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Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association (214th, 215th and 216th)

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statement that the vast majority were dismissed for economic reasons, would nevertheless recall that workers should enjoy adequate protection against all acts of anti-union discrimination and would request the Government to inform it of the present situation of the workers concerned, giving details in particular as to whether any appeals have been lodged or reinstatements occurred.

- (d) Lastly, as regards the alleged government favouritism of a rival union in the airlines sector, the Committee considers that it need not examine this allegation.

Case No. 1097

COMPLAINTS PRESENTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION
OF FREE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF
LABOUR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND

696. In communications dated 14 December 1981, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) presented complaints of violation of trade union rights in Poland. The complainant organisations sent additional information in support of their complaints in the following communications: the ICFTU, in communications dated 16 and 18 December 1981 and 13 and 21 January 1982; and the WCL, in communications dated 15 and 16 December 1981 and 6, 8, 12, 15, 19, 26 January and 9 February 1982. In communications dated 15, 18 and 21 December 1981 and 25 January 1982, respectively, the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, the International Federation of Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees, the International Metalworkers' Federation and the International Federation of Building and Woodworkers stated that they endorsed the complaint presented by the ICFTU.

697. On 14 December 1981, the Director-General sent a message to the Prime Minister of Poland expressing his deep concern about developments in the trade union situation. The Director-General also stated in that message that the International Labour Office was ready to provide, as it had already done, any assistance which the Government might find useful with a view to re-establishing trade union freedoms and contributing to social peace in the country. The Director-General also proposed that an ILO mission be sent on the spot to gather information on the trade union situation, including the situation of interned trade unionists,

698. During an interview with the Director-General on 28 December 1981, the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Polish People's Republic at Geneva stated that his Government did not consider, in the present circumstances of martial law, that it would be possible to receive an ILO mission,

699. Subsequently, the Government supplied some observations in a communication dated 30 December 1981, to which the Director-General replied on 7 January 1982. In addition, a letter from the Minister of Labour dated 17 February 1982 was handed to the

Director-General by a delegation from the Ministry of Labour, Wages and Social Affairs headed by Mr. Kryztof Gorski, Under-Secretary of State, which visited the ILO on 18 and 19 February 1982. The Under-secretary of State also supplied certain indications during these meetings with the Director-General.

700. Poland has ratified the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98),

A. Allegations of the complainants

701. In its complaint, the ICFTU condemns the martial law established in Poland and refers to the occupation by the army of Solidarity headquarters, the arrest of a considerable number of trade union leaders and the prohibition of any trade union activity. For its part, the WCL considers that the arrest of trade union leaders and the placing of workers under military control in various sectors of the economy constitute violations of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, the Gdansk agreements and the by-laws of trade unions approved by the Supreme Court of Poland.

702. The complaints of the WCL and the ICFTU were followed up by telegrams on 15 and 16 December 1981 requesting that an ILO mission be sent to Poland as a matter of urgency.

703. In its letter of 16 December 1981, the WCL states that the military authorities are arbitrarily exercising the right to arrest, judge and punish, including by the death sentence, trade unionists carrying on activities recognised by the international Conventions.

704. The complainants supply several lists of over 700 trade unionists (leaders, militants, experts or members of Solidarity), whose names are given in the annex. In this respect, the WCL states that it is impossible to determine the exact number of persons arrested, though it is certainly far greater than the figure of 5,000 announced by the government spokesman on 22 December 1981.

705. According to the WCL, the conditions of detention in the prisons and camps are deplorable. The prisoners are said to be ill-treated by the security forces. In its communication of 6 January 1982, for example, the WCL specifies that the prisoners are billeted in tents at Grembowo (near Szczecin) and at Plock, near Warsaw, where 8,000 prisoners are being held. At Mazury, the internees are concentrated in military barracks. The WCL adds that prisoners have been deported, especially from Hel, to Czechoslovakia and perhaps other neighbouring countries. The WCL alleges that the prisoners remain outside for hours despite the cold, as at Wroclaw where 200 persons remained barefoot in the snow for two hours. In the Bialoleka prisons, the windows are said to be paneless, piping frozen and the food uneatable. Though improvements have been announced, the WCL believes that they may affect only a certain number of prisoners.

706. A document from Solidarity in the Cracow area, attached to the WCL's letter of 15 January 1982, states that three weeks after the establishment of martial law no one knows exactly how many persons are in prison or where the prisoners are being held. The document also states that the prisoners' families have not been officially informed of the places where their relatives are being held or of the reasons for their arrest. At the time when the document was forwarded (2 January 1982), many families had not been able to obtain any news of their relatives and were put through severe ordeals in their contacts with the security forces. The document goes on to say that the treatment of the prisoners is deteriorating and that their fate is extremely uncertain. Some of the prisoners whose conditions in the Nowy Wisnicz prison were tolerable had been transferred to Zalez, near Rzeszow, where other prisoners from southern Poland were concentrated. There, they had been ill-treated by the security forces and some 30 internees had called a hunger strike to protest against the conditions of detention. Additional militia (Zomo) troops had arrived as reinforcements.

707. The complainants also report strike movements following the declaration of martial law and their consequences. In its letter of 6 January 1982, the WCL reports the death of Solidarity militants and members stating that it is impossible, with the little information obtainable at present, to specify the circumstances in which these deaths occurred. However, it mentions the events at the Wujek coal mine in Silesia where it alleges that at least 14 persons were killed whereas, according to the Government, 7 miners died.

708. The WCL also cites testimonies reporting brutal treatment of the strikers by the forces of order. On 20 December, for example, the militia broke into the Wroclaw University buildings, which were occupied by some 100 teachers and students. A number of the occupants were beaten and all were arrested; after paying a fine, they were released. The militia also used very brutal methods in evacuating the Wroclaw Polytechnical School, occupied by 600 persons. According to the complainants, 30 of them had to be transported to the hospital and Tadeusz Korzecki, a teacher, died as a result of a heart attack and the blows he had received. In the same area, tanks penetrated the Pafawag factory, destroying the walls and workshops, and the militia broke into the factory and clubbed the workers. All of the workers were arrested and held in the courtyard. Assaults were also launched against the workers occupying the Lenin smelting works at Cracow and the Ursus tractor works at Gorzow.

709. According to the WCL, over 200 enterprises have been placed under military control and staff requisitioned to work under penalty of imprisonment and even, in serious cases, penalty of death.

710. The ICFTU and the WCI also mention sentences imposed on workers for striking after the declaration of martial law. They supply lists of numerous persons so sentenced.¹ In its letter of 21 January 1982, the ICFTU states that over 300 persons have been

¹ See annex on p. 189.

court-martialled and sentenced to between 3 1/2 and 6 1/2 years of imprisonment, while being deprived as well of their civic rights. The ICFTU adds that the legal system in force since martial law was declared does not provide for any right to appeal on the part of the persons sentenced. In its letter of 9 February 1982, the WCL, for its part, refers to prison sentences of between 3 and 10 years,

711. The complainants also allege that workers who went on strike have been dismissed from their jobs. In its letter of 8 January 1982, the WCL states that, after the Piast mine in Silesia was occupied by 2,000 miners from 14 to 27 December, all of the workers were dismissed, contrary to the promises made to the strike committee by the management. The miners had to reapply for a job and the management refused to re-engage them unless they agreed to sign a pledge never to strike again and renounced their membership of Solidarity. The WCL also mentions dismissals of workers in the Wroclaw area at the Fadroma, Fat and Polam plants, and probably at the Hutmen plant as well.

712. In its letter of 13 January 1982, the ICFTU, for its part, states that pressure has been brought to bear on workers to sign pledges of loyalty to the authorities, while others are required to make a written denial of their attachment to Solidarity if they wish to keep their job. Both the ICFTU and the WCL attach to one of their communications the standard text of these loyalty pledges, the final paragraph of which reads as follows:

Considering that numerous executive bodies of the Solidarity trade union have in recent months clearly acted against the constitutional bodies of government and administration with the aim, from counter-revolutionary positions, to overthrow the socialist regime, I hereby declare that I withdraw from that union.

713. In its letter of 26 January 1982, the WCI also states that the Government requires workers and public employees to renounce their membership of Solidarity under penalty of dismissal. An administrative circular of 17 December 1981, mentioned by the WCL, states that "membership of the Solidarity trade union on the part of certain public employees is no guarantee of the achievement of the goals of martial law . . . If employees belonging to Solidarity wish to continue to work in the Government, they should leave that union. If they refuse to do so, it will be necessary to terminate their contract without delay while observing the provisions of the Labour Code".

