

# CZECHOSLOVAK NEWSLETTER

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## TO YOU WHO MARCH FOR PEACE

A Charter 77 signatory sent an open letter to the advocates of peace in the West. He wrote: "Perhaps I can address you not only as a movement but also as individuals. I often watch you on our television screen. Our media are usually niggardly about events in the West, but they allowed us to see your excited faces for a considerable while. It is a pity that on your part you are unable to see the faces of the Czechs watching you marching under your banners against American missiles (and mind you only those are shown).

"How do we see you? We see how you exude a damn good conscience that seems suspicious to us. We see your righteous excitement which appears somewhat lacking in credibility. We see you when you are about to clash with the police (our TV offers us mainly shots of this type), and you seem to us—if you will pardon the expression—a little childish.

"Viewers in Czechoslovakia, the country where World War II began and ended and which has now been under foreign occupation for 14 years, think: Socialism is what you should experience! At best—and I emphasize at best—they take you for abused idealists.

"In our country, and I still hope that elsewhere too, every child knows that the struggle for peace is a special 'real socialist' profession offering lucrative benefits. Our peace fighters can travel to the West, and this means that they enjoy the privilege of buying Western goods . . . . Travel to the West is otherwise restricted. No hard currency is available, but the conference hoppers are in Brussels today, in Paris tomorrow . . . . Clamoring for peace in the West is on the increase, and our traveling salesmen, carrying packed suitcases, cannot miss the opportunity, of course.

"Our big shots appear on TV talking about the Western threat and the military preparedness of the Warsaw Pact forces. They say that to the Czechs and Slovaks, the only Europeans whose country is being occupied in peacetime by an army half a million strong. They are forced to read cliches and you would hardly spot your good conscience, your righteous excitement, in their faces. You may see an unhappy individual on the screen, chosen by the authorities to confirm his loyalty, because his refusal to make a declaration may cause him grave consequences. So he is humiliated in front of his viewers. In private, he probably believes something entirely different from what he says or reads. He loses all his dignity and self-confidence although everybody knows that this is a mandatory duty for any aspiring public figure if he wants to travel to the West, whether it be a violinist or a hockey player, a writer wishing to see his works published or someone who desires to become a television performer. As long as he does not have a passport to go abroad, he must do what is expected of him.

"Such is the struggle for peace in our country. It is a reward for conformity when it comes to travel privileges or it may involve humiliation in front of millions of television viewers. It is a struggle for the soul using the stick-and-carrot technique. It has nothing to do with peace.

"Czech and Slovak intellectuals are in jail for many reasons. They always look absurd by your Western standards. They have one thing in common, however. Their risky actions fill a gap in human endeavors performed in your countries by public opinion of which you are one specific element. Your intervention on their behalf would be very effective, more than any other. Our official propaganda needs you. You fulfill a role for it, so to speak. A peace march against Pershing missiles and in favor of freeing the political prisoners of 'real socialism' would be a hard nut to crack for the Czechoslovak regime.

"We do not beg for your help. Actually, more than the fate of a few intellectuals in Czechoslovak prisons is at issue (hundreds of thousands of them are there all the time, at least with one foot inside the gates). Rather, what is at issue is the existence or otherwise of a public opinion in this part of the world. Your peace marches are welcome ammunition for our state-owned mass media. They show us that you are proof of the disintegration of capitalism and the rotten state of your democracy. Your demonstrations are represented to us as an entirely one-sided affair . . . . Your slogans somehow always run in a single direction only. They audaciously interfere with the domestic affairs of the U.S.A. but far less daringly with those of the U.S.S.R.

"We cannot but voice the hope that you appreciate the barbed wire at our borders. El Salvador excites you more than the fate of Poland because you see more of El Salvador on your TV screens and because you use two different yardsticks. Allow us to argue that the fate of the persecuted workers and intellectuals in Poland and Czechoslovakia has more to do with peace in the world than seems to be the case in your increasingly broad campaign.

"So long as your peace movement does not come up with a program calling for a balanced opinion, for a parity in democratic rights and freedoms, for neutralizing the political police, and for the legal control of repressive acts by the state, you will be seen marching on Czechoslovak TV screens as impractical cranks whose lives are too easy, as people who deserve to 'enjoy' real socialism as soon as possible."

## VIOLATION OF I.L.O CONVENTION NO. 111

The Charter 77 rights movement in Czechoslovakia issued a new memorandum addressed to the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions in Prague pointing out the fact that "provisions of the International Convention on Discrimination in Employment (I.L.O Convention No. 111) are still being violated in Czechoslovakia despite its ratification by the Czechoslovak Government."

