the mining, metallurgy, engineering (such as in Ursus and Starachowice) and armaments (especially aviation) industries.

In many local conflicts the predominance of spontaneity and high emotional tension created the opportunity to go beyond a level of non-violence. In the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s there was a multitude of local environmental conflicts in Poland connected with the overall level of environmental degradation and the generally ignorant attitude of the political elite to the issues of the natural environment. From 1980–81 they manifested themselves on a large scale. After the period of martial law the wave of environmental conflicts was on the increase and remained closely connected to the development of the environmental movement itself,

¹³ A. Delorme, *Spoleczne przeszkody poprawy sytuacji ekologicznej kraju*, “Zielone Brygady” 1992, no. 10, p. 40.

eventually reaching its apogee between 1988 and 1990, this being influenced mainly by the liberalisation of the political system and the ultimate transformation of the system. In subsequent years the wave of open conflicts related to the environment subsided considerably, while their geographical span and social range also declined.

These conflicts mainly concerned the operation of industrial installations directly contributing to the devastation of nature, plans to build such installations being received as the creation of the potential threats, a land development plan for particular areas or cities, the overall state of the environment (e.g. Gorny Slask, Glogow), variations in certain eco-systems (e.g. Puszcza Bialowieska, Mazury), the location of municipal landfills, animal rights, etc. All of these were however dominated by conflicts connected with nuclear energy lasting throughout the 1980s which led to a nationwide discussion on the future of nuclear power in Poland and which turned localised conflicts (Miedzyrzecz, Klempicz, Darlowo, Zarnowiec) into a nationwide political conflict with an ecological backdrop lasting from 1983 to 1990. The conflict ended with the state withdrawing the programme of nuclear power development in Poland.

The resolution of social conflict through the complete abandonment of an already implemented programme of nuclear power development is assessed in various ways. On the one hand the proponents of this development treated it as "an inexcusable mistake enforced on the government by pressure groups using a variety of generally false arguments". On the other hand it was recognised as a spectacular success gained in the public interest by the environmental movement (although its activity was ultimately only one of the reasons for this decision). The majority of society placed itself somewhere in between these two positions often with an irrational fear of new technology which can easily transferred to other area (e.g. radio broadcasting or overhead electricity cables)¹⁴.

With reference to some nations, the political dimension of environmental values is reflected in their environmental policy. Nowadays no state can escape environmental policy because even complete neglect in this matter is also a statement of policy; environmental policy sacrificing the environment of human life for other purposes. It is observed that the protection of the environment is now becoming an intrinsic political

¹⁴ J. Runc, *Wartości ekologiczne w systemie wartości społecznych*, "Przegląd Politologiczny" 2006, no. 4, p. 125–127.

value. This means that referring to it can be treated as a bargaining chip in the battle to determine the positions of the various parties or political groups as part of the political game.

The appearance of the “green” movement in the contemporary political arena was significant in terms of the transformation of ecological values into political values, this being associated with new phenomena occurring in the 1970s in the environmental social groupings belonging to new social movements. An important distinguishing feature of new social movements is a new type of social conflict in which they are all involved. The conflict is the basic category of the existence of these movements, it focuses mainly on the social-cultural sphere, this being a clash between the old and new concept of social and cultural life, the old and new way of living. This conflict depends in a sense on dealing with the system of the state and other social actors and dealing with the shape and scope of culture and civic society. New social movements challenge the state system without questioning it and with no desire to gain power. In Offe’s opinion the appropriate area of activity is in “non-institutional politics” which is the intermediate area between the private and public sphere of actions and activities. The new movements within it implement the social process which is defined as a new political paradigm.

As a result of a growing environmental awareness and an increase in the public’s interest in environmental protection as a political value in the late 1970s in western Europe and beyond, there was an output of some environmental movement of alternative backgrounds stemming from the niche of non-institutional policy and transformation into social-political movements and then into political parties known as the “greens”. The undoubted merit of the “greens” is to make environmental protection and the values related to it become self-contained political programmes. Their presence has forced traditional parties and the ruling elite more than ever before to broaden their programmes and current activities to take account of environmentally oriented pressure groups within public opinion.