B. The Government's observations

714. In its reply to the Director-General's message, the Government states that trade union activities in Poland have been temporarily suspended owing to the establishment of martial law throughout the national territory, in accordance with article 33 (2) of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This measure was necessary to prevent a civil war and counteract the signs of anarchy and economic chaos endangering the fundamental interests of the Polish nation and State. The sole purpose of this measure is to guarantee far-reaching democratisation of the country's social and political life,

715. The Government adds that trade union activities will be re-established as soon as the grounds for their suspension have disappeared. It also states that there is room in Poland's social and economic system for self-managed and truly independent trade unions.

716. The Government nourishes the hope that the Office, which is thoroughly familiar with special cases in which trade union activities have been suspended in other countries, will make every possible effort and use its authority to ensure that the situation in Poland is not used as a pretext within the International Labour Organisation for interference in its internal affairs. It is also in this spirit, it adds, that the Government takes note of the Director-General's offer to provide in due course any assistance which the Government may deem useful.

717. The Government considers that the Office may make a useful contribution to the re-establishment of social peace in Poland by confirming the generally recognised principle that trade unions are bound to respect their statutory functions and obligations, not to depart from trade union objectives and to observe the law.

718. It also gives the assurance that, as the Prime Minister said on 24 December 1981, martial law in Poland will not be applied one hour longer than is necessary.

C. The Director-General's reply to the
Government's communication

719. In a communication of 7 January 1982, the Director-General, after taking due note of the tone of the Government's reply, reaffirmed that under the terms of Convention No. 87 trade unions are obliged to respect the law of the land, but that the same Convention also states that the law of the land should not be such as to impair, nor be so applied as to impair, the different guarantees of independence and freedom that this text grants to trade union life. Finally, the Director-General stated that he was convinced that an ILO mission would help in overcoming the present problems.

D. Most recent observations received

(a) Letter from the Minister of Labour

720. In his letter of 17 February 1982, the Minister of Labour, Wages and Social Affairs indicates that the Ministry delegation sent to Geneva to meet the Director-General is carrying out a mission of information. Its purpose is to present objectively the present political and social position in Poland. For reasons of time, the Minister adds, the Government is taking no position on the various allegations made against it in the complaints. These will be examined carefully.

721. The Minister states that the temporary introduction of the state of war and the limitation of certain civil and trade union rights which result from it are permissible under the Constitution of Poland and under article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

722. The Minister adds that the measures which have been taken are in no way aimed at the interests of trade unions, including Solidarity, but are preventive measures to protect the existence of the nation and the security of its inhabitants and to escape from a profound crisis. The limitations will be lifted gradually as the situation is stabilised. The Minister expresses the hope that the examination of the complaints will be completely objective. He concludes by expressing his conviction that in the light of the circumstances, the complaints are not justified.

(b) Indications supplied by the delegation of the Ministry of Labour

723. The delegation of the Ministry of Labour received by the Director-General on 18 and 19 February 1982 recalled that Poland, one of the founding States of the ILO, has a tradition of co-operation with the Organisation and with the Office. The delegation stated that the Minister had always attached great importance to this co-operation and to the development of mutual relations which favour common action for carrying out the Organisation's programmes which are beneficial to the workers of all countries, and in particular of developing countries. It sincerely desired to continue co-operation for these purposes.

724. Nevertheless, the delegation added, the Ministry of Labour could not remain indifferent to the increase of negative phenomena in certain bodies of the Organisation in connection with the situation in Poland, which it had noted with concern and regret.

725. The delegation recalled that the reasons for the introduction of the state of war were to avoid the imminent danger of civil war and to re-establish calm and public order, to ensure the normal functioning of the administration of the State and to prevent the collapse of the national economy. The development of the situation in Poland before 13 December was also having serious repercussions on European security and on world peace.

726. The extraordinary measures taken within the framework of the state of war in different areas of the country's life also included, in conformity with the Decree of the Council of State which proclaimed the state of war, the temporary suspension or the limitation of certain basic civil rights, including suspension of the activity of the trade unions.

727. According to the delegation, during the last few months the trade union Solidarity had clearly gone beyond the framework of the agreements of August 1980, as well as its own statutes, which were approved by the Supreme Court on 10 November 1980. Under these statutes, Solidarity had undertaken to conduct its activities as a trade union organisation within the framework laid down by the National Constitution while respecting the international alliances which had been concluded.

728. In spite of this, the delegation continued, for some time extremist elements within the leadership of Solidarity had had control, under the influence of political organisations which were acting illegally. These elements oriented the activity of Solidarity and of Rural Solidarity towards actions which were political in character, and they had an increasingly open tendency toward taking power in Poland and overturning the constitutionally-established political system by using the trade unions. This tendency already appeared clearly at the First Congress of Solidarity, in which a delegation from the International Labour Office participated. It dominated the work of the Presidium and the National Committee of Solidarity, as is clearly reflected in the decisions taken at Radom on 3 December 1981. The decisions taken by the National Committee of Solidarity on 12 December 1981 in Gdansk went even further in this direction. These decisions, which had the character of an ultimatum addressed to the Government, incited a political confrontation including, among other things, preparations for mass gatherings in public places, in particular in Warsaw and Gdansk.

729. Independently of its transformation into a political movement, Solidarity, without taking account of economic realities in Poland, exploited its position all through 1981 to impose, using threats of strikes under different forms, successive concessions in such areas as increases in wages, raising social expenses, reduction of working hours, etc. Enormous economic losses were caused by the pressures of Solidarity acting as a trade union. The report now being prepared on the state of the economy at the end of 1981 shows an unusually dramatic economic decline.

730. In the face of an extremely tense political atmosphere in November and December 1981, and a dangerous situation which augured civil war, the state of war and the formation of the Military Council of National Salvation were proclaimed. Within the framework of the state of war, the activity of trade unions, among other things, was suspended. The extremist leaders of Solidarity who imposed on this trade union an openly political path of action, contrary to the occupational interests of their members and of workers as a whole, were interred. These steps were undertaken as preventive measures, not because of the trade union activities of those concerned but because of their political actions contrary to the statutes of the trade union and to national legislation.

731. The delegation further stated that the taking of such serious measures was forced upon the authorities who, until the last moment have tried by all measures to find a solution to the social conflict. A few examples of this, amongst many others, are the suggestion to conclude an agreement of national understanding and the meeting between Prime Minister Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp and the President of SIA Solidarity Walesa. Unfortunately, all these government initiatives and suggestions met with a negative attitude on the part of the extremist group of Solidarity leaders who forced on this organisation a systematic deviation from trade union objectives.

732. More specifically on the question of imprisonments, the delegation stated that about a thousand persons have been released and that about 4,000 remain imprisoned. Referring to the lists supplied by the complainants, the delegation pointed out that it

contained errors and that certain persons mentioned in the complaint - whose names it gave - had never been imprisoned. Others were not members of any trade union. It added that important Solidarity leaders had not been imprisoned. As regards the conditions of internment, the delegation stated that they were good and that the International Red Cross had visited certain internment centres. Finally, the Government adopted "the Abolition Act" under which no one could be sentenced for political activities carried out before 13 December 1981.

733. According to the delegation, in proclaiming a state of war the Polish authorities had clearly emphasised that the limitations stemming from it are of a temporary and passing nature, The permanent intention of the authorities remains the introduction of necessary reforms, the pursuit of a renewal of political, social and economic life - which started in August 1980 - and the reinforcement of socialist democracy with the participation of all the patriotic forces. These objectives are illustrated by the Government's present activities, including the resumption of the interrupted work concerning the trade union legislation.

734. In this connection, the imposition of a state of war allowed the restoration of a normal working rhythm, particularly in undertakings which do not depend on importation notably the coal industry.

735. The delegation regretted that many demonstrations of interference in Poland's internal affairs had occurred, and the position taken by certain trade union organisations, particularly the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour. By presenting the ILO with a coloured and irresponsible picture of the events in Poland, they had taken the side of men who, profiting from the name of Solidarity and abusing the deep confidence of that union's members, had undertaken political activities in the pure sense having nothing in common with the well-meaning defence of the workers' economic and social interests.

736. Regarding the trade union legislation, the delegation stated that the draft which had been discussed before Parliament during 1981 had not been abandoned but merely postponed. It was Solidarity's attitude which had prevented its adoption. The Social and Political Committee of the Council of Ministers was at present preparing a guiding scheme of principles of trade union legislation which should be adopted at the end of February 1982. This scheme provides for the existence of self-managing trade unions, independent from the Government and the authorities.

737. In view of what is stated above, the delegation stated that it expected the Office:

- to undertake appropriate action with a view to alleviating the unjustified anti-Polish campaign within the ILO;
- to present to the Committee on Freedom of Association the real situation - which, de facto, has made the imposition of martial law in Poland necessary - on the basis of this preliminary information and that which - if necessary - can be supplied in due course in more detail;

- and it hoped that the Committee on Freedom of Association will consider the complaints lodged by the international trade union organisations against the Government of Poland as unfounded.

