

# CZECHOSLOVAK NEWSLETTER

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## THE YALTA DEBATE, CONTINUED

"Historically, almost forty years ago, the powers meeting in Yalta decided practically to divide Europe into spheres of influence. I think that many in the mean time have come to deplore this, but over these last forty years the West has obviously so far respected the fact that the countries east of the River Elbe, east of the dividing line that goes right through the middle of Germany, are not under the West's rule."

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt  
in an American interview, January 1982

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"West Germany's Chancellor Schmidt says he would find it difficult to apply sanctions over Poland because in 1945 the West agreed at Yalta to yield Eastern Europe to a Soviet sphere of influence. Did it really? . . . The fact is that Eastern Europe was turned over to Soviet control not by the United States or Britain but, as Mr. Schmidt used to concede, by Germany. The 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact partitioned Poland and other areas. Hitler's defeat completed the process. By the time of Yalta, Stalin's armies controlled most of Eastern Europe."

Robert Kleinman, "Once More the Yalta  
Myth," The New York Times, Jan. 7, 1982

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"The Soviet hegemony established in Eastern Europe in 1945 was from the start an unnatural -- and, in the long run, untenable -- arrangement. . . . One can only assume that what is wanted is that the Soviet Government should take a detached attitude toward events in Poland and permit the situation to find its own level. . . . This, however, would be a drastic demand. It would reach to the very foundation of the de facto division of Europe that has existed since World War II. This division itself was a product of the war."

George F. Kennan, "The Polish Crisis,"  
The New York Times, January 5 & 6, 1982

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"Even Mr. Kennan and Chancellor Schmidt are uncomfortable arguing that might deserves to prevail. . . . They argue that Soviet security is a higher imperative than Polish or Western sensibility. They even struggle to deny the Soviet hand in the Polish crackdown. . . . They rush to blame the victims for their oppression, . . . but so long as Communists do not themselves post rules for a loyal opposition . . . the limits on their tyranny can only be prescribed from outside."

The New York Times, editorial, January  
10, 1982

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Question: "Why does the outcome of the Polish crisis matter to the West? Hasn't Soviet domination of East Europe long been accepted as an inescapable fact of life?"

Answer: "The point is that it isn't accepted by the people concerned. There are 120 million East Europeans who don't like it."

Interview with Zbigniew Brzezinski,  
U.S. News & World Report, January 11, 1982

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S SEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

After a year's delay the Czechoslovak government has made public the draft of its Seventh Five-Year Plan (1981-1985). Submitted to a joint session of both chambers of the Federal Parliament on December 15 by Deputy Prime Minister and State Planning Commission Chairman Svatopluk Potač, it calls for "further development of the economy," "intensification of the production process through improved product quality [and] savings in fuel, metals and other materials," and maintenance of "the standard of living at its present level."

Blaming poor performance on "the crisis of the capitalist economy," Potač

observed that "the targets of the Seventh Five-Year Plan as well as of the 1982 plan will be rather modest." He hinted at the possibility of closing down less productive plants and altering the structure of industrial production, particularly in petrochemical manufacturing where "output will go down, capital investment will be reduced to a minimum, and strict controls will be introduced on the import of raw materials, chemical products, and Western licences." There will also be a shift of manpower from the administrative to the manufacturing sector.

Citing figures, the minister said that under the five-year plan national income would be increased by some 2 to 2.6 percent, mainly through improvements in labor productivity; industrial production was to increase 14 to 18 percent, and output of the machinery industry by 28 to 33 percent to help balance Czechoslovakia's trade deficit with the socialist states; the production of consumer goods was to rise by 12 to 15 percent; agricultural production was to go up 7 to 10 percent. Emphasis, he said, would be on crop production; the growth of animal husbandry would depend on an increase in the domestic production of fodder, not on imported feed. Coal output was expected to reach 125 to 128 million metric tons by 1985, and an increase in energy production would be achieved mainly by bringing onto line the nuclear power plants at Jaslovské Bohunice II, Dukovany, and Mochovce. Work was to begin on a new nuclear power station at Temelin. By 1985 nuclear plants were to be generating 15 million megawatt-hours of energy. The plan "envisaged" the construction of 450 to 550 thousand housing units, and the modernization of 40 to 50 thousand units "in socialist ownership." Capital investment was not to exceed the 1980 level, social welfare benefits would be raised by 3 percent, and wages in 1982 would be increased by about 2 percent dependent on "the formation of wage funds based on productivity."