After the Second World War in Poland the adopted policy of industrialisation was covered by uncritical political and economic euphoria of pushing forward growth without taking into consideration the environmental and ecological consequences. This disastrous direction in terms of its consequences for economic development was maintained and exacerbated by the temporary withdrawal of the induced resistance of society during the following years – 1956, 1970 and 1976. It was strengthened by the structure of interests around heavy industries and metallurgy that exerted

pressure to adopt economic policies favourable to their directions of development. In spite of modern conceptual and legal solutions related to environmental protection (e.g. the Act of 1949), only restoration and biocenotic protection were dealt with but there was no reference or discussion about a national environmental protection policy in the 1950s and 60s. A significant change in the state authorities in Poland relating to the environmental protection issue was noted in 1970. Similar to other countries there was the clear effect of the internationalisation of the issue. It was followed by some specific political, legal (records kept in the constitution of 1976 and the Act of 1980) and administrative policies. It is clear that the foundations of the state's environmental policy were created in the 1970s but the problem was that it failed to be implemented and therefore a further sharp deterioration in the environment occurred. The causes of the inefficient environmental policy can be found in the contradiction between the aim of environmental protection and other social-economic objectives which were valued more highly by policy makers. According to W. Brzezinski it was "a lack of feeling for environmental protection, a lack of understanding of the social and economical importance of these issues and its constant treatment as a marginal task which were perhaps only taken into account when economic considerations didn't become obstacles".

During this period there was a specific conflict of values in terms of the implementation of state authority. On the one hand the state authority apparently promoted a progressive environmental policy and adopted ambitious programmes for its protection, yet on the other hand as the ruling power and as the owner of the basic means of production, it contributed to the far reaching devastation of the environment. This resulted in reality that the state environmental policy took on the characteristics of virtual activities and the state became a party in the potential ecological conflict. In incidental environmental conflicts (usually taking the form of legal but not political conflicts) citizens didn't get institutional support and were the party unequal to the state.

The year 1980 witnessed an important breakthrough in the social-political conditions for shaping and implementing environmental policy. The open multi-lateral crisis of 1980 engulfed society, the economy and the state, but also impacted upon the environment. It was strengthened independently of the official system of the ecological movement. There was a dynamic increase in ecological awareness within Polish society which was reflected in environmental conflicts appearing more and more

often. The disastrous condition of the natural environment in Poland was of significant importance in defining the tasks of ecological policy and this realisation was independent of social and political conditions. Little wonder that there was a heightened increase in environmental issues from the political decision making centres, and following the political declarations there were institutional changes and designed programmes of action in the area of environmental protection designed by the state. However there were difficulties with their implementation. Within the conditions of deep economic crisis, together with undertaking attempts to reform the economy (including market mechanisms) and the on-going environmental degradation, as well as problems to inhibit it, a whole range of conflicting situations were revealed. The basic conflict of social interests in reference to environmental protection took place in the area of decision making and implementation tasks. This conflict, not publicly disclosed, was reflected in the structure of social-economic plans which reinforced the structural backwardness of the economy. Professional interest groups – who had strong political representation and oligopolistic or monopolistic positions in the economy and the opportunity to influence the authority beyond the system – resisted the rationalisation of the Polish economy.

Environmental conflicts manifested themselves in the form of social protests (such as those against planning and testing the implementation of nuclear energy programmes, hydro-technical investments, industrial companies which devastate the environment, etc) and placed the state in the role of a party within the conflict, and a party that violated the interests of environmental protection (i.e. the interests of society) through its actions. At the same time however no institutional mechanism existed to resolve such conflicts. In this situation the state couldn't fulfil the role of arbitrator in such conflicts. From society's point of view it was expected that the state would make concessions to its demands, and that was the only way it perceived the process of conflict resolution. Such an uncompromising attitude was reflected in the reactions of state agencies that tried to ignore the existence of the conflicts. The above presented position of the state made environmental conflicts appear to have the characteristics of political conflicts.

In order to assess the overall environmental policy undertaken by the state before 1989 it should be considered that it was a passive policy. The characteristic feature of the overall project was to initiate undertakings in the form of declarations of programmes of environmental protection, whilst at the same time underestimating the means and tools for their im-

plementation. Consequently these programmes became dormant documents. The passivity of environmental policy and its total subordination to the state economic policy meant that even the legal norms that regulated selected aspects of environmental protection were not observed.