738. The delegation also expressed the hope that the Office would announce that the economic restrictions taken against Poland by certain Western countries are unjustified and are aimed finally at the workers and Polish society as a whole. Such action taken by the Office and the ILO would constitute a real aid to Poland and its workers.

E. The Committee's conclusions

739. This case relates to the measures taken by the authorities against the Solidarity trade union and its active members and leaders and the events which occurred following the declaration of martial law. The Committee notes with deep concern that the complaints contain serious allegations, namely the massive arrest and internment of trade unionists, prison sentences imposed on workers for striking, the death of workers during clashes with the security forces, the dismissal of Solidarity union members and the exertion of pressure on them, and the general suspension of trade union activities. The Committee wishes to express its concern all the more since it had followed with interest the positive development of the trade union situation after August 1980.

740. The Committee observes that, in view of the nature of the allegations, the Director-General proposed that he should head an ILO mission to go at once to gather information on the trade union situation, and especially the situation of interned trade unionists. The Committee can only note with regret the Government's reply of 30 December 1981 that an ILO mission was not possible in the present circumstances. In this connection, the Committee must stress that, since the introduction of the procedure of direct contacts consisting in sending an ILO representative on the spot, a number of missions have been carried out in various countries where a state of emergency existed, missions which proved most effective in helping to improve the trade union situation and in solving the problems at issue.

741. In the present case, the allegations made by the complainants reveal the extent of the ordeals facing a large part of the Polish trade union movement. Moreover, while the observations transmitted by the Government give information about the reasons for the measures taken by the authorities, they do not reply to the specific allegations of the complainant organisations. In view of these various factors, the Committee considers that a mission carried out on the spot by the International Labour Office would make it possible to establish the facts and facilitate a constructive development of the situation. The Committee therefore believes that it must urge the Government to agree to an ILO mission, entrusted with collecting information on all aspects - both legal and factual - of the present case, being sent on the spot. It expresses the firm hope that such a mission may be sent to Poland very shortly.

742. The Committee notes the Government's statement that it regretted "the interferences" in Poland's internal affairs. In this regard the Committee observes that in this case it has before it receivable complaints of violations of trade union rights. Consequently, it must, in accordance with its procedure which aims at respect of trade union rights both in law and in fact, examine the allegations made by the complainant organisations and the replies given by the Government, within the mandate conferred upon the Committee by the Governing Body.

743. Concerning the substance of the case, the Committee takes note of the explanations provided by the Government about the reasons for declaring martial law and in particular on the politically oriented activities allegedly carried out by Solidarity. It must observe however that the special measures taken following that declaration have had very serious repercussions on the exercise of trade union rights and civil liberties. Consequently, according to its usual practice, the Committee must analyse the measures taken by the Government against trade union organisations and their members.

744. The suspension of trade union activities, which is one of the measures taken since martial law was declared, is a particularly serious matter since it affects all aspects of trade union life and deprives workers of all the rights and means they should have, in accordance with Convention No. 87, for defending their interests.

745. The Committee is deeply convinced that in no case does the solution to the economic and social problems besetting a country lie in isolating trade union organisations and suspending their activities. On the contrary, only through the development of free and independent trade union organisations and negotiations with these organisations can a government tackle such problems and solve them in the best interests of the workers and the nation. The Committee takes note of the Government's statement that the suspension of trade union activities is only a temporary measure. It therefore expresses the firm hope that the trade union organisations existing in Poland, which were legally recognised by the authorities, may resume their activities to defend the economic and social interests of workers as quickly as possible on the basis of trade union legislation consistent with Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, which have been ratified by Poland. The Committee is convinced that the absence of such legislation can only be harmful to the development of labour relations in the country. The Committee notes that a guiding scheme for new trade union legislation will be elaborated at the end of February 1982. It also notes that in the framework of the follow-up to Case No. 909, also concerning Poland, the Government stated that the introduction of martial law has not influenced the work continuing on the draft legislation - which will, however, be slightly modified - and that the Government will inform the ILO of any progress made in this connection.¹ Accordingly, the Committee requests the Government to inform it of any measures taken to re-establish the activities of existing trade union organisations. It also considers that, as has been done in the past, it would be useful if the guiding scheme and the draft of the Act which will be prepared subsequently are submitted, before adoption, to the International Labour Office for comments.

¹ See para. 15 of the present report.

746. The information in the Committee's possession shows that the authorities have interned persons on a very large scale since the commencement of martial law and that most of the persons arrested are still detained at present. Though more than two months have elapsed since martial law was declared and complaints submitted to the ILO which were immediately communicated to the Government, it has not yet supplied precise information about the situation of the detained persons mentioned by the complainants, whose names are given in the annex, especially about the places where they are being held.

747. According to the Ministry of Labour delegation received at the Office, it was the "extremist leaders of Solidarity" who were detained for having pushed the trade union to a political path. However, the Committee would point out that the large majority of national leaders and a very large number of its regional leaders figure amongst those detained. In this connection, the Committee must point out that the detention or internment of trade unionists and especially trade union leaders for reasons connected with their activities to defend the interests of workers constitutes a serious interference with civil liberties in general and trade union rights in particular. That is why the Committee requests the Government to release the persons who were interned only in order to prevent them from carrying on activities pursued prior to 13 December 1981, since, according to the Government's own indications, these persons should be immune from prosecution on account of such activities under the Abolition Act. As for the other interned persons, it asks the Government to send without delay its observations on the specific allegations made in this connection, in particular on the exact reasons for the internments, the present situation of these persons, and the places where they are being held, as well as assurances about the Government's intention to release the persons concerned.

748. After the announcement of martial law, some workers were alleged to have received heavy prison sentences for striking after 13 December 1981. The Committee also observes that the sentences facing the trade unionists apparently include the death sentence in the case of strikes in enterprises requisitioned by the military authorities. In this respect, the Committee recalls that the right to strike is normally one of the essential means that workers must have for defending their interests and consequently that imprisonment for participating in a strike constitutes a serious infringement of trade union rights. To enable it to examine the allegations in question more thoroughly, the Committee would like to obtain information on the charges brought against the persons sentenced and the specific acts of which they were found guilty.

749. The Committee also notes that the Government has not supplied information about the circumstances surrounding the death of workers at the Wujek mine in Silesia. In view of the seriousness of these allegations, the Committee requests the Government to see that an independent inquiry is carried out as soon as possible to investigate the facts in full and determine the responsibility for these deaths.

750. The complainants allege that workers have been dismissed and subjected to pressure to renounce their trade union membership, supplying in support of these allegations the text of a pledge which

the workers are required to sign. Generally, the Committee wishes to recall the importance which it attaches to effective protection against any acts of anti-union discrimination in respect of employment, protection which needs to be provided both in the private sector and in the public and governmental sector. The Committee requests the Government to send its observations on the specific allegations made by the complainants on this matter.

The Committee's recommendations

751. In these circumstances, the Committee recommends the Governing Body to approve this interim report, in particular the following conclusions:

- (a) The Committee wishes generally to express its deep concern about the extreme gravity of the allegations made by the complainants.
- (b) Regarding the suspension of trade union activities, the Committee stresses the extreme gravity of this measure which affects all aspects of trade union life. The Committee notes the Government's statement that the suspension of trade union activities is only a temporary measure. It therefore expresses the firm hope that the trade union organisations existing in Poland, which were legally recognised by the authorities, may resume their activities as quickly as possible on the basis of trade union legislation consistent with Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, which have been ratified by Poland; the Committee notes that a guiding scheme for new trade union legislation will be elaborated at the end of February 1982. It requests the Government to inform it of any measures it may take to re-establish the activities of existing trade union organisations and suggests that the guiding scheme for the legislation and the draft of the Act which will be drawn up subsequently should be submitted to the International Labour Office for comments.
- (c) Regarding the internment of a large number of Solidarity leaders and members since the commencement of martial law, the Committee points out that the detention of trade unionists and trade union leaders for reasons connected with their activities to defend the interests of workers constitutes a serious interference with civil liberties and trade union rights. That is why the Committee requests the Government to release the persons who were interned only in order to prevent them from carrying on activities pursued prior to 13 December 1981, since, according to the Government's own indications, these persons should be immune from prosecution on account of such activities under the Abolition Act. As for the others, it requests the Government to send its observations without delay on the specific allegations made on this matter in particular on the exact reasons for the internments, the present situation of these persons, the places where they are being held and assurances about the Government's intention to release the persons concerned.