The 2,050-word document, signed in Prague on May 17, 1982, by Charter 77 spokespersons Dr. Radim Palouš, Anna Marvanová, and Ladislav Lis, was also transmitted to the World Trade Union Federation in Prague (a communist-controlled front) and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Brussels. Following is an abridged version of the final part of the document dealing with discrimination in employment.

The type of discrimination at work mentioned here is not based on any of the provisions of Czechoslovak labor laws. The practice is illegal and its consequences are thus also unlawful. No defense based on valid laws is possible. For instance, the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs issued on January 27, 1977, Decree No. 11/5-34/77-73/3 listing nomenklatura jobs and salaries for employees of federal ministries and central organs. The decree is still in force; only wage scales have changed. Supposedly, it defines professional qualification, but it does so as follows: "The qualification of a worker in state administration includes political maturity, professional skill, character, and state of health. And Article 1 (e) defines political maturity as "recognition of the leading role of the communist party and the working class in a socialist society, and a positive attitude toward the building of socialism on Marxist-Leninist principles." It also assumes "a committed approach to the fulfillment of the political line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia." An indispensable condition for political maturity, too, is "the commitment to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the strengthening of friendship with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist states, and an active stand against bourgeois ideology." Similar decrees were issued for all ministries.

Apart from these decrees there is the system of the so-called party nomenklatura. It is well known that most executive jobs, the so-called nomenklatura jobs, can be filled only following approval by some party organ. Such decisions are made outside of the regular hiring procedures based on valid labor laws. An individual whose fate is being determined does not participate in the process, cannot question the evaluation and ruling, and cannot appeal the decision. Tens and possibly hundreds of thousands of jobs depend on the nomenklatura requirements. It is possible to read help-wanted ads by enterprises and institutions every day. These are looking for workers who, in addition to the usual professional qualification, must meet other, the so-called cadre, prerequisites. Every Czechoslovak citizen knows what this term, not to be found in the labor laws, means. Its content is suggested by other documents. For instance, there is a decision on cadre and personnel procedures, approved by the party presidium on November 6, 1970, as published in Rudé právo of February 24, 1971: "Qualification is based on political maturity, class consciousness, required level of theoretical knowledge, life and work experience, habits, general opinions and intelligence, moral properties, and personal abilities. An important element is political attitude, faithfulness to socialism, Marxist-Leninist policy of the party and socialist states, and friendship toward the Soviet Union." If we strip this definition of the usual qualification requirements and personal and moral qualities of the worker, we discover the real meaning of the term "cadre prerequisites." It is clear that

without professing the officially promulgated political line, a person seeking employment has no chance. During interviews applicants often discover that "cadre prerequisite" really means communist party membership. Yet, if a citizen applies for party membership in order to be eligible for a specific job he may be refused admission. For membership depends not only on the free will of the citizen but also on the decision of the party organization. Since party membership is a condition for working in thousands and tens of thousands of jobs in the administration, armed and security forces, and in the economic sector, a citizen gets caught in a vicious circle because he has no right to become a party member, and yet he cannot appeal to any independent state or court organ.

The determination of the cadre prerequisites is based on standard questionnaires, but at times more detailed forms are used. (In Vol. V, No. 2/3, February/March 1980, Czechoslovak Newsletter published the complete text of a "strictly confidential" questionnaire for artists.) In addition to questions on personal data there are questions about the political attitudes of family members, biographical information, and political and personal attitudes. One of the most frequent questions deals with relatives living abroad. Starting with grade school and through his entire active life until retirement, the "cadre data" are transmitted from one employer to another. Except for the evaluation of his work, an employee has no access to their content. He therefore has no possibility to appeal false and biased information prepared by committees and party organs. The cadre data often contain even anonymous accusations. This practice represents total discrimination against whole segments of our population, often for the entire lives of these people.