After the 1989 political changes, during which the importance of environmental issues was highlighted, the principles of eco-development were used as the basis for the new environmental policy as reflected in the adopted resolution by the lower legislative house (the Sejm) entitled "National Environmental Policy". Organisation, legal and programme activities were launched. The treatment of eco-development as the basis for environmental policy in Poland remains closely connected to the international commitments undertaken in the 1990s. The implementation of eco-development is a complex and long-term process which faces numerous obstacles of a political, social and economic nature. It is estimated that its establishment in Poland will take approximately 30 years. That's how long it can take to incorporate environmental objectives within the system of social and economic objectives. The extension of the period of economic transformation increases the area of uncertainty with regards to the choosing of the ecological option for the development of Poland.

The implementation by the state – freed to a large extent from the role of being the direct influence on the means of production – of environmental policy is associated with a number of conflicts. They are present when we refer to fees and environmental penalties as a conflict of interest between enterprises and the state representing in this case environmental protection in terms of the opportunity to use environmental funds in the process of privatisation etc. The on-going political and economic transformations, mainly of a proprietary nature, contribute to the fact that the state and its authorities are becoming much less often the party involved in open environmental conflicts and if so they are rather representing the interests of the protection of the natural environment. Decisions made within environmental policy and their implementation might be the cause of a series of conflicts that go far beyond environmental protection issues. Therefore it is important to the significance of democratic institutions and the rules of making such decisions.

It should be noted that the Polish system of environmental protection does not reflect institutional differences of interest, nor does it have its own internal mechanisms for resolving conflicts. It assumes the equal interests of the state alongside the interests of society and the interests of communities. It is not in favour of the consistent implementation of long

term national environmental policy and it creates conditions to surrender to the pressure of current political interests which leads to the profound paralysis of actions for eco-development. In a situation of fundamental structural changes the state as a whole ceases to be the party in open environmental conflict – which become the form of local conflicts – conflicts between local communities or environmental organisations and independent entrepreneurs or certain cells of public administration. As a result the state, without the weight of direct responsibility for actions that have a destructive influence on the conditions of the natural environmental, can act as mediators between parties in conflict or legally they can take decisions to resolve them. The state may be seen as a party to environmental conflict, and objectively it can become one when the decisions taken (or the lack of them) on environmental, economic, social or educational policy infringe the interests of specific social groups. In this case the state may be the party who either violates the interests of environmental protection, or who is the guardian of these interests, assumed to be the general interests of society. This conflict is of a disturbed nature and interest groups try to influence the legislation or administrative bodies in order to obtain favourable decisions from them.

After the end of Martial Law (1983) numerous local and regional “independent environmental initiatives” including Ruch “Wole byc” appeared. Qualitatively a new period of the activity of environmental organisations occurred in the second half of the 1980s. Owing to political, institutional and social changes the conditions for growth of the established organisations as well as the opportunity for the formation of new pro-ecological groups and organisations occurred. Fairly varied and internally differentiated, the system of social initiatives including pro-ecological activities was formed in Poland in the late 80s as a result of the changes described above. The authorities tried to make the initiatives subject to control or tie them to formal structures (e.g. PRON). The distinguishing feature of the environmental movement in Poland in the late 1980s was the diverse nature of its participants – it included various social groupings, youth organisations, religious groups, think tanks, professional bodies, regional and local groups etc. Certain groups differed in terms of their degree of institutionalisation, legality, involvement in social conflicts, the social and spatial range of activity, involvement in political activity, or seeking an alternative culture. There were two main themes most often highlighted in the Polish environmental movement which had by 1989 already developed its basic structure. Most pro-environmental or-

ganisations and groups continue a traditional “secure approach to environmental issues”. The interest in environmental protection results mainly from a fear of the consequences of the risks to man and modern civilisation. This is still a prevalent stream of activity in Poland. Sometimes it is referred to – especially by critics – as the “ecology of fear”.

An alternative form is pro-ecological groups who seek new cultural values, trying to change the paradigm of civilisation that still prevails in our society, and which emphasis the unity of man with nature and the need for people to give up their dominance over an environment now more widely understood. They pursue the idea of ecological insight or the so-called “deep ecology”. The independent Polish environmental movement in contrast to many environmental movements in the West was more of a social political movement in character rather than a cultural one, this being mainly due to the social and political conditions in which it was established in Poland in the 1980s. Its specificity was therefore largely determined by the system. Independent pro-ecological activities in the 80s regardless of the forms of action (legal or illegal) were in constant conflict with the authorities. The environmental movement was a movement of protest and by its character it had political opportunities. This made it difficult to develop the ecological movement but it also improved the prospects for integration within the movement.