The 1982 plan reflects the depressed situation. "Overall resources will make it possible to increase industrial output by less than one percent" and "another reduction of capital investment and construction by 3.6 percent is anticipated." Because of conditions in Poland Czechoslovakia would not be receiving previously agreed amounts of coal, copper, sulfur, other raw materials, as well as machinery parts for tractors and electronic products. (Interestingly, in discussing the draft, Vasil Bil'ak, a member of the party Presidium and Central Committee secretary who has been the most vocal critic of Polish developments, made no mention of Czechoslovakia's neighbor. An outspoken proponent of "socialist integration," he was probably reluctant to mention the detrimental impact of "integration" with Poland.)

National income in 1981 and 1982, the first two years of the new plan, "will be less than expected," deputies were told. Yet despite the worsening situation, bureaucratic management of the economy is to be tightened: "The methods for planning individual targets down to the lowest units and operational collectives must be substantially improved." Regardless of official optimism, Czechoslovakia will find it hard to maintain the present level of supply of consumer goods and to avoid price increases.

Quotations from Rudé právo, Dec. 11, 1981

## AN INSIDER'S (UNOFFICIAL) VIEW

Czechoslovak Newsletter has received an assessment of the state of Czechoslovakia's economy from an observer inside the country. Bearing a fictitious address and signed "Želmír," the letterwriter says: "I am a Czechoslovak citizen and must conceal my identity for the time being. I feel obliged, however, to share my experiences with you, and apologize for remaining incognito." The following is the abridged text.

"Quoting the Washington Post, the Voice of America on December 11 broadcast data on the reduction of crude oil deliveries to Czechoslovakia. The original 1982 plan for 18.8 million metric tons is to be reduced by 2.5 million tons to the 1978 level. The cut has been made necessary by increasing Soviet domestic consumption, the repayment of Western loans, and aid to Poland. In addition, Moscow was irritated by the fact that, despite the 1981 cutback from 18.8 to 18.2 million tons, Czechoslovakia still managed to export 400,000 tons of coke, 2.5 million tons of brown coal, and 300,000 tons of heating oil.

"The effect of these cutbacks can be seen in three interlinked ways: the prices of some goods have gone up, the output of industrial products has gone down, and there have been changes in structure. The population will feel the impact in the increased prices of fuel, travel, and building materials. A whole range of other products will also be affected. The rise in the price of gasoline will reduce demand for new cars. Our largest automobile manufacturer, the Mladá Boleslav plant, is cutting its output by 15,000 vehicles this year. The higher price of fuel will strike the socially weakest worst of all in spite of planned increases in pensions and welfare benefits.

"Most affected will be the output of electricity. The inefficient 660-megawatt plants at Vojany II and units in Dětmarovice that burn high-grade Polish coal are being closed down. Some factories will suffer from the cessation of power supplies from Rumania. Delays are being experienced in the construction of the new 1,050-kilowatt Prunéřov II plants, which are being built by the Poles, and of the three new nuclear generators (Jaslovské Bohunice II, Dukovany, and Mochovce). Hungary is cutting back its imports of briquettes and has canceled a joint project to construct a hydroelectric plant on the Danube. Despite the fact that 3,960 megawatts of capacity are to be brought on line in 1982, energy output will still be only 73.6 million megawatt-hours, about the same as in 1981. Domestic brown coal with its high sulfur content causes ecological problems, but no sulfur dioxide collectors have been installed.

"There will be a drastic 25 to 30 percent cutback in transportation, particularly by private cars and buses, in 1982, but the railroads will be hard pressed to cope with the additional load. Passenger transportation is to be curtailed, and domestic flights abolished. The construction of superhighways is being postponed, and so is the construction of some hydraulic projects and apartment units. Some branches of industry, especially petrochemical, power, building-material and transportation production, will be paralyzed.

"Structural changes will occur mostly in foreign trade. Exports of metallurgical goods are to be cut by 1.3 million tons, and fewer semifinished chemical and petrochemical products are to be exported. Iron ore imports from the West are being cut, and plans are afoot to reduce other imports to avoid the need to raise new foreign credits. Only trade with the Soviet Union will go unchanged, making Czechoslovakia even more dependent on Moscow.

"National income is expected to go up by a mere 0.5 percent in 1982, the smallest increase since World War II. The standard of living will drop. Price increases are being prepared, including for foodstuffs, meat in particular. In some cases hikes of more than 100 percent are anticipated."

#### THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA MACHINE AT WORK

A conference attended by delegations from 90 communist and communist-sponsored parties was held in Prague on November 25 and 26 under the aegis of World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism, a "theoretical Marxist journal of communist and workers' parties" edited in Prague and published in various countries in twenty-six languages. In his inaugural address Gustáv Husák, president of the republic and secretary general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, spoke of "the necessity for a common front of all progressive forces and forces of national liberation, democracy and peace in their common struggle against imperialism."