- (d) Regarding the sentences imposed for strike activities carried out after the announcement of martial law, the Committee recalls that the right to strike is one of the essential means that workers must have for defending their interests and that imprisonment for participating in a strike constitutes a serious infringement of trade union rights. The Committee requests the Government for information on the charges brought against the workers concerned and the precise acts of which they were found guilty.
- (e) Regarding the death of workers at the Wujek mine, the Committee requests the Government to see that an independent inquiry is carried out as quickly as possible.
- (f) Regarding the Solidarity union members alleged to have been dismissed and subjected to pressure, the Committee recalls the importance of effective protection against any acts of anti-union discrimination in respect of employment and requests the Government for its observations on this matter.
- (g) In view of the comments made above, the Committee considers that an ILO mission entrusted with collecting information on all aspects - both legal and factual - of the present case, would make it possible to establish the facts and facilitate a constructive development of the situation. It urges the Government to agree to the sending of such a mission and expresses the firm hope that the mission may visit Poland very shortly.

ANNEX

LIST OF PERSONS WHO, ACCORDING TO THE COMPLAINANTS,
HAVE BEEN ARRESTED

Abdykowski Jaroslaw, Warsaw

Abgarowicz Lukasz, Warsaw, Executive Committee of the Mazowsze region

Abgarowicz Ryszard, Warsaw, Member, Executive Committee of Mazowsze

Achmatowicz, Warsaw

Amsterdaski Piotr, Warsaw

Amsterdamski Stefan, Warsaw

Arkuszewski Wojciech, Warsaw, Editor of the weekly publication "Solidarnosc"

Atkowski Jaroslaw, Warsaw, Mazowsze Information Committee

Balasincka Malgorzata, Warsaw, Cultural Committee and International Bureau of the Mazowsze region

Baluka Edmund, Szczecin, Solidarity, helped to organise the 1970 strikes

Baranski Marek, Warsaw

Bartkiewicz Zofia, Swidnik

Bartminski Jerzy, Lublin

Bartolik, Warsaw

Bartoszewicz Witold, Warsaw

Bartoszewski Wladyslaw (probably released), Warsaw

Bartyzel, Jacek, Gdansk

Baumgart Piotr., Szczecin, Member, Executive Committee of Rural Solidarity

Bak Henryk, Warsaw, Editor of "Postep"

Bak Mieczyslaw, Warsaw

Beltkiewicz Zdizislaw, Koszalin, sentenced on 24 December 1981 to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment and two years' loss of civic rights for having been a strike leader

Bender Byszard, Lublin

Beylin Marek, Warsaw, Solidarity journalist

Bialkowski Grzegorz, Warsaw

Bialolecki Jan, Warsaw

Bialostocki Jan, Warsaw

Bielinski, Bielinki., Warsaw

Bielinski Konrad, Warsaw, Solidarity press office

Bielski Bogdan, Warsaw

Bierezin Jacek, Lodz

Bildyga, Warsaw

Binkowski Krzysztof Antoni, Radom leather factory; strike organiser

Blaszczak Pyszard, Presidium of the Solidarity National Committee

Blazek Zygmunt, Gdansk

Bochenski Jacek (probably released), Warsaw

Bochra Jan, Lublin

Bodlio Leszek, Gdansk

Bogucka Teresa, Warsaw, Mazowsze Cultural Committee
Boguslawski Andrzej, Warsaw
Boguslawski Zbign, Warsaw, OBS Mazowsze Boguta Grzegorz,
Warsaw
Bomba Wladyslaw, Walbrzyck, Branch Chairman of Solidarity; arrested
for organising strikes
Borejko, L.

Bozgowski, Warsaw
Borkowski Tomasz, Warsaw
Borowicz Wojciech, Warsaw
Borowicz Waciej, Warsaw
Borowik Warek, Warsaw
Borowik Wladyslaw, Warsaw
Borowik Wojciech, Warsaw
Borowski Edward, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive
Committee, Gorzow Wielk
Borucki Jozef, Bialystok
Borudzki Edward, Chairman, Regional Office of Gorzow Wielkopolski
Bosak Teodor
Borusewicz Bogdan, Gdansk
Brandt Benedykt, Gdansk
Brandys Marian, Warsaw
Bratkowski Stefan, Warsaw
Brodowski Zbigniew, Gdansk
Brodzik Piotr, Warsaw
Broniarek Emil, Warsaw
Bronski
Brykczynski Jerzy, Warsaw
Brykowski Zbigniew
Bubela Wojciech, Gdansk
Bucht Andrzej, Warsaw

Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association

Budkiewicz Zygmunt, Gdansk

Bugaj Ryszard, Warsaw, Member of the Mazowsze Executive Committee;
delegate to the first congress

Bujak Zbigniew (arrest not confirmed; carried out secretly);
Chairman, Solidarity Executive Committee, Mazowsze region

Buka Andrej, Warsaw

Bula-Tyrska, Warsaw

Bulc Andrzej, Warsaw, Mazowsze Solidarity

Burek Tomasz

Butkiewicz Andrzej, Gdansk

Butkowski, Zarzad

Bzdyl Krzysztof

Cegielski Jacek, Gdansk, Member, Regional Executive Committee

Celejewska Malgorzata, Gdansk, employed by the Regional Executive
Committee

Celinski Andrzej, Warsaw

P. Cywinski Jan, Solidarity

Celinski Wladyslaw, Warsaw University

Celinski Wojciech, Warsaw, Member, Solidarity Executive Committee,
Mazowsze region

Chajn Józef, Warsaw

Chelmicki Ludwik

Chimiak Marek, Warsaw

Chininka

Chlebowicz Marek, Radio "Solidarnosc", Warsaw

Chlebowski Longin, Chairman of the KZ of Solidarity MPK, Lodz

Chmiel Krzysztof, Warsaw

Chmielewski, Member, Plock Regional Executive Committee; probably
arrested during meeting of National Committee

Chmielewski Jan

Chmielewski Tadeusz, Chairman, Elbag Regional Executive Committee of
Solidarity

Chodakiewicz Witold, Warsaw, Engineer, Member, Mazowsze Executive
Committee

Chojecki Slawomir, Mazowsze Cultural Committee
Chojewski Leszek
Cholewa Mieczyslaw, Gdansk
Chomicki Jan, Warsaw
Chrystowski Grzegorz
Chrzanowski Wieslaw, Warsaw (probably released), Adviser to the
Solidarity National Committee
Ciaputowicz
Cichon Wieslaw, Editor of "Wolnegc Slowa", the magazine of the Torun
Executive Committee; strike committee of the NZS UMK schools
of Torun; arrested 14/12/81; particularly threatened
Chichowlas Jozef, First Secretary, Poznan KD
Ciechowska Maria
Cisio Maciej, Warsaw, weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"
Cygank, Gdansk
Cyglond Adam, Gdansk
Cywinski Jan, Warsaw, NZS, OPSZ Mazowsze, Nowa, arrested at meeting
of the National Committee
Czabanski Krzysztof, Editor of weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"
Czajkowski Ryszard, Gdansk
Czajkowski Wojciech
Czaputowicz Jacek, Warsaw
Czarniecka Joanna, Warsaw
Czarnecka Julia, Warsaw, Journalist on "Solidarnosc", Mazowsze
Czarnik Oskar
Czarnocki Marcei, Member, Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski Regional
Executive Committee
Czuma Andrzej, Warsaw, Expert, Silesian Executive Committee
Czuma Benedykt
Cwierlikowska Dorota, Warsaw
Daniel Stanislaw, Lublin
Deim Tadeusz

Denisowicz Jan

Dluchy Leszek, Chief Editor of "Jednosc", weekly magazine of the Regional Executive Committee

Dobrecka Krystyna, Konin

Gobczyck Henri, sentenced to five-and-a-half years' imprisonment and four years' loss of civic rights for having organised a strike at Katowice steelworks between 13 and 23 December 1981

Dolinski Leslaw, Warsaw

Domanski Piotr, Warsaw

Dorn Ludwik, Warsaw, Mazowsze Solidarity

Doroszevska Orszula

Dowgiallo Krysztof, Gdansk, Member of Regional Executive Committee; arrested for organising strike; particularly threatened

Drawicz Andrzej, Warsaw

Drewniak Byszard, one of the organisers of the strike entailing occupation of the Warski shipyard at Szczecinie

Drozdewski Henryk, Lodz

Drawal Eadoslaw, Lublin

Dudek Andrzej, Member, National Committee

Dunin-Kowalska Kinga, released

Duryasz Josef, Editor of weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"; arrested at meeting of the National Committee

Duszenko Leonard, Member, Presidium of Regional Executive Committee of Wielkopulska Poludniowa

Dworak Jan, Warsaw, weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"

Dylag Stanislaw, Vice-Chairman of works council dealing with MPK, Cracow

Dymarski Lech, Poznan, Member, National Committee

Dymecki, Member, National Committee

Dyner Jerzy, Warsaw, Regional Executive Committee of Mazowsze

Dyryl Jerzy, Warsaw, Regional Executive Committee of Mazowsze

Dzieny Tadeusz

Dziura Julian, Lublin

Deblinski

Debowski Stanislaw, Gdansk, Works council of the Lenin shipyard
Debski Boguslaw, Member, Solidarity works council, "Unitra Biazet"
factories, Bialystock
Edelman Marek, Lodz (released)
Fabritis Julian, Member, Presidium of the HPK works council, Lodz
Falencka Barbara, Warsaw
Farner Jerzy, Radio "Solidarnosc"
Fedorowicz Jacek, Warsaw
Fenrych Przemyslaw
Ferens Witold, Warsaw, arrested 15 December 1981 at mid-day
Fijalkowski Antoni
Fikus Dariusz, Warsaw
Fraczek Krystyna, Gdansk
Frybes Narcin, Warsaw
Frybes Slawomir, Wroclaw, Solidarity of the region of Dolny Slask
Fryszke Andrzej, Warsaw, Editor of the weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"
(probably released)
Ganden Grzegorz, Poznan, Member, National Committee
Garaz Eugeniusz, Works council of the Nowotki factories, Warsaw
(probably arrested at meeting of National Committee)
Garnicki Marek, Chairman, Solidarity works council at Bydgoszcz
Gasiorek Piotr., Member of Solidarity, organiser of strike at the
"Halemba" mine
Geller Kaciej, Warsaw, Chairman of works council of Warsaw
University
Geremek Bronislaw, Warsaw, Solidarity expert
Geremek Marcin
Gierowski Jozef
Glapinski Grzegorz, Slupsk
Glonski Piotr.
Goldfinger-Kunicki Wladyslaw, Warsaw (probably released)
Goler

Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association

Gołowski Andrzej

Gołowski Krzysztof

Gomnowska Alicja, Gdansk

Goszczyński Marek

Gotowski Bogdan, Warsaw

Gottestan Gustaw

Gottesman Krzysztof, Warsaw, worked on the weekly magazine
"Solidarnosc"

Gottesman Toasz

Gorski

Grzebieluch Andrzej, sentenced to three years' imprisonment and two
years' loss of civic rights for having organised a strike at
the Katowice steelworks from 13 to 23 December 1961

Grudzinski Mieszysław, Warsaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Gryczan Pawel, Lodz

Grzelak Gregor, Gdansk, Chief of the Secretariat of the National
Committee

Grzesiak Bogdan, Warsaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Grzywacz Zbylut (imprisonment not confirmed), Wroclaw

Gugulski Antoni

Gugulski Ireneusz, Bialoleka, Arrested at meeting of National
Committee; worked with the "Wiadomosci Dnia"

Gugulski Marcin

Gut-Gutowski Boguslaw

Gutkowski. Weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"

Guzy Jaroslaw, Cracow

Guzy Berek

Gwiazda Andrzej, Gdansk, Member, National Committee

Gwiazda Joanna, Gdansk

Gwiazda Maciej

Gwula Jerzy, Warsaw, Militant of Mazowsze Solidarity

Haicz Barbara, Gdansk

Hall Aleksander, Gdansk
Hamander Jozef, Gdansk
Hamera Mirosław
Hassa Marian, undertaking in Swierczewski
Hassa Barbara
Helsztynski Wladyslaw
Herczynski Eyszard, Warsaw (released)
Hoffman Jerzy, Walbrzych
Holzer Jerzy, Warsaw
Hopfinger Maryla, Warsaw
Ilowiecki Maciej, Warsaw (probably released)
Iwasko, Lublin
Jablkowski Jan, PIAP KZ
Jablonska-Deptulowa, Lublin
Jagielski Krzysztof, Szczecin
Jakubiak Waldemar, Warsaw
Jakubowski Jan, Gdansk
Janas Zbigniew, Warsaw, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee
Jandziszak Tadeusz
Janicki Stanislaw, Lublin
Janiszewski Aleksander
Jankowski Bogdan, National Committee, Szczecin
Jankowski Leszek, Gdansk
Jankowski Maciej, Warsaw, Member, Solidarity Executive Committee of
the University, Mazowsze delegate to the first Congress of
Solidarity
Jankowski Ryszard, Lublin
Janowski Gabriel
Janusz Kazimierz, Warsaw
Jasiewicz

Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association

Jasicki Janusz, sentenced to four years' imprisonment and three years' loss of civic rights for having organised a strike at the Katowice steelworks between 13 and 23 December 1981

Jasinski Jastrun Tomasz, Warsaw, Cultural Committee, Mazowsze

Solidarity

Jastrzebska Iwona, Gdansk, employed by the Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Jaworski Andrzej

Jaworski Jan, Solidarity of the "Staszic" mine

Jaworski Seweryn, Vice-chairman, Mazowsze Executive Committee; member of strike committee, August 1980

Jedlicki Jerzy, Warsaw

Jeziarski Thomas, Warsaw

Jedrek Artur, Secretary, Solidarity works council of the "Julian" mine in Katowice

Jordan Andrzej, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Jozwiakowski Andrzej, lublin

Juraszowska Janina, Member of Solidarity; "Tecfili" clothing factory, Lodz

Jurczyk Marian, Chairman, Regional Executive Committee of Solidarity at Szczecin, member of National Committee

Juszkiewicz Ludwik, particularly threatened

Kachniarz Jakub

Kaczanowski Stanislaw

Kaczmarek Robert, Krakow, Head of Information Bureau of the Regional Executive Committee

Kaczynski Andrzej

Kaczynski Jaroslaw, Warsaw, weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"; member of the Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Kaczynski Lech, Gdansk, Delegate to first Congress of Solidarity; member of Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Kalbarczyk Daniel, Warsaw

Kalicki Jerzy

Kaminski Tomasz

Kaminski Wieslaw, Member, National Review Committee

Kania Jan, Secretary, KW PZPR at Nowy Sacz
Kantorski ks, Podkowa Lesna
Karbowski Ireneusz
Karga Jerzy, member, "Tecfili" clothing factory, Lodz
Karpezo Stanislaw, Warsaw
Karpinski Marek, Warsaw, "Solidarnosc" editorial offices
Karwoski, UMK Torun
Kaskinski Stanislaw
Kawalec Stefan, Warsaw, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive
Committee
Kawarny Daniel
Kazaczyk Wincenty, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Kecik Wieslaw, Warsaw, Joint organiser of the independent peasant
farmers' movement and of Rural Solidarity
Kecik Marzena, Warsaw, militant, Rural Solidarity

Kepkiewicz Honorata
Kesy Marek

Kijanka Czeslaw, Chairman, Solidarity Regional Executive Committee,
Przemysl
Kijowski Andrzej, Warsaw (released)

Kijowski Tadeusz
Kisielewski, Gdansk
Kiszkis Jerzy, Gdansk
Klamrowski N., Gdansk

Klassa Jerzy, sentenced to three years' imprisonment and loss of
civic rights for having organised a strike at the Bochnia
steelworks
Klimczak Tadeusz
Klinger Krzysztof, Warsaw
Kloc Eugeniusz, Warsaw
Kluczyk Marek, Warsaw
Kloczowski Jerzy, Lublin

Kmiter wieslaw

Knap Jacek, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Knap Zbigniew, Employee, Warsaw MZK, Mazowsze region

Kobylinski Jerzy, Gdansk

Kobzdej Dariusz, Gdansk

Kochmaniewicz Piotr., Warsaw

Kociuba Jozef, Vice-chairman, works council of the Olsztin tyre factory; arrested for organising a strike after martial law had been proclaimed; particularly threatened

Kocjan Stanislaw, Szczecin, Member of National Committee

Kolasa Makaryt, sentenced on 24/12/81 to three years' imprisonment and two years' loss of civic rights for organising strikes; member of works council of "Unitra-Unitech" power station, section P4, Bialograd

Kolesnik Bernard

Kołecki

Kołodziej Andrzej, Chairman of the works council of the "Paris Commune" shipyard; arrested in Czechoslovakia, where he had fled

Kolodziejski Tadeusz, Vice-chairman, Gorzow Regional Executive Committee

Komar Michal, Warsaw (released)

Komorowski Bronislaw, Warsaw

Koniewski Jerzy, Member, Presidium of the Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Kopaczewski Antoni, Chairman, Rzeszow Regional Executive Committee, member of the National Committee

Kopczynski Maciej, Gdansk

Koprowski Bronislaw

Korewo Aleksandra, Warsaw

Kornhauser Julian, Cracow

Korski Boguslaw, Solidarity member. Northern shipyard, Gdansk

Kosmowski Patrycjusz, Bielsko Biala, Member of National Committee

Kostrzewa Byszard, Member, Lodz Regional Executive Committee; delegate to first Congress

Koscianek Eugeniusz, Member, Mazowsze Presidium; delegate to first Congress

Kota Ludwik, Solidarity member, "Halemba" mine

Kowalska Anka, Warsaw

Kowalska-Dunin Kinga (released), Warsaw

Kowalski Bronislaw, Lublin

Kowalski Leszek, Gdansk

Kowalski Sergiusz, Warsaw

Kozak Jan, Lublin

Kozlowski, IBC

Kozlowski, Sociologue IFIS PAN

Kozlowski, Pawel

Kozlowski Slawomir

Kracher, Warsaw

Krasicki Andrzej, Gdansk

Kretkowski Slawomir, Warsaw, Editorial offices of "Solidarnosc";
militant, Mazowsze

Krol Marcin, Worked on weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"

Krol Witold, Radom, Member, National Committee

Kruk Roland, Warsaw University

Krukowski Stanislaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee;
delegate to first Congress

Krupinski Maciej, National Committee, Elblag

Krupinski Mirosław, Vice-chairman, LAKK KK Obsztyn

Krystosiak Aleksander, Szczecin, Delegate to first Congress

Krzysztofiak Krzysztof, Executive Committee of UJ NZS

Kubikowski Zbigniew, Warsaw (probably released)

Kuc Byszard, Swidnik, Delegate to first Congress

Kucznski Andrzej, Employee and member of Mazowsze Regional Executive
Committee

Kuczynski Piotr, Warsaw, Assistant Chief Editor of weekly magazine
"Solidarnosc", Solidarity expert

Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association

Kuczynski Piotr, Warsaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee,
delegate to first Congress

Kujan Jerzy, Sanok, charged with organising strikes at Stomik; tried
on 28 December 1981

Kukuła Mieczyslaw, Member, National Committee

Kukułowicz Romuald, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee;
delegate to first Congress

Kuligowski Janusz, Vice-chairman, Solidarity works council of the
Sosnowiec building materials factory

Kulikowski, Warsaw

Kulinski Leszek, Solidarity member, "Staszic" mine

Kułaj Jan, Chairman of Rural Solidarity

Kunicki Wladysław

Kupiecki Dariusz, Worked on "Robotnik"; Editorial offices of
"Solidarnosc"

Kupisiewicz Zbigniew, sentenced to five years' imprisonment for
having organised a strike at the Katowice steelworks from 13
to 23 December 1981

Kuron Grazyna (Borucka), Warsaw

Kuron Jacek, Warsaw, Solidarity expert; particularly threatened

Kuron Maciej, Warsaw

Kurowski Stefan, Solidarity expert

Kosinski Stanislaw, Warsaw

Kusinski Stanislaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee

Kwiecinski Marian, Luban, Slask, National Committee

Lalak Mirosław

Laskowicz Kamila, Poznan

Laskowicz Krystyna, Solidarity militant at the UAM in Poznan,
arrested on 18 December 1981

Lasocki Wojciech

Lemanski Krzysztof

Lendas Eyszard, Szczecin

Leski Krzysztof, Mazowsze Solidarity

Lewandowska Irena, Warsaw, Journalist with "Solidarnosc"

Lewcun Jerzy, Chairman of the works council of the special orthopaedic rehabilitation unit for young people at Zakopane; arrested for resistance and sentenced

Lewkin Jerzy, Nowy Sacz., Chairman of the works council in a children's sanatorium; sentenced on 23 December 1981 to six months' imprisonment for organising strikes and distributing tracts (probably same sentence for Lewcun)

Lichota Tadeusz, Szczecin

Lindberg Grzegorz

Lipiec Wieslaw, Editor of the "Solidarnosc" bulletin in Lublin

Lipinska Agata

Lipinski Edward, Warsaw, arrest not confirmed

Lipski Jan Jozef, arrested at Ursus for resistance after his release; particularly threatened

Lipski Jan Tomasz

Lis Norbert, Corzow Solidarity

Lis Zbigniew, Gdansk, former Member of the Presidium of the Regional Executive Committee; Member of the MKS in 1980

Lis Bogdan, Member of the National Committee, Gdansk

Litynska Krystyna, Editorial offices of "Solidarnosc"; militant of the Mazowsze region

Litynski Jan, B., Editor of "Robotnik"; expert, Lacede Mazowsze

Ludwikowski Antoni

Lutyk Aleksander

Łapinski Henryk, Member of the presidium of the works council of the Gdansk shipyard

Łapinski Zdzislaw

Łojak Jan, Member, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee; delegate to the First Congress

Łojek Jerzy (probably released)

Łubienski Tomasz, Warsaw

Łuczynski Zygmunt, Solidarity works council, editor of the "Solidarnosc" bulletin at IBJ

Łuczyno Helena, formerly joint editor of "Robotnik" (imprisonment not confirmed)

Łuczyno Witold, Joint editor of "Robotnik", Mazowsze

Łukanowicz

Łukasiewicz Adam

Łukasiewicz Malgorzata, Warsaw

Łukasiewicz Piotr, Warsaw

Łupana Zygmunt, Lublin, Delegate to the First Congress

Luzny Jan, Regional executive committee of Upper Silesia, member of the National Committee

Łypaczewicz Krzysztof, Member of the Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee; delegate to the First Congress

Maciejko Katarzyna, Warsaw

Macierewicz Antoni, Warsaw, particularly threatened

Majdewski Janusz, Warsaw

Majewski Janusz, Warsaw

Makanson Robert, Lublin

Malak Barbara

Małachowski Aleksander, Warsaw, writer; member of the Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee; elected for the First Congress (released)

Malkowski Stanislaw, ks.

Mansfeld, Solidarity UMK Torun

Mantoszewski Stanislaw

Mardan, Warsaw

Markuszewski Jerzy, Warsaw (released)

Markuszewski, son of Jerzy (released)

Markun Tadeusz, Warsaw, Mazowsze

Martenko-Obrepolska Grazyna

Maruszczyk Konrad, Gdansk, Walesa's deputy as chairman of the presidium of the Regional Executive Committee; vice-chairman of the Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Matuszkiewicz Antoni, Swidnica, National Committee

Matyjas Eugeniusz, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee of Leszno

Mazowiecki Tadeusz, Warsaw, Chief editor of the weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"

Mazowiecki Wojciech, Warsaw

Mazurek Janusz

Masiur Michal, Member of the Slask-Dabrowski Regional Executive Committee; member of the National Committee

Menkarska Jadwiga, Solidarity member in the "Tecfili" clothing factories at Lodz

Merke Jacek, Member of the presidium of the National Committee, Gdansk

Merlikowski

Michnik Adam, Warsaw, Solidarity expert

Mikolajczyk Jacek, delegate to the First Congress

Mikolajczyk Witold, Bydgoszcz, charged with having attacked a member of the militia or a policeman at Wroclaw on 21-22 December (trial on 29 December 1981)

Mikolajska Halina, Warsaw, delegate to the First Congress

Mikus Boguslaw, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee of Lodz; member of the National Committee

Milczanowski Andrzej, "Warski" shipyard at Szczecin

Miodowicz Konstanty, Cracow

Moczulak Jan, Warsaw

Moczulski Leszek

Moczyk Piotr,

Moczyla

Modzelewski Karol, Member of the Solidarity National Committee; member of the Wroclaw Executive Committee

Modzelewski Wojciech, Warsaw, chief of the Solidarity committee at the Institute of Sociology

Mogulszewski

Mokrzyszewski Andrzej, arrested for involvement in a strike on 15 December 1981; particularly threatened

Mordzinska

Morgiewicz Emil

Moroz Andrzej, Warsaw

Mroczek Piotr, Warsaw, Solidarity RiTV; chairman of the Solidarity works council

Muskat Mariusz, Gdansk, works for the Regional Executive Committee
Mystkowski Jan
Nagorski Wiktor, Warsaw, delegate to the First Congress
Napieralski Henryk
Narkun Tadeusz, Mazowsze Solidarity
Natstkowski Leon
Niewiadomski Stefan, "Warski" shipyard, Szczecin
Niewiadomski Wlodzimierz, Pruszkow
Niezgoda Czeslaw, Lublin
Nowak Tadeusz, Gdansk
Nowakowski Kazimierz
Nowakowki Marek
Nowicka Ewa, Chairman of the Solidarity Circle
Mowicki Narek
Nowicki Tadeusz, Warsaw
Oberc Adam, Krosno, charged with having organised a strike at
"Polmo"; tried on 29 December 1981
Ochocki Andrzej, "Tecfili" clothing factory, Lodz
Odorowski Miroslaw, Warsaw, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee;
delegate to the First Congress
Ofierski Bogdan, Warsaw
Oleszinski Eugeniusz, sentenced to three years' imprisonment and
loss of civic rights for having organised a strike at the
Bochnia steel works
Oleszkiewicz Juliusz, Warsaw
Olkiewicz Byszard, Gdansk
Olszewski Jan
Onyszkiewicz Janusz, Solidarity spokesman; delegate to the First
Congress; member of the presidium of the National Committee
Opara Wiktor, Ostroleka
Orla Jerzy, sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment and
three years' loss of civic rights for strike activities at the
Bochnia steel works

Orłos Kazimierz, Warsaw

Ostrowski Wojciech, Warsaw, Solidarity militant

Ostrzycki Krzysztof, "Kolprojekt" works council

Osiniak Stanislaw, Lublin

Paga Leslaw, Warsaw

Palka Grzegorz, Member of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee, Lodz; •Member of the presidium of the National Committee

Pawlak Antoni, Warsaw, Solidarity member; employed by the Cultural Committee of Mazowsze

Patyna Jozef, Member of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee of Slask-Dabrowski; member of the presidium of the National Committee

Pawlicka Malgorzata, Warsaw, Solidarity member

Piasecki Wladyslaw, Warsaw University

Piesiak Andrzej, Regional President, Jelenia Gora; member of the National Committee

Pienkowska, Gdansk

Pienkowska Alina, Gdansk, Chairman, National Health Service Committee

Pienkowski Roman, Gdansk

Pietkiewicz Antoni, Chairman, Solidarity Regional Executive Committee of Wielkopolska Poludniowa; member of the National Committee

Piesiak Andrzej, Chairman of the Jelenia Gora Regional Executive Committee

Pigtowski Bogdan, Warsaw, Editorial offices of "Solidarnosc"

Piglanski Bogdan

Pirocki Jaroslaw, Gdansk

Pisarski Andrzej, Gdansk

Piowarczyk Henryk, Secretary of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee Wielkopolska

Pluta-Plutowski Wojciech, SPP Konin

Poczek Zbigniew

Podsiadlo Henryk, sentenced on 24 Deceaber 1981 to three years' imprisonment and two years' loss of civic rights for organising a strike; member of the Solidarity works council of Bialagora

Poga Leslaw

Poglowski

Postrozny Jan, Solidarity member, "Staszic" mine

Potapowicz

Powrozny, KK

Protapowicz

Prusinski Zdzislaw, Solidarity member, "Tecfili" clothing factory,
Lodz

Przewłocki Janusz, Editorial offices of "Solidarnosc", Mazowsze

Przewłocki Zbigniew, Chairman of the works council of the Olsztyn
tyre factories

Przybylska-Wendt Grazyna, Gdansk, Member of the presidium of the
National Committee

Radosz

Rayzacher Maciej, Warsaw, Solidarity militant

Regulska Elzbieta, press office of Solidarity AS, Warsaw

Rokita Jan M., Cracow, Chairman, NSZ UJ schools committee

Romaniuk Adam, Warsaw

Romanium Krystyna,

Romanowska

Romaszewska Agnieszka, Warsaw, Mazowsze Solidarity

Romaszewska Zofia, Warsaw, ran the Solidarity Intervention Bureau in
Mazowsze

Romaszewski Zbigniew, Warsaw, Solidarity Intervention Bureau; member
of the National Committee

Rosner Andrzej, Warsaw

Rossa Krystyna

Rossa Grzegorz, Warsaw

Rossa Tadeusz, Warsaw

Rozpłochowski Andrzej, Solidarity militant, region of Slask-
Dabrowski; office of the chairman of the Regional Executive
Committee of Katowice (Gorny slask); member of the National
Committee

Rozek Janusz, militant in the peasant farmers' movement Rural
Solidarity; member of the National Committee, Lublin

Rulewski Jan, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee in Bydgorzcz; member of the National Committee
Rusinek Stanisław, Warsaw, Regional Executive Committee, Mazowsze

Ruszar Jozef, Warsaw, Editor of the weekly magazine "Solidarnosc"

Ruszewski Piotr.

Rutkiewicz wieslaw, Courier for the strikes committee of the Gdansk shipyard

Rybicki Arkadiusz, Gdansk, Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Rybicki Miroslaw, Gdansk, Gdansk Regional Executive Committee

Rychart Czesław, Sopot

Rykowski Zbigniew, Warsaw University

Rypniewski Jaroslaw, Gdansk

Ryszkowski Zbigniew

Sadłowski (priest), Zbrosza Duza

Samolinski Wojciech, Lublin, member of the Regional Executive Committee

Samsonowicz Henryk, Vice-chancellor of Warsaw University

Sałat, RTV Solidarity, Bialoleka

Sarata Zbigniew, Warsaw, Solidarity Intervention Bureau, Mazowsze

Sawicki Ryszard, Ursus engineering works at Borowie

Semeniuk Zygmunt

Semkowski Zbigniew, Secretary of the works council of the "Thorel" mine, Walbrzych; particularly threatened for having organised a strike

Serwacki Andrzej

Sianko

Sielecka Teresa

Siemion Stanislaw, Warsaw, worked with Rural Solidarity

Sikora Waclaw, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee, Malopolska

Sikora Stanislaw

Sikora Stanislaw

Sila-Nowicki Wladyslaw, Warsaw, Expert on the National Committee

Skanski Warek, Gdansk
Skladowski Andrzej
Skórzynski Jan, worked on the weekly publication "Solidarnosc"
Skórzynski Piotr
Skrzynski Jan
Skwiecinski Piotr
Słocien Tomasz
Sobieraj Andrzej, Chairman of the Solidarity Regional Executive Committee of the Radom region; member of the National Committee
Soból Jacek, "Halemba" mine
Sokołowska Joanna
Sokołowski Andrzej, Lublin, delegate to the First Congress
Sokołowski Lech, Warsaw, Vice-chairman of the Huta Warszawa works council; member of the National Committee and of the Regional Executive Committee of Mazowsze
Sokulski Ryszard
Solenska
Solik
Sonik Boguslaw, Cracow, Member of the Regional Executive Committee of Malopolska
Sopocko, works council of the RTV
Sosnowska Anna, Gdansk, employee with the Regional Executive Committee
Sosnowski Leszek, Gdansk
Sosnowski Zbigniew, Walbrzych
Srebrny Marian, Mazowsze Intervention Bureau
Srebrny Julian
Sosnicki Mirosław
Stabro Stanislaw
Stachbinski Krzysztof, Warsaw
Stacnik Tadeusz, Warsaw
Stawlkowski, UMK Torun

Stanczyk Alicja, Editor of the weekly "Solidarnosc"

Stanczyk Wojciech, Walbrzych

Starczewski Stefan, Warsaw, Teachers' Solidarity; member of the
Regional Executive Committee of Mazowsze; delegate to the
First Congress

Stasinski Maciej

Stasinski Piotr

Staszczak

Staszewicz

Stawicki Andrzej

Stechnik Jerzy

Stelmachowski Andrzej, Warsaw, Solidarity adviser

Strachalski Krzysztof, Warsaw

Stracholinski Krzysztof

Strachowski Krzysztof, Warsaw

Strzalko Andrzej, Chairman of the Solidarity works council of the
Bialogrod timber undertaking

Strzelczyk Zygmunt, "Ursus" engineering works. Borow branch

Strzelczyk Jan, Solidarity expert

Strzelecki Jerzy, Warsaw

Strzembosz Adam, Mazowsze Regional Executive Committee; Member of
the National Review Committee

Studzinski Bogumil

Solumirski, Eadom, National Committee

Sulkarski, Bydgoszcz

Suwała Halina, Warsaw

Szablewski Alojzy, Solidarity militant, Lenin shipyard

Szadurski Karol, Member of the Regional Executive Committee of
Mazowsze

Szaniawski Klemens, Warsaw (released)

Szaputowicz Andrzej

Szczepanski Jan Josef, Krakow (released)

Szcepanski Jaroslaw, weekly publication "Solidarnosc"
Szczypiorski Andrzej, Warsaw
Szczypiorski Jacek
Szerypo Boguslaw Pultusk, delegate to the First Congress
Szewczyk
Szklairek Tadeusz, Gdansk
Szmidt Edward, Gdansk
Szozda Tadeusz, "Kolprojekt" Solidarity
Szpakowski Zdzislaw
Szpotanski Janusz, Warsaw
Szwajcer Piotr, Warsaw
Szumski Paweł, sentenced on 24 December 1981 to three years' imprisonment and two years' deprivation of civic rights for organising a strike; member of the Solidarity works council of the "Unitra-Unitech" power station, shop No. 84, Bialograd
Szybalski Bogdan, Member of the National Committee, ELBLAG; driver
Sleminski Piotr