A clear revival of social activities in favour of the environment occurred during 1988–89. This was strongly connected with the liberalisation of the system. The number of pro-environmental organisations, both local and regional, increased together with the easing of the conditions to create and legalise associations. The creation of pro-ecological groups around local ecological issues was of significant importance. These groups were activated mainly to focus on a single issue. Therefore the environmental movement became also a movement of self-organisation and self-defence within local communities.

Despite several positive phenomena – initial contacts with foreign organisations and businesses, the formation of future professional ecological movements, the birth of the first associations with political objectives, the creation of principles that set them apart from political groups, and government seeing alliances with them – it should be noted that by mid-1989 the Polish environmental movement was still a movement in its infancy. This was reflected in its organisational immaturity, a low level of professionalism as well as poor co-ordination in decision making. The Polish environmental movement at the turning point of the political trans-

formation was only partially prepared for the new conditions and opportunities for action. It was too weak, dispersed and programmatically unprepared to take on the role of a political movement such as the western European "Greens", and too often focused on spontaneous and informal activity in defiance of the system, this preventing it from quickly becoming a mature political movement.

The political breakthrough that occurred in Poland in 1989 clearly changed the conditions for the functioning of the environmental movement. The transformation created a chance to boost the activity of the movement. At the same time it presented a range of threats and complications for the stages of its development. The new type of structure of political opportunities and benefits itself created problems and challenges for the movement. The most important one included the defection of many activists to other movements, non-ecological organisations and social and political institutions, as well as identity problems of the movement itself. It happened to a number of pro-ecological organisations e.g. "Wolnosc i Pokoj".

Even with a temporary crisis of participation, the political changes which took place generally resulted in the quantitative development of the Polish environmental movement. The number of environmental groups in Poland is difficult to determine because many of them do not seek advocacy, do not appear in any statistics, some disintegrate and at the same time others are created. Estimates made by P. Glinski claimed that by mid-1995 there were seven hundred pro-environmental organisations, informal groupings and foundations (about 180 of the latter), without taking into account organisations which treated environmental issues as part of the aims of their activity. In the new conditions of the functioning of the movement it turned out that the institutionalisation of actions in most cases was essential. As a result of this, after 1989 many pre-existing and newly emerging environmental groups and organisations developed and formalised new organisational structures. In most cases these were structures typical of associations and foundations while at the same time their internal organisation was customised to the methods and goals of action as well as to a significant cultural identity. A system of support for pro-environmental actions was developed by means of a number of specialised institutions and organisations including those that supported environmental and funding initiatives.

Despite numerous attempts in 1988 to create political parties similar to the Green Party, the Polish environmental movement didn't bring forward its own political representation. The general inability of the movement to

create its own formal political structures is one of its weaknesses in terms of potential conflict of interests and values. The pro-environmental side is not able to transfer conflict to a political level in a subjective way. If there is an environmental conflict, whether it is of a local or wider range, its politicisation is only possible in such a way when it comes to the attention of the state authorities or certain political forces. In the case of Poland both elements of the system – the environmental movement and the political systems – are not yet tailored to the emergence of the political party movement. The lack of commitment of the Polish environmental movement to strictly political activity seems to be fully understandable. Creating environmental parties too early can lead to public humiliation and so confirms the need to preserve the natural sequence of development of the social movement. In Poland in the 1980s the environmental movement was a typical movement of protest where the protest against environmental threats was also of an anti-system nature. During this period various techniques of protest and destructive activities were used by ecological organisations.

The protest action at the turn of 1989–90 against the idea of constructing a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec was deemed to be effective because, independent of the causes of this decision, the construction of the plant was halted. This gave rise in some environmental organisations to the idea that in this way the environmental movement could force through further concessions from the government by means of similar action. It created the so-called “veteran syndrome” – being accustomed to old methods which was dominated by the need to reform the methods of action of the movement, this being dictated by changes in external conditions. Being unable to change their style of action young leaders and participants rejected the external world of social-political institutions, instead preferring to ignore the changes therein. As far as environmental issues were concerned they were mainly interested in what they could actually protest against. Protesting but not the desire to change the surrounding reality and a positive way of thinking was still dominant in their behaviour. It was so much easier because there were still areas where there might be environmental conflict.