Vasil Bil'ak, member of the party Presidium and Central Committee secretary in charge of ideological relations with "fraternal parties," addressed the delegates on "the serious worsening of the international situation and the powerful antiwar movement in Europe and elsewhere rising against the aggressive policy of the United States." Such an environment, he said, placed added responsibility on World Marxist Review: "It must help to develop Marxist-Leninist thinking and a class approach to complex problems." He praised the antiwar movement in Western Europe for being anti-American: "We must support it, take advantage of all available contacts, and increase cooperation with all who are willing to join the struggle to avert the danger of war." He conceded that the movement is "heterogeneous and demands all sorts of compromise." It even contained anti-Soviet elements, he said. "There are people who for the sake of objectivity see guilt on both sides. To succumb to such views means to lose the sense of discrimination and class consciousness."

Bil'ak's most rigorous broadsides were directed against the United States. "The radicalization of American policy under [President Ronald] Reagan proves that power has been seized there by the most reactionary forces of the military-industrial complex. Their policy is aimed not only against the socialist countries but also against all progressive movements. . . . They have joined forces with [Chilean President Augusto] Pinochet's fascists, South Africa's racists,

Israel's aggressors, and the dictators of El Salvador and South Korea. . . . How can such a policy be equated with that of the Soviet Union?" He praised detente, which was "of benefit to all the European states," but warned that the communist countries must arm "in the face of the imperialist threat of war" even though "we would be happier raising our standard of living." Yet, he pooh-poohed, "When our stores are well stocked, they call it goulash communism; when there are shortages, they speak about the bankruptcy of socialism." With reference to developments in Poland, Bil'ak said: "It is not my task to analyze errors. Our Polish comrades must do that. . . . The Polish events prove [that the situation there] is not a failure of socialism but the debacle of unreal models of socialism that violate basic Marxist-Leninist tenets."

Quotations from Rudé právo, Nov. 26, 1981

Leonyd Zamyatin in Prague

Leonyd Zamyatin, a department head in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, visited Prague at the end of November to discuss with the Czechoslovak party leadership "some topical questions of international developments and for an exchange of information about the two parties' ideological activity and propaganda." He also addressed an international conference of general managers of the press agencies of the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America held in Prague from November 30 to December 2. The conference discussed cooperation among the agencies in support of the worldwide struggle for peace and disarmament, probably in connection with the Soviet peace offensive as reflected in Soviet Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Bonn at the end of November.

(RFE Research Reports, Czechoslovakia/25,  
December 15, 1981)

CZECH WOMEN'S LETTER TO THE WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN

A 3,500-word letter by "Czech women" was delivered to the World Congress of Women held in Prague last October 8 through 13. "Under the circumstances it has been impossible to transmit this letter officially," it said. "The congress on 'the democratic rights of women' has been held under the watchful eye of the police. Yet we believe this letter should be made public. We are not dissidents or signers of Charter 77, nor are we the wives of men said by the regime to belong to these groups." The following are abridged excerpts from the letter.

"You probably came here convinced that you had an important task to fulfill. You are probably sincere, except for those professionals for whom feminist propaganda is a profitable occupation as part of the well-orchestrated Soviet propaganda machine. We must tell you frankly that Czech working women are not interested in feminism, which they see as hysteria and frustration. Men are not

our enemies. Our problems we share in common with them. And peace? Thanks, we have been enjoying it for thirty-six years and have learned to live an abnormal life in it. Do not forget to disarm Western Europe, then our salutary 'peace' will be even more secure. Our hair has turned prematurely gray; we have become demoralized and lost all hope for the future. If the world goes the way you would have it, it will go bankrupt. Instead of voting with one hand raised, raise both in surrender to the 'peace' imposed by the 'peace-loving' superpower that has been the source of the greatest European catastrophe of the century. A. not just for Europe alone. Witness Afghanistan, for instance.

"You have expressed your thanks to the Solidarity Fund of the Czechoslovak Women's Association. You should be aware how we 'contribute' to this fund. Not to do so means we may have bad marks entered in our 'cadre files,' lose our jobs, receive no bonuses, and not be allowed to send our children to school. You have no idea what a 'voluntary' act signifies in a totalitarian state.

"You have been welcomed by our president who leads a country where people, both men and women, are tortured and jailed illegally. Yes, we do have equal rights in our totalitarian state. Do you know what kind of country you are in? Through the flowers and mountains of food showered on you can you see the harassed women standing on line in front of sparsely stocked shops? Are you familiar with what our neighbors call Arbeitsverbot or Berufsverbot [work ban]? Haven't you heard about the hundreds of women journalists, economists, historians, sociologists, artists, women of science, culture and education vegetating in menial jobs? Do you know how the interpreters for your congress were briefed? They were warned to be careful what they said. They were reminded about the 'other assignments' on which some of you may have come here. Special mention was made of Amnesty International, which would try to seek out information about those unjustly prosecuted. Any suspicious fact was to be reported. Your congress was surrounded by security police. Under their surveillance you dined and praised socialism. You rushed through the streets of Prague in state limousines with special sirens. You had right of way even over ambulances. Did you notice people's faces? On hearing your sirens, they forgot every last word of polite vocabulary.

"To overbear us, you play eloquent trumps — peace, war, the neutron bomb. We have to hold our tongues, be careful, look to see who is listening, whether we are being shadowed, whether our telephones are working before we utter a complaint. We live in constant fear! Out of fear we raise our hands to approve resolutions, to pledge voluntary work. We sent hundreds of letters to your congress pledging extra work in honor of your gathering. So at least we learned from the press.

"You came here to criticize capitalism and praise socialism — this at least is the burden of your speeches. You look to the side of the Soviet Union, the power of peace, against American imperialism, the instigator of nuclear catastrophe. Who really are you? Are you naïve or hypocrites?

"It is tragic that some of you should come from countries where there is oppression, hunger, cruel conditions, and that you should be honest. Excuse us, but you should not have spoken about it here.

"Do you know who our representative was at your congress? She was A. Vašková, JUD, deputy chairwoman of the Supreme Court. This is too much even for us cynics. Was she there to defend the gimcrack, hypocritical and arrogant 'socialist legality' of the [Gustáv.] Husák regime?"

"Peace is valueless if it protects life without rights, happiness, civility, a life of wretchedness. Were they permitted to speak at your congress, Polish women could have told you about this. Real peace is peace in the democratic world you talk about, yet you praise totalitarian dictatorship. You try to convince us that the neutron bomb is worse, for instance, than being beaten to death by police, or communist labor camps all over the world. You muddle concepts, cardinal points, and regimes. You probably see differences only between men and women. This is terribly little to base a whole movement on. You are returning home full of vivid impressions and élan. We stay on in a country without illusions and with no way out. Our positions are irreconcilable."

October 13, 1981

Czech Women

#### COUNCIL OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON POLAND

The Council of Free Czechoslovakia has issued a declaration condemning the imposition of martial law on Poland and pledging solidarity with the Polish people. The declaration called on Czechoslovak people not to believe communist propaganda that Solidarity is to blame for the failure of the Polish economy. "The real villain is the communist system imposed on the unwilling nation by the Soviet Union," it said.

Dr. Mojmir Povolný, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council, spoke at a rally for Poland organized at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on January 4 by the British Solidarity with Poland campaign. Attended by 5,000 persons, according to London press reports, the rally was under the chairmanship of Sir Bernard Braine, Member of Parliament. Other MPs present included former ministers Dennis Healey, Geoffrey Rippon and William Rodgers. Also present were Kazimierz Sabbat, a member of the Polish government in exile; Vladimir Bukovsky; Brian Crozier; Josef Jostem; and representatives of the British trade union movement. In a letter to Dr. Povolný, Edward Raczynski, president of the Polish government in exile, thanked him "for the splendid declaration of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia." He added: "I have always believed in and striven for a close friendship and, if possible, union of our countries as defenders of democracy in our part of Europe and centers of attraction for our neighbors, menaced as our countries are."

Dr. Povolný also attended a meeting in London of the UK Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted, and a press conference organized by Bukovsky in support of Radio Free Kabul.

## CZECH WRITER STRIPPED OF CITIZENSHIP

The Czech writer Jiří Gruša has been stripped of his Czechoslovak citizenship, it was reported from Switzerland where he and his family are presently staying. Gruša had left his homeland after being granted a two-year exit visa. In 1978 Gruša spent six months in prison when his novel *Dotazník* (The Questionnaire) was published in Czech samizdat. It had already appeared in French and German translations, and is soon to appear in English.

Miloslav Kaizer, a spokesman for the Czechoslovak ministry of culture, recently stated: "Conditions for creative freedom are guaranteed to all artists who want to contribute to the development of culture." In an interview in Prague with Henry Kamm, published in The New York Times on January 18, he denied knowledge of any black list of writers, and assured the correspondent that culture in Czechoslovakia was now "flourishing as never before."