The labor law problems in Czechoslovakia outlined above prove that I.L.O. Convention No. 111 prohibiting discrimination at work is being violated not only by employers and courts but also by the existing system itself, especially in the area of qualification requirements derived from a whole range of secondary and tertiary norms. We therefore believe that the Czechoslovak Government should adopt the following measures to prove it takes a responsible attitude in abiding by its international obligations. It should

- (1) Establish a special committee made up of government and Central Council of Trade Union representatives to determine why I.L.O. Convention No. 111 is violated with the purpose of rectifying the consequences of discrimination at work and enabling the victimized workers to return to jobs based on their professional qualification.
- (2) Permit the entry into Czechoslovakia of an independent fact-finding labor group to study government and other documents in order to determine to what extent Convention No. 111 is observed.
- (3) Amend all directives regarding qualifications to insure equal access to jobs regardless of the political and religious views of the job-seekers.
- (4) Abolish ruling No. 20 of 1978 of the Supreme Court.
- (5) Modify instructions regarding the nomenklatura regulations for jobs in the government and economic organizations and institutions with an emphasis on the professional qualification of workers.
- (6) Modify the regulations for the work of the cadre and personnel units so that all employees may have access to all the evidence about their person and strive to prevent secret evaluations and provide for genuine control by employees and possibly others--e.g., by fellow workers, labor unions, etc.

(7) Publish the text of I.L.O. Convention No. 111, including the obligations which the Czechoslovak Government undertook by ratifying the document to incorporate it in our political, economic, cultural, and religious life.

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Charter 77 issued its initial document on labor problems as a response to the International Labor Organization's stand on human rights in Czechoslovakia in May 1980 (Czechoslovak Newsletter, Vol. V, No. 6, June 1980). See also "The I.L.O. and Workers' Rights in Eastern Europe," ibid., Vol. VI, No. 5/6, 1981).

## ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

"Socialist economic integration" within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is high on the agenda of the Czechoslovak regime. Recently, two government economists, Zdeněk Chalupský and Josef Taubman, wrote a book entitled Mazinárodní socialistická ekonomická integrace (International Socialist Economic Integration) released in Prague by the Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and defined the goals of integration as follows: "Marxist literature usually assumes that the future (or overall) development of international socialist economic integration will proceed in three stages where, as a matter of principle, there would first develop a production complex of integrated units of a higher order followed by the development of an economic complex. This means that first the material base for doing away with the economic independence of the socialist units and for the development of an economic independence of an integrated unit of a higher order must be prepared . . . ."

In a footnote the economists refer to the Soviet author I.S. Shiriaev, who perceives the first stage as a shift of the center of gravity from the coordination of the mutual exchange of commodities to the coordination of economic activities within the framework of a complex program. The second stage, according to the Soviet author, is a so-called structural integration with the purpose of creating and completing production entities of an integrating society controlled by a common planning system. The third stage should complete the fulfillment of conditions for the dissolution of the present national economic complexes and the rounding out of the integration process.

### Joint Enterprises

President and First Secretary Dr. Gustav Husák visited the Soviet Union at the beginning of June as head of a delegation to discuss mutual economic relations between the two countries. On the agenda was the bilateral (as against the CMEA multilateral) integration of the Soviet and Czechoslovak economies. Eight Czechoslovak-Soviet joint international associations for research, development, and production are envisaged, five of which have already reached an advanced stage of preparation. These five associations are the following:

- (1) Scientific production association for integrated circuits, microprocessors, and microcomputers;
- (2) Joint enterprise for microwave technology;
- (3) Joint research and development center for mining equipment.

- (4) International association for the research, development, production, and sale of chemical equipment.
- (5) Enterprise for selected groups of machinery and equipment for the food-processing industry.

## RELIGION UNDER ATTACK

### Catholic Dignitaries Refused Visa

Joseph Cardinal Hoeffner, chairman of the West German Bishops' Conference, and two other West German prelates have been refused entry into Czechoslovakia. The visit planned for June 19 to 21 was to mark the 250th anniversary of a statue of the Virgin Mary at Svatá Hora near Příbram, southwest of Prague. An earlier trip of West German Catholic dignitaries to Poland had evidenced no problems. Although the trip had been announced as being nonpolitical, the Czechoslovak regime feared that the Catholic dignitaries could not have avoided mentioning the plight of believers and priests in Czechoslovakia and to offer them help.

In another move, Czechoslovak authorities refused visas to four French Catholic priests who had planned to attend the Cyril and Methodius festivities at Velehrad in South Moravia early in July. It was also reported that Bishop Bogdan Sikorski of Poznan, Poland, traveling home by car from West Germany, was refused entry into Czechoslovakia by border guards on July 20.

### Shortage of Priests

Writing about the shortage of priests in Slovakia the Viennese daily Die Presse of June 30 noted that Husák's regime is using administrative measures to obstruct the work of the Catholic Church and prepare for its liquidation. It noted that such measures pose a greater danger for the Church than the outright persecution of priests.