Sliwinski Krzysztof, Warsaw, Head of the International Bureau of the Mazowsze region
Sreniowski Josef, Lodz
Sroda Krzysztof, Warsaw
Swierz Lukasz, Cracow (imprisonment not confirmed)
Tabin Marek, Warsaw
Tarasiewicz Henryk, Gdansk, Chairman of the works council of the port of Gcynia
Tarasinska-Slewinska Iwona, Warsaw
Tarkowski, National Committee
Tarkowski Jacek, Warsaw
Taylor Jacek, Gdansk
Tischner Josef, Krakow (released)
Toblera Marek, Secretary, National Committee
Rokarczuk Antoni, Secretary, National Committee

Tomaszewski, Torun

Tomaszewski Marek

Topinski Piotr, Warsaw

Trzeciak Czeslaw, Gdansk

Trzoska Alexander, sentenced to five-and-a-half years' imprisonment and three years' loss of civic rights for having organised a strike at the Katowice steel works between 13 and 23 December 1981

Turalski Krzysztof, Warsaw

Tyszka Andrzej, Warsaw

Tyczka (Tyszka?) Tadeusz, Warsaw

Tyszkiewicz Maria

Ugniewski, IBJ, Chairman of the works council

Uminski Tomasz, Warsaw, militant in the section for the organisation of the First Congress

Ungier Grzegorz, Gdansk

Urbanowicz Anna

Ustasik Mieczyslaw, vice-chairman of the Regional Executive Committee of Pomorza Zachodniego

Uszkiewics Jerzy, sentenced to three years' imprisonment and less of civic rights in connection with a strike in the Bochnia steel works

Waj Josef

Wajda Andrzej, film director (released)

Walc Jan

Waligorski Ewaryst, "Warski" shipyard at Szczecin; delegate to the First Congress

Waliszewski Leszek, Mazowsze delegate on the presidium of the National Committee

Walesa Lech, Chairman of the National Committee

Wardary

Waszkiewicz Jan, Member of the presidium of the National Committee, Wroclaw

Wadolowski Stanislaw, Szczecin, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee

Wcislo Maciej

Wdowinski Leslaw, Weekly Solidarity

Werner Andrzej, Warsaw

Werpechowska Anna

Weglarz Stanislaw, delegate to the First Congress

Weglinska Anna

Wieczorkowski Aleksander, Warsaw

Wielgosz Bronislaw, Chairman of the Solidarity works council of the mining and drilling machine works in Glinnik (Gurlice)

Wierczynski J.

Wierusz Andrzej

Wierzbicki Piotr, Warsaw

Wilczynski J.

Wilkarus, Torun

Wilamowicz, National Committee

Winiarska Halina, Gdansk

Wiscicki, Chairman of the Plock Regional Executive Committee; member of the National Committee

Wisniewska Krystyna, Gdansk

Wisniewska, Bialoleka

Wisniowski

Witkowski Warek, Warsaw

Wlodarczyk

Wocial Jerzy, Warsaw, Solidarity, Warsaw University

Wojciechoeicz Joanna, Gdansk, employed by the Regional Executive Committee

Wojciechowski Teofil, Solidarity member, Tarno

Wojcieszczuk Janusz

Wojdakowski Tomasz, Gdansk

Wolicki Krzysztof, Warsaw

Woroszylski Wiktor, writer (particularly threatened for having continued to resist (Ursus))

Wosiek Maria, Warsaw
Woycicka Irena, Warsaw, employed by the OPSZ, dealing with
Solidarity, Mazowsze
Woycicki Kazimierz, Warsaw
Wronski Andrzej, Warsaw
Wronski Andrzej, Cracow

Wujec Henryk, Warsaw, Member of the Solidarity Executive Committee,
Mazowsze
Wujec Ludwika, Warsaw, employed on "Robotnik"; Solidarity militant,
Mazowsze
Wypych Wlodzimierz (imprisonment not confirmed)
Wyszkowski Krzysztof, Warsaw, Editorial secretary on the weekly
magazine "Solidarnosc"
Zagajewski Adam, Cracow
Zagniejewska Ewa
Zajac Andrzej, Gdansk, works council of the Lenin shipyard
Zajaczkoeska Grazyna, Warsaw
Zambrowski Antoni, Warsaw
Zawalski Zygmunt, Gdansk
Zawierski, National Committee
Zawojski Zygmunt, Chairman of the Solidarity works council at
Podkarpacie, member of the National Committee
Zbierski Pawel, Gdansk
Zbrojewski (Zdrojewski?)
Zdanowicz Zbigniew, Regional delegate of "Pomorse Zachodnie"
Zielinska Maria, Warsaw
Zielinski Andrzej, in the Mazowsze printing trade
Zielinski Marek, Warsaw
Zielinski Tomasz, Szczecin
Ziembinski Wojciech, Warsaw
Zimand Roman, Warsaw
Zimowski Jerzy, Szczecin

Reports of the Committee on Freedom of Association

Zlotkowski Zdzislaw, Gdansk, Member of the presidium of the Regional Executive Committee

Zozula Andrzej, Solidarity member, Warsaw

Zulak Antoni

Zwara Zygmunt, Gdansk

Zelenski Andrzej

Zoladkowski Witold, Solidarity member, Sianowskie

Zolnierkiewicz Slawomir

Zukoewski Zenon, Solidarity member

Auranek Anna, Member of the Regional Executive Committee of Olsztin

Zurek Bogdan, Gdansk

Lawina Anatol

Szwed Anna, employed by the Regional Executive Committee of Malopolska

Fotyga Anna, employed in the office of the National Committee, Gdansk

Drag Adam, presidium of the Regional Executive Committee of Gdansk

Mierzejewski Henryk, "Paris Commune" works council, Gdynia

Ostasiak Mieczyslaw, Regional Vice-chairman of Solidarity)
)

Miclzanowski Andrzej, legal adviser)

Denisiewicz Jan, Chairman of the Solidarity) charged with hav-

section of the Polish Steamship Company) ing organised a

Wyergosz Bronislaw, sentenced to three years') strike in the

imprisonment) Szczecin

) shipyards

Kunda Zygmunt, sentenced to three-and-a-half)

years' imprisonment)

)

Bukoski Roman, sentenced to three-and-a-half)

years' imprisonment)

Bakowski Pawel

Czarnynoga, Czeslaw, "Ziemowit" mine, strike organisation

Filipek Jan-Jelenia Gora, sentenced to three years' imprisonment and three years' loss of civic rights for organising a strike at the Boleslaw building materials factory

Goralski Piotr, Katowice, arrested and charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Kosmowski Patrycjusz, Bielsko Biala, Chairman of Solidarity MKS; arrested; member of the National Committee; assistant to the chairman of the Lodz region; teacher

Kropinwnicki Jerzy, Lodz, sentenced to four-and-a-half years' imprisonment for having organised a demonstration and called a strike

Krystian Eugeniusz, "Ziemowit" mine; arrested for organising a strike

Legut Jan, Katowice, charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Marusinski Wojciech, Katowice, arrested, charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Opolski Adam, "Ziemowit" mine; arrested for organising a strike and destroying mining equipment (windows)

Paumor Zbigniew, Katowice, arrested and charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Pawlicki Andrzej, Chairman of the transport and supplies section of Solidarity in Lower Silesia; sentenced by the military court of the Silesian sector to eight years' imprisonment, five years loss of civic rights and the confiscation of his car for having carried tracts

Rene Herbert, Katowice, arrested and charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Rosicki Wladyslaw, Katowice, arrested and charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Skwira Adam, Secretary of the Solidarity committee of the "Wujek" mine (strike organisation)

Slowik Andrzej, Lodz, Member of the National Committee, chairman of the Lodz region; sentenced to four-and-a-half years' imprisonment for calling a demonstration on 14 December 1981

Sobolewski Zbigniew, Katowice, arrested and charged with organising a strike at Huta Katowice

Stroczynski Miroslaw, "Ziemowit" mine (strike organisation)

Szlegier Wacław, Bielsko Biala (arrested)

Trzcinski Wladislaw, delegate on the Solidarity congress, sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment by the tribunal of Gdznia

Wielgus Jan, Solidarity works council in the "Wuyeki" mine (strike organisation)

Geneva, 26 February 1982,

(Signed) Roberto AGO,

Chairman.