

CSCE NEWS RELEASE

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Dante B. Fascell, Chairman
Robert Dole, Co-chairman

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Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS), Co-Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe which monitors compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, appeared at a joint press conference with the U.S. based Committee in Support of Solidarity and the AFL-CIO on the first anniversary of Polish martial law. Sen. Dole said that "martial law has been institutionalized now in everyday Polish life and civil law under another name." The full text of his remarks follows:

ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH MARTIAL LAW

ONE YEAR AGO, ON DECEMBER 13, 1981, WAR WAS DECLARED ON THE POLISH PEOPLE. THE POLISH GENERALS FLOUTED SOLEMN COMMITMENTS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS BY DECLARING MARTIAL LAW AND SUSPENDING THE POLISH TRADE UNION, SOLIDARITY. A SOVIET GENERAL, MARSHALL KULIKOV, WAS IN WARSAW THAT DAY TO OVERSEE THE OPERATION, SPURNING HELSINKI PROMISES TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF SOVEREIGN STATES, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT ALLIES OF THE SOVIET UNION.

AND NOW THE POLISH GENERALS TELL THE WORLD THAT MARTIAL LAW IS (ALMOST) OVER. I SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT FAR FROM BEING OVER, MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN MADE PART OF EVERYDAY POLISH LIFE AND OF POLISH CIVIL LAW.

WHAT HAS MARTIAL LAW MEANT TO THE POLISH PEOPLE? PROBABLY BEST KNOWN IS THE FREEZE EFFECT THIS WAR HAS HAD ON POLISH CIVIL LIBERTIES, IN BLATANT VIOLATION OF HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS PLEDGES:

- SUSPENSION OR RESTRICTION OF THE RIGHTS OF PERSONAL IMMUNITY;
- VIOLATION OF THE INVIOABILITY OF PLACES OF RESIDENCE;
- MAJOR RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF CORRESPONDENCE;
- DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY;
- SIXTY PERCENT OF POLISH INDUSTRY HAS BEEN PUT UNDER DIRECT MILITARY CONTROL, AND GEN. JARUSELSKI'S ANNOUNCEMENT LAST NIGHT MADE IT CLEAR THE MILITARY WOULD REMAIN IN CHARGE OF THE ECONOMIC SECTOR.

ACCORDING TO INFORMATION IN THE NEW HELSINKI COMMISSION IMPLEMENTATION REPORT, ISSUED LAST FRIDAY ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY, UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME AT LEAST 30,000 POLES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND/OR SENTENCED TO TERMS RANGING FROM SEVERAL MONTHS TO TEN YEARS. ANOTHER 100,000 POLISH CITIZENS WERE DETAINED AND/OR FINED FOR VIOLATIONS OF MARTIAL LAW.

THE POLISH MILITARY HAS APPLIED MASSIVE FORCE AGAINST PEACEFUL PROTESTORS THROUGH THE SPECIAL RIOT POLICE (ZOMO). IN JARUSELSKI'S BATTLE AGAINST PEACEFUL STREET DEMONSTRATIONS -- WITH ZOMO TANKS, CLUBS, TEAR GAS, RUBBER BULLETS AND WATER CANNONS -- HUNDREDS OF POLES HAVE BEEN INJURED AND AT LEAST TWENTY-FOUR PEOPLE HAVE DIED -- MURDERED BY THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

AND WHAT DOES THE "LIFTING" OR SUSPENDING OF MARTIAL LAW ACTUALLY MEAN? A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF RECENTLY ENACTED LAWS IN POLAND SHOWS THAT MARTIAL LAW, IN EFFECT, HAS BEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED.

-- IN OCTOBER, THE POLISH PARLIAMENT PASSED A NEW TRADE UNION LAW WHICH NOT ONLY OUTLAWS SOLIDARITY, BUT EXCLUDES TRADE UNIONS FROM WAGE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS NEW LAW DOES NOT EVEN DEFINE WHAT CONSTITUTES A TRADE UNION, WHILE IT GIVES COURTS THE RIGHT TO OUTLAW ANY TRADE UNION AT ANY TIME. IN FACT, THE PROVISIONS OF THIS LAW PARALLELS ALL THE MARTIAL LAW PROVISIONS WHICH NULLIFIED SOLIDARITY GAINS, AND IN EFFECT PERPETUATES MARTIAL LAW UNDER ANOTHER NAME.

-- THE NEW CENSORSHIP LAW, PASSED IN SEPTEMBER, GIVES THE STATE ORWELLIAN POWER TO CENSOR ANY MATERIALS DEEMED "THREATENING TO THE PUBLIC AND POLITICAL ORDER OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC." ANY VESTIGES OF THE RIGHT TO A FREE PRESS HAVE BEEN WIPED AWAY BY THIS LAW.

-- A NEW LAW ON PUBLIC ORDER IN UNIVERSITIES PROHIBITS FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND EXPRESSION AND OUTLAWS INDEPENDENT STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS. RUSSIAN AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY ARE REINSTITUTED AS OBLIGATORY COURSES.

-- THE PARASITISM LAW, PASSED IN OCTOBER, OBLIGES ANY UNEMPLOYED POLISH WORKER TO ACCEPT ANY JOB OFFERED TO HIM, REGARDLESS OF HEALTH, FAMILY, LOCATION, OR PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT. ANY WORKER WHO REFUSES TO ACCEPT SUCH JOBS CAN BE SENT AWAY FOR MILITARY TRAINING OR SERVICE.

-- THE EMERGENCY POWERS BILL, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BE PASSED SOON, CLOSES THE LOOPHOLES IN POLISH CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES. AMONG ITS OTHER REPRESSIVE PROVISIONS, THIS ACT PERMITS THE INDEFINITE INTERNMENT OF ANY POLISH CITIZEN WHO IS SUSPECTED OF VIOLATING "PUBLIC ORDER."

IN CLOSING, I URGE THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO HEED THE VOICE OF SOLIDARITY, WHICH IS A VOICE FOR PEACEFUL REFORM, AND TO HONOR THE POLISH COMMITMENTS UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. WHEN THE PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE THE GOVERNMENT THEY HAVE, THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT HOPE TO ELECT A NEW PEOPLE, UNLESS MASSIVE AND RELENTLESS REPRESSION IS USED. GENERAL JARUSELSKI MAY CALL HIS NEW REGIME BY ANOTHER NAME THAN MARTIAL LAW, BUT IF IT LOOKS THE SAME, AND SOUNDS THE SAME, AND HAS THE SAME EFFECTS, IT WILL NEVER SERVE AS A BASIS FOR RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE.