

# NEWS



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## THE POLISH CASE AT THE ILO

The suspension of all trade union organisations decreed with the imposition of the state of war on 12 December 1981, raised an immediate wave of protest from the trade union movement in the West. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) filed separate complaints to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on infringements of trade unions rights in Poland. Numerous national centers, in communications to the Government of Poland, condemned the brutal suppression of trade union and human rights.

The Polish case was examined for the first time by the ILO Freedom of Association Committee in February 1982. At the 68th session of the International Labour Conference, June 1982, a complaint of non-observance by Poland of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention (No. 87) and the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98) under article 26 of the ILO Constitution, was made by Workers' delegates Marc Blondel, delegate of France (CGT-Force Ouvriere) and Liv Buck, delegate of Norway (Landsorganisasjonen i Norge).

The Committee examined, in subsequent sessions (May 1982, November 1982, March 1983, May 1983), the allegations against the Government of Poland on the basis of information supplied by the ICFTU, the WCL and Marc Blondel. The Government of Poland supplied its comments in a communication dated 2 February 1983 and replied to observations of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations in a communication dated 19 May 1983. However, the Government did not supply, upon the Committee's request, information on numerous allegations, namely, the situation of workers dismissed for trade union activities, sentencing of workers for activities of a trade union nature, the situation in the trials involving the leaders and advisors of Solidarność and the ill-treatment of detainees.

Accordingly, the Committee recommended to the Governing Body that the case be referred to a Commission of Inquiry in accordance with article 26 of the ILO Constitution. On 27 May, the Governing Body adopted the Committee's recommendation by a vote of 44 to 6 with 6 abstentions. The Commission of Inquiry on Poland was thus established, the first time the procedure is applied to a member state of the Socialist bloc and the sixth Commission to be called in ILO history (Portugal, 1961; Liberia, 1962; Greece, 1968; Chile, 1974; Dominican Republic and Haiti, 1981). It should be noted that the Commission of Inquiry is the highest procedure envisaged in the ILO Constitution on the observance of the organisation's norms and conventions, ratified by member states.

## THE GOVERNMENT'S "EMPTY CHAIR" POLICY

The Government of the People's Republic of Poland (PPR) repudiated the formation of the Commission. On 31 May, Ambassador Stanislaw Turbanski, Poland's permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva, warned that Poland will consider suspending its cooperation with the ILO unless the Governing

Body withdraws its decision. He qualified the formation of the Commission of Inquiry as another example of the escalating "anti-Polish campaign being conducted by various groups in the West".

The other East bloc states reacted just as vigorously, condemning the decision as "depreciating the significance of the Commission of Inquiry". The government of the USSR, in a letter to the ILO Director General, stated outright that it considers the Commission as interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. This, from a country that participated in the ILO Commissions on Chile and Greece. For the Soviet government, those two cases were not considered to be "the internal affairs of sovereign states" whereas the same did not apply to Poland.

The Government of Poland did not reply to any of the communications addressed to it by the Commission. It adopted an "empty chair" policy in Geneva, remaining absent from the hearings held in mid-January '84. However, in the words of Commission Chairman, Nicolas Valticos to a Le Monde journalist, 19 January, "...the ILO was able to assemble, with the documents made available to it and covering the period from the December 1981 coup to the end of May 1983, a file of sufficient weight that despite Poland's absence, the Commission's meeting has not been one-sided".

## COMMISSION OF INQUIRY MEMBERS

Commission members were appointed by the ILO Governing Body in June 1983. They are:

NICOLAS VALTICOS - Chairman, former ILO deputy director; Secretary General of the Institut de Droit International and member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

ANDRES AGUILAR - former president of the International Labour Conference, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights.

JEAN FRANCOIS AUBERT - Professor of constitutional law at Neuchatel University, Switzerland.

Bernard Gernigon, of the International Labour Office, was appointed Commission Secretary.

## FIRST STAGE - PROCEDURE & WRITTEN MATERIALS

The Commission of Inquiry met for the first time in Geneva on 5-6 October 1983. Procedural questions were discussed and a timetable was established.

In accordance with article 27 of the ILO Constitution, the Commission turned to the complainants and to the PPR Government requesting them to submit by 21 November 1983, all supplementary information and observations deemed pertinent to the case. Also, Poland's neighbors and states maintaining close commercial ties with it were invited to submit written information. Eleven governments were thus approached by the Commission, 6 from Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania and the Soviet Union) and 6 from the West (Denmark, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, West Germany and U.S.A.)

The Commission invited Lech Walesa and other members of the Polish delegation to the 67th session of the International Labour Conference in 1981 to present evidence at the hearings. Similar invitations

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went out to the ICFTU, the WCL, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU in Prague), and the International Organisation of Employers.

In his capacity as complainant and acting on behalf of Liv Buck, Marc Blondel submitted to the Commission a series of documents and a list of 18 witnesses, including 5 officials from western unions, 6 Solidarnosc members now living abroad and 7 from Poland. He also wrote to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski asking that the witnesses from Poland be allowed to travel to Geneva and to freely return to Poland. The letter went unanswered.

#### SECOND STAGE - COMMISSION HEARINGS in Geneva

The Commission began to hear witnesses on 18 January in Geneva. In accordance with accepted procedure, the Commission met behind closed doors. The complainants were represented by Marc Blondel, assisted by Oscar de Vries, director of the ICFTU Geneva Office and by Jerzy Milewski, director of the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ "Solidarnosc". As previously noted, the Government of Poland chose not to attend the hearings. Furthermore, it did not assure the presence of government witnesses the Commission would have wished to hear, namely, the Minister of Labour, the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice, the Minister for Trade Union Affairs or their representatives. The government also did not propose a list of alternate witnesses. During the week-long hearings, the Commission heard testimonies from 20 persons including 11 witnesses proposed by the complainant.

In his introductory presentation, MARC BLONDEL stated that the complaint presented by himself and by Liv Buck of Norway, remains pertinent as ILO Conventions no. 87 and no.98 are still being violated by the Polish authorities. He noted that Solidarnosc and other trade union and social organisations were dissolved by administrative rather than by judicial procedure; that the Act on trade unions of 8 October 1982, restricts union pluralism and the right to form union federations; that it is forbidden by law to cooperate with Solidarnosc and other dissolved organisations; that people are compelled for economic reasons, to join the new government-sponsored unions; that there is no possibility of collective bargaining with the employer; that the Act on social parasitism introduced compulsory labour; that repressions for trade union activities are applied on a large scale, including imprisonment, dismissals from work and internment. He also noted that the amnesty of 22 July 1983 was partial, conditional and did not apply to the eleven imprisoned "Solidarnosc" leaders or to the underground union leadership (TKK). He pointed out the repressive nature of amendments to the Penal Code and underlined that people participating in peaceful demonstrations, were beaten and even killed. He went on to say that despite repressions, Solidarnosc lives on in the underground and is openly engaged in various activities, that the continued existence of Solidarnosc reflects its members' will and that the union is not led from abroad.

JOHN VANDERVEKEN, General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) emphasized in his testimony that ILO convention no. 87 was included in the historical Agreements signed in Gdansk in 1980, which for the first time in a communist country recognised in practice the workers' right to organise freely; that, during the sixteen months of legal existence which followed these Agreements, Solidarnosc had to face a state apparatus which was more concerned about keeping its control than about ways and means of rebuilding the economic situation of the country; that Solidarnosc, supported by the great majority of Polish workers, quite naturally won the support of the entire international free trade union movement which openly provided it with assistance in line with the wishes expressed by the leadership of the Polish union; that a state of

repression still exists in Poland as exposed in documents provided to the Commission by the ICFTU; that although it is forced to operate in the underground, Solidarnosc has succeeded in reorganising itself in defense of Polish workers' rights; that it has repeatedly demonstrated that its activities are of a peaceful character. In conclusion, John Vanderveken recalled the repeated appeals for dialogue made by Solidarnosc as a basic demand of Polish workers. This demand, which has been rejected so far by the Government of Poland, nevertheless constitutes one of the basic tasks for a trade union in its action to represent workers' interests.

JAN KULAKOWSKI, Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), situated the development of Solidarnosc in a world-wide context; he stated that Solidarnosc is authentic and truly representative; that the birth and development of Solidarnosc parallels that of other trade union movements: first, protests and spontaneous actions by workers, then concerted action to ensure room for expression and the exercise of freedom, and finally, the implementation of concrete trade union tasks. This third stage, he said, was made impossible by the 13 December '81 coup. He compared Solidarnosc to unions in Chile and in South Africa, and to the trade union situation in Italy under Mussolini and in Germany under Hitler. He called attention to the Polish authorities' particular way of interpreting "trade union freedom" and examined, in detail, different articles of ILO conventions no. 87 and 98. He noted that Poland's official documents on trade unions do not, in practice, ensure adequate protection for human and trade union rights. He also stated that the WCL does not recognize the 'new' official unions in Poland because they are an extension of a political party.

GUNTHER ENGELMAYER, Secretary General of the Christian Section of the Austrian OGB focused on the situation after the 13 December coup. The second member of the WCL delegation to testify, he said he had met with Walesa, workers and government officials during various recent trips to Poland. He added that the declaration of martial law in Poland was a pretext for eliminating a strong, social movement, because the Polish government considered Solidarnosc as a threat to the system. He questioned whether such an approach is in compliance with ILO conventions and concluded by saying that in reality, (martial law) has turned out to be an anti-union act, in contradiction to the spirit of the ILO conventions in the matter of democracy and trade union freedom. He said the dissolution of Solidarnosc was comparable to the ban on free trade unions in Austria in 1934.

KRZYSZTOF SENIUTA, the third member of the WCL delegation to present evidence was Secretary of the Solidarnosc National Supervisory Commission for Union Elections, and is now with the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ "Solidarnosc", Brussels. He focused his testimony on violations of the international conventions by the Polish authorities. He also said that before 1980, roughly 95% of all Polish workers formally belonged to the official trade unions even though their affiliation was not based on ideological reasons; that close to 9.5 million workers joined Solidarnosc between August 1980 and January 1981; that membership in the autonomous and branch unions (communist) was about 3 million; and that Poland's total work force amounted to approximately 14 million. Referring to the present, he said the new official unions have about 3 million members, with about one million retired workers. Though figures are not available, it is estimated that between 30 and 40 thousand persons form part of the underground organisational structure of Solidarnosc; that dues paying members, actively participating in union activities, number 1.2 million whereas another 5 million persons



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or between 50 and 60% of the work force are "passive members" who may not pay dues regularly - it must be recalled that payment of dues is illegal and punishable by law - but who take part in union-sponsored activities such as the production and distribution of the underground press, participate in demonstrations, and refuse to collaborate with the regime.

BOHDAN CYWINSKI, speaking in the name of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" President Lech Walesa, presented a detailed description of Poland's socio-economic climate in the past two years. After briefly introducing himself as a historian and adviser to Solidarnosc, Cywinski discussed the climate of social dissatisfaction, and stressed the lack of a structure looking after workers' interests while enjoying their trust. He said a democratic opposition movement developed spontaneously and resorted to strikes to denounce serious social injustices. However, these actions were generally limited in time and scale. The events of August 1980 at the Gdansk Shipyard were unexpected and led to solidarity actions throughout Poland. He traced the development of Solidarnosc as a trade union and the cultural and educational network which developed in a parallel fashion. He rejected the notion of a split between "left" and "right" in the union - such divisions are anachronistic in Poland - adding, however, that there were differences, tactical rather than ideological, between the moderate leadership and a more radical base, fed up with unfulfilled promises and agreements. He emphasized the non-violent and democratic character of the Polish union; he noted that the authorities were unwilling to engage in a true dialogue that would lead to change. He finally spoke of the general feeling of disappointment in a society that had pinned its hopes on a dialogue with the authorities.

STEFAN NEDZYNSKI, Secretary General of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI) commented that before 13 December '81, Solidarnosc was both a trade union and a mass social movement, acting openly and legally in defense of workers' rights. Though Solidarnosc opposed the illegal practices of the Polish authorities, it did not aim to take over the government. He traced the origins of Solidarnosc, saying that its birth was, in part, due to the earlier activities of KOR - the Workers Self-Defense Committee; after KOR self-dissolved, a number of its activists were either elected to positions in Solidarnosc or acted as advisers to the union leadership. He stressed the democratic character of the union, and submitted, for the Commission's consideration, the Polish Helsinki Committee report entitled "Human and Civil Rights in the People's Republic of Poland between 1.01.83 and 31.10.83". In this respect, he called the Commission's attention to mass repressions against trade unionists adding that, in general, victims of police repression are treated as criminals by the authorities.

FRANCOISE BALUKA, wife of well-known Solidarnosc activist Edmund Baluka, described the brutalities perpetrated by the authorities against herself, her husband and her child on the night of 12 December 1981. She told the Commission of her expulsion from Poland on 18 December 1981 and of the authorities' persistent refusal to grant her an entry visa to visit her imprisoned husband in Poland. In her second appearance before the Commission, Baluka spoke in the name of her husband, basing her testimony on his and on his attorney's letters. Her husband is serving a five year prison term for "attempting to overthrow the state by force". Baluka's presentation focused on his role in workers' protests on the Baltic Coast in the 1970s - he led the strike at the Szczecin Shipyard - and his present conditions of detention, emphasizing the fact that his family is not allowed to visit him and that he is not entitled to correspondence. Edmund Baluka and other Solidarnosc activists

participated in hunger strikes at Barczewo and other prisons demanding recognition for the status of political prisoner.

JEF HOUTHUYS, President of the Confederation des Syndicats Chretiens (CSC), Belgium, recalled that the Polish authorities had repeatedly promised passage of a law on trade unions in line with Poland's commitments resulting from ratification of ILO conventions; that it was during the time of Solidarnosc that Poland sent a truly pluralistic delegation to the 67th International Labour Conference in 1981, with Lech Walesa as Workers' Delegate; that, at that time, Polish authorities presented to the ILO a draft bill on trade unions, claiming that the bill would be approved by the Sejm (Parliament) in late June 1981. The bill was not passed and the imposition of the state of war eliminated whatever trade union rights existed. Jef Houthuys, who for more than 15 years has been a member of the ILO Committee on Application of Standards, stated that ILO standards have universal application, irrespective of ideological, political or other considerations. He added that trade union freedoms are inalienable and that the role of the Committee on Application of Standards is not to judge but rather to aid governments and workers to implement these rights. The Polish authorities are only being asked to release all those imprisoned for trade union and political activities, and to initiate a dialogue with Solidarnosc. He noted that during its open existence, Solidarnosc was prepared for dialogue but that the Polish authorities were obviously pressured by the USSR and other Soviet bloc countries to destroy the union, as demonstrated in statements supporting the imposition of martial law in Poland made by their delegates at the 68th ILO Conference in 1982.

JAN BARTCZAK, President of the South-Central Region of Solidarnosc (Lublin); chairman of the union committee for relations with other social and cultural organisations. Arrested on 13 December 1981 and interned until 23 December 1982. Left Poland in September 1983. In his testimony, Bartczak gave a detailed description of Solidarnosc activities in his region before 13 December 1981, noting that, among others, an economic and social council was established in collaboration with the local voivod (governor); that not a single regional strike took place in Lublin during the period of Solidarnosc in line with directives from the Solidarnosc National Commission to prevent local strikes from taking place. He described his internment as well as the psychological repressions and ill-treatment to which he and other internees were subjected. He also spoke about various street demonstrations in Lublin; the attempt to form one of the government-sponsored unions at his former place of work; underground and open activities carried out by Solidarnosc in Lublin after 13 December 81. He told the Commission of his arrest on 9 August 1983 and of his departure from Poland, emphasizing that he did not voluntarily give himself up to the police, as asserted by the Prosecutor.

ANDRZEJ JARMAKOWSKI, Deputy Director of the Solidarnosc National Commission Office in Gdansk; he headed the Organising Office for the Solidarnosc First National Convention. Interned during the night of 12 December 1981, he was held in the Strzebielinek camp until his departure for the United States on 29 July 1982. He referred to conditions in the internment camps and compared the first one hundred days to detention in the worst penitentiary. He said conditions improved after a visit from the International Red Cross - open cells, 2 monthly visits with family, reception of packages. He noted that persons transferred to Strzebielinek from other camps reported worse conditions, for instance, beatings in Katowice, Kwidzyn and Ilawa. Referring to the destruction of Solidarnosc assets in Gdansk, he said that 12 IBM

typewriters and printing equipment valued at about one hundred thousand dollars were destroyed with the remaining equipment being turned over to the new unions. Solidarnosc funds were confiscated - an estimated one half billion zlotys in Gdansk and other Solidarnosc regions. Losses at the enterprise level are incalculable.