In the new Polish social-political situation the Polish environmental movement faced the need to remodel its methods and means of action; completing the basic and simplest forms of group social activity i.e. the articulation of interests and values as well as the intervention-protest actions and more mature, typically civic, ways of action: the control of administration, participation in the processes of preparation and decision making (co-operation with administration – mainly at a local level, legal consul-

tancy, lobbying etc); undertaking legal interventions; as well as managing non-state social actions (the development of independent expertise, the implementation of projects and carrying out environmental campaigns). This created the opportunity to initiate the Polish environmental movement as a pressure group. The emergence of the environmental movement in the role of a pressure group does not mean giving up protesting, it is rather that it usually manifests itself in the stage of decision making and not after the introduction of its implementation. It turns out that the use of this opportunity was significantly problematic, there is almost no completely organised pressure group in many complex environmental issues. At this level the movement shows its weakness, immaturity and poor quality of activity.

The observation of the changes in the Polish environmental movement after 1989 shows that the new political elite are not, up until now at least, significantly interested in strengthening independent civic initiatives in the field of conservation and shaping the natural environment. The Polish state did not create professional institutions or programmes designed to stimulate or support non-governmental environmental organisations domestically. This situation prompted the independence of the organisations from government and politics but at the same time gave rise to many disadvantages in their mutual relations. The attitude of the political elites is probably linked with the fact that despite the introduction of the processes of development the Polish environmental movement is still a social phenomenon with a relatively small range and limited sphere of influence.

The difficulties related to the development of the Polish environmental movement into an effective pressure group caused the forms of protest to retain their attractiveness. They are dominated by non-violence, which means that there are no concerns about the radicalisation of forms of future protest. If the existing methods of non-violent actions start being perceived by the participants of the movement as being completely ineffective, the movement may seek more radical forms of action. Hence state institutions should be interested in the stable development and the successes of the movement, as well as striving to co-operate with them. If the political elites attempt to steer system changes in Poland and do not take on the task of introducing a system of early warning and resolving conflicts based on the inclusion of all interest groupings in the process of consulting in policy making, they may be exposed in the future – an unstable social-political situation in the country increases the possibility of this phenomenon – to a reaction in the form of the radicalisation in the activities of various kinds of environmental interest groups.

The 21st century is the age of global risks and universal uncertainty. A crucial condition in the creation of global order is sustainable development which will contribute to the integration of economic growth, social development, and the perspectives of environmental development¹⁵. Such interpretation of the global order is largely dependent on the forces and dynamics of the development of democratic-liberal systems, autocratic systems, and anarchy systems.

Attention should be paid responding to the issue of whether in the 21st century liberal democracy is more important than the autocratic system in the Chinese model, as well as if international eco-terrorism will lead to the anarchisation of the global scene. Perhaps, just as in the 20th century when communism collapsed, then in the 21st century democracy might decline. In the 20th century the world was influenced by the concept and ideology of Marx and many autocratic systems accepted these values. Now that these ideas have been discredited, autocratic systems await a better future (China, Vietnam, and the Chile under Pinochet confirmed that).

Artykulacja i realizacja interesów ekologicznych w modelu autorytarnym

Streszczenie

W systemach autorytarnych (niedemokratycznych) władza pod wpływem nacisków oddolnych niezależnych ruchów ekologicznych może zweryfikować swoje stanowisko traktując postulaty ochrony środowiska jako quasi polityczne, a nie *stricto* polityczne. Systemy autorytarne respektują interesy ekologiczne pod wpływem nacisków oddolnych, a nieautorytarne w wyniku polaryzacji opinii społecznej, która przekształciła się w formę nacisku demokratycznego.

Istotną cechą autorytaryzmu jest jego złożoność, syndromatyczność. Określone przekonania i tendencje nie występują w sposób wyizolowany. Większość badań wskazuje na silną korelację między poszczególnymi elementami autorytarnego syndromu u osób żyjących w różnych kulturach, aczkolwiek można zaobserwować pewną zmienność w zakresie najbardziej charakterystycznych jego rysów w różnych społeczeństwach.

Jednym z istotnych rysów autorytaryzmu jest silne przekonanie o respektowaniu władzy i połączone z nim potrzeba podporządkowania się władzy. Autorytaryzm pozostaje w związku z poglądami i postawami dotyczącymi określonego systemu politycznego i nie jest z nim tożsamy (1). Stosunek państwo–obywatel to jedna z podstawowych kategorii w teoriach społeczeństwa obywatelskiego. W państwach autorytarnych, czy totalitarnych społeczeństwo walczy z państwem o swoje prawa.

¹⁵ A. Kassenberg, *Zagrożenia ekologiczne dla Europy*, in: *Europa w perspektywie 2050*, Warszawa 2007, p. 14.