## NEWS FROM NORMALIZED CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Several human-rights activists in Czechoslovakia were detained on December 14 immediately after the imposition of martial law on Poland. Detained in Prague were Dr. Ladislav Lis, Dr. Ladislav Hejránek, and Dr. Martin Hybler; in Brno, Jan Šabata, Jr.; and in Bratislava, Miroslav Kusý, Milan Šimečka, Jr., and Július Strinka. Rev. Václav Mály, a Charter 77 spokesman, was detained on December 16. The 34-year-old Roman Catholic priest, who presently works as a stoker, was arrested once before, in May 1979, and later released, although court proceedings against him have not been dropped.

Forged Letters?

Four letters claimed to have been found in an envelope in a car driven by two French nationals that was seized at the Austro-Czechoslovak border last April 28 for carrying "contraband" (Czechoslovak Newsletter, Vol. VI, No. 5/6, p. 2, and No. 10, p. 1) are believed to be forgeries. The letters, however, have served as bases for the indictment of Ivan Havel, brother of imprisoned playwright Václav Havel; Jiří Hájek, Czechoslovak foreign minister during the "Prague Spring" of 1968; and Zdeněk Jičínský, former chairman of the Czech National Council. The fourth letter was addressed to the writer Ludvík Vaculík, who is gravely ill. The letters were produced during interrogation of the three indicted men, who believe they were forged and planted in the impounded French car. A 12-page paper questioning the provenance of the letters, dated October 1981, has appeared in Prague over the signature of Rudolf Slánský, Jr., a signer of Charter 77 and son of the late Rudolf Slánský, the former secretary general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia who was executed in 1953 after a show trial on charges of "Titoist-Zionist imperialist conspiracy." Dr. Hájek on November 4, 1981, sent a 3-page memorandum to the prosecutor general challenging the letters' authenticity.

### Suicide Doubted

Doubt has been cast on the suicide of Pavel Švanda, a 22-year-old architecture student found dead on October 4 at the bottom of the 450-foot Macocha Gorge in the Moravian Karst some ten miles north of Brno. His severely battered body was found at a spot where it could not possibly have fallen had he jumped to his death. His back-pack was missing, and his fiancée, a medical student, was not permitted to be present at the postmortem that declared his death a suicide. His coffin was not allowed to be opened at his funeral in Boskovice (South Moravia). Švanda last summer had visited his uncle, Tomáš Špidlík, a Jesuit writer, Vatican Radio broadcaster, and professor at the Gregorian University in Rome. He had become active in Roman Catholic circles in Brno after his return.

### Brutal Treatment under Questioning

Zdeňka Řeháková, taken into custody by Prague police on October 7, was cruelly manhandled, and physically and verbally abused under interrogation. The following excerpts are taken from a letter from her published in Informace o Chartě 77 (Charter 77 Information). No. 11, 1981. "I asked my two interrogators, one blond and one dark, what the charges were against me. They would not tell me, and called me a bitch, a whore, and other names. The blond interrogator then called in an older, bald man to whom he introduced himself as Sobotka. He told him I had been told the charges. When I protested, the older man laughed: 'You must be crazy. Can't you remember what you heard just five minutes ago? Or are you trying to say the comrade is lying?' When I again repeated my protest, the interrogator shouted: 'You had better speak up now, bitch, or you'll end up in the asylum.' I was questioned about an article in Le Monde to do with trade-union matters, and finally I was given the reason for my arrest: I had stolen my own passport by refusing to surrender it. Though they had no right, they demanded to see inside my purse. When I refused, they snatched it from me by force. During the tussle, they pushed and kicked me, and twisted my arm. A man took pictures of the struggle. Sobotka then said: 'Let's go home. We don't want to be here all night.' I asked for my ID card back. He threw it angrily onto the desk, and grabbed my right arm. Another man seized my left arm, and they kicked me all the way into the street. 'Don't you dare tell any foreign union center what's been going on, whore.' I walked through the dark, empty streets tailed by a yellow police car. It reminded of a scene from a gangster movie. Now I wonder what sort of trial Mr. Sobotka is arranging for me."

### Tourist Travel to Poland Curbed

"The Czechoslovak authorities have resolved to regulate individual travel between Czechoslovakia and Poland with effect from December 7. Individual travel will thenceforth be permitted on the basis of invitations verified by the appropriate Czechoslovak authorities" (Rudé právo, December 5, 1981). This announcement apparently annuls the Czechoslovak-Polish visa-free travel agreement of July 20, 1977.