ZYGMUNT DZIECHCIOWSKI, Editor of the Solidarnosc Enterprise Commission bulletin at the Szczecin Harbor where close to 10 thousand workers are employed. Interned from 13 December 1981 to 26 July 1982 first in Goleniow and then in Wierzchowo; repeatedly interrogated during internment and pressured to collaborate with the secret police, to sign a loyalty oath or to emigrate. He described how the prisoners in Wierzchowo discovered listening devices in their cells which they destroyed. In retaliation, the prisoners were brutally beaten on 13 February '82. Tear gas was also used. One of the prisoners, Henryk Grela died soon afterwards - he suffered from high blood pressure. Dziechciowski described the harassment he was subjected to after his release from internment to make him leave the country. On 26 September 1983, he emigrated to Sweden. He spoke of his participation in the independent May Day '83 demonstration in Szczecin, and of police brutality on that occasion. He also said that the group which formed the new trade union at his place of work was organized by the local Party cell, and ratified by the regional Party Committee. As a result of bribes and scare tactics, one quarter of the workforce joined the new unions by August 1983. He said that none of the agreements concluded between the Solidarnosc Enterprise Commission and management had been enforced in spite of the fact that about 85% of the dockworkers belonged to Solidarnosc.

DARIUSZ BRZOZOWSKI, bricklayer; Chairman of the Strike Committee (August 1980) at a construction enterprise; elected to the Solidarnosc Regional Committee in Elblag (close to Gdansk). Interned from 13 December 1981 to 7 December 1982 at Ilawa and Kwidzyn. He described in detail various cases of severe beatings of internees - 24 March in Ilawa, 14 August in Kwidzyn. Stressed that Solidarnosc members - which included blue and white collar workers in his enterprise - not only aspired to better pay and good working conditions but also to a dignified life, and freedom. Brzozowski emigrated to Norway on 13 April 1983.

KRZYSZTOF WITON, press spokesman for the Solidarnosc Regional Committee in Rzeszow. Interned from 13 December 1981 to 16 March 1982; harassed by the police to force him to emigrate. He left for the United States with his wife and three young children on 27 September 1982. He spoke of his duties as press spokesman for the Regional Committee, stressing that he did not attack the government, nor the system, nor Poland's neighbors. He told of several provocations, for instance, the case of the monument to Soviet soldiers defaced by "unidentified persons". He also spoke of the regional Solidarnosc president, Antoni Kopaczewski, who suffered two heart attacks in prison and, though free, is now an invalid at the age of 40.

JACQUES MAIRE, Secretary General of the Paris Regional Union of Force Ouvriere (CGT-FO). Visited Warsaw and Gdansk in May 1983 where he met with Lech Walesa, Anna Walentynowicz, Ewa Kubasiewicz and with members of the clandestine Solidarnosc Enterprise Commission at the Gdansk Shipyard. He spoke of the cooperation agreement between the FO Paris Regional Union and the underground Gdansk Regional Committee of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" which provides for information exchange and assistance in the defense of Polish workers' rights. He said large-scale repression had taken place in Gdansk, and that not all prisoners were freed under

the partial amnesty of 22 July '83. He asserted that the situation has not improved since his visit in May '83. Discussed humanitarian aid to Poland saying that over 100 support committees function in Paris; that, these committees have established direct contacts with persons in Poland, and that they organize convoys and other humanitarian aid for imprisoned Solidarnosc members and their families.

HERIBERT MAIER, General Secretary of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET); member of the ILO Governing Body and of the Committee on Freedom of Association. In his presentation, he traced the history of the Polish case at the ILO, beginning with the complaints on infringements of trade union rights submitted on 14 December 1981 by the ICFTU and the WCL. Underlined the seriousness of the complaint against Poland, saying that union rights are also violated in Chile and Turkey; however, noted that Poland is the first member state of the ILO to allege "interference in its internal affairs", a charge that was denied by the Committee on Freedom of Association. The Committee, he said, categorically rejected the allegation that Solidarnosc activities went beyond trade union concerns. In conclusion, he said that although the state of war was lifted on 22 July 1983, it has been replaced by new legislation which contravenes basic trade union freedoms.

STANISLAW KACZMARCZYK, accountant and member of the Solidarnosc Enterprise Commission at the 'May 1st' coalmine in Silesia. He was arrested soon after the state of war was introduced. Severely beaten when arrested, he lay unconscious in hospital for over one week. Constant harassment and threats by the police forced him to emigrate to France. His testimony included a detailed analysis of infringements by Poland of ILO Conventions no. 29, 87, 98, 105, 111, 135. He gave a precise account of the strike at the Wujek coalmine (Katowice) where 7 miners were killed in December '81 and described how the ZOMO and the police were used to break up strikes at other coalmines. He asserted that, in December '81, strikes had taken place in about 20 coalmines in Upper Silesia.

M. LAGASSE, Secretary General of the International Organisation of Employers (IOE), with members in 98 countries. He underlined that the right to organize must be respected regardless of the political system. He said articles 3 and 74 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland do not guarantee this right. He also noted that by assigning a leading role to the Party in all trade union organizations, the Act on trade unions of 8 October 1982 eliminates the right to freedom of association as understood by the ILO. M. Lagasse was accompanied by R. Chacko, Deputy Secretary General of IOE.

COMMISSION MEMBERS were shown a 15-minute film on a meeting between Jean Bornard, President of the Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens (CFTC) and the Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" in May 1983. Fragments of the film were screened on French television last summer.

MARC BLONDEL based his final observations on evidence presented by the witnesses and documents submitted to the Commission. He said that before 13 December 1981, Solidarnosc was the largest trade union in Poland; that it functioned in accordance with the ILO conception of a trade union organisation. At present, Solidarnosc is active, continues to function as a trade union, and remains open to dialogue with the authorities. The new trade unions are not genuine workers' organisations and have a small membership compared to Solidarnosc before the 13 December coup. The authorities' accusations against Solidarnosc aim at discrediting the union and at misleading public opinion, particularly as concerns allegations of inter-



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ference by the ILO and western trade unions in the internal affairs of Poland.

Mass repression was introduced on 13 December '81 and continues to the present day. More than 10 thousand people went through internment camps. The exact number of political prisoners is unknown. Many persons were beaten by the police, a number of which died as a result. 50 cases of fatal casualties have been documented. Thousands have lost their jobs and many persons have been blacklisted; a law on "social parasitism" has been introduced. Gradual repression and modern manipulative techniques designed to intimidate people are a part of the system.

Blondel concluded that in order to reestablish trade union freedoms in Poland, the authorities should allow for the free circulation of information; ensure a climate of security for citizens and cease arbitrary arrests; announce a general and unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners; permit peaceful demonstrations without reprisals or repressions; recognise the legal existence of Solidarnosc as well as of other unions and social organisations; return the assets and documents which were confiscated from them; reinstate all persons dismissed for

their trade union activities; cease repression at the workplace and end repression of an economic nature; repeal the Law on Special Regulations in the Period of Overcoming the Socio-Economic Crisis, of 21 July 1983.

THIRD STAGE - COMMISSION REPORT

The third stage of the Commission's work, the preparation of the report, began with the conclusion of the hearings. The report is expected to be presented in May 1984, after which its contents and recommendations will be made public. The report will be published.

Judging from past Commission of Inquiry reports, it is to be expected that the report on Poland will consist of two types of conclusions: an assessment of the manner in which the Government of the People's Republic of Poland contravened ILO conventions, and a list of recommendations to the Polish Government.

The Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" hopes that the report will induce the Polish authorities to enter into a true dialogue with the society and to return to the spirit and the letter of the 1980 Gdansk Agreements.

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Editor's Note: The Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" is in touch with all the persons who presented evidence at the hearings of the ILO Commission of Inquiry. The Office would be pleased to assist anyone interested in obtaining further information about individual presentations.