The Die Presse article confirms our earlier reports, but it should be added that such measures, denied by the regime, apply to the whole country, not only to Slovakia, and to all religious denominations.

One of the measures applied consistently is the forcible retirement of clergy at age 60. Since only 25 students are admitted to the two remaining Catholic seminaries, the number of vacant parishes is steadily increasing and many young priests are not granted permission to serve as clerics after their consecration. The attrition policy is supervised by special agencies--the Office for Church Affairs at the Presidium of the Federal Government in Prague and the Office for Church Affairs at the Ministry of Culture in Bratislava.

### Czech Brethren Minister Stripped of His Office

At the end of April the Czech Brethren (known as Moravians in the United States) congregation in Telecí in East Bohemia was informed by the authorities that as of June 1 its minister, Reverend Tomáš Bísek, would have to be

transferred by the Synod to a place outside of East Bohemia District. Rev. Bísek had signed the Charter 77 human rights manifesto in 1977 and he and his family have been under constant harassment ever since. He discovered a listening device in his home and reported it to the police. The parish house was surrounded by automobiles of the security police, the prosecutor's office confiscated the listening device, and after an "investigation" it was announced that Rev. Bísek had acquired it abroad with the sole purpose of "discrediting the security organs." The pressure on the congregation grew stronger and finally the local authorities called a meeting at which the reverend was accused of antistate and antisocial activities and members of the congregation were invited to write a "true profile" of their minister. They did. They noted that Rev. Tomáš Bísek was a responsible man. "The motivation in his behavior," one letter stated, "is his deep Christian conviction," and it described him as diligent, a person who takes care of his family and is always ready to help anybody. "We declare that Reverend Bísek has not committed anything inconsistent with the constitution of our republic." But the minister was still denied his office and under existing conditions he can hardly be appointed elsewhere because the Office for Church Affairs would not approve it.

#### THREATS AND INTIMIDATION

Mrs. Alena Lisová, Prague, wife of Ladislav Lis, one of the Charter 77 spokespersons, received a letter signed "Kim" on behalf of a group called "Revolutionary Action" directing her to send her young daughter on June 28, at 6 p.m., to a place to be specified subsequently. The girl was to carry a bag with 150,000 crowns or 30,000 Tuzex vouchers (Tuzex stores sell mainly Western commodities in exchange for vouchers that can be bought only for hard currency) or an equivalent amount in Western currency, preferably Deutsche marks, Swiss francs, or U.S. dollars. The letter threatened "the death of your daughter" if Mrs. Lisová would not comply with the directives. On June 14 she received another letter instructing her to send her daughter to a location in Smíchov, a section in Prague.

Ladislav Lis complained to President Husák while his wife Alena wrote to the Minister of Interior, Jaromír Obzina, reporting the event. Mr. Lis also wrote an open letter to his "friends" in which he noted that the substance of the letter evidenced the seriousness of the matter. "It is by far the most ruthless display of pressure against nonconformist citizens through terror and extortion. Even though the message was addressed to our family, I believe it concerns all citizens because terrorists may attack anybody," he continued. "Our security police is unable to give us protection," and he mentioned other cases of intimidation: The attack against Charter 77 spokesperson Zdena Tominová in the hallway of her apartment building causing her a brain concussion (she and her husband later left for Britain and they were stripped of their Czechoslovak citizenship); burglary and assault of Zina Freundová, member of the "Charter 77 collective," in her apartment at night resulting in grave injuries and trauma; an attempt to push Charter 77 spokesperson Anna Marvanová under a subway train; a night attack against Charter 77 signatory Stanislav Adámek followed by his abduction, beating, and threats of being run over by a car; the pushing of another human rights activist to his death down the Macocha Gorge; the "theft" of an automobile owned by Charter 77 spokesperson Rudolf Battěk (now in jail); the burning of a car owned by the former Charter 77 spokesperson Marie Hromádková; the illegal detention of a minor, Jiří Dienstbier (son of Jiří Dienstbier, Sr., recently released from prison).

In his letter to President Gustav Husák, Ladislav Lis wrote on June 16 that "it is remarkable that the extortion letters, constituting a crime under Article

235 of the Penal Code, were sent precisely at the time that the police was engaging in unlawful activity against me and my family, actions which themselves could be classified as crimes according to the norms of our Penal Code." He then mentioned his interrogations by a police major, Šimek, in Prague, the threats to which he was subjected and the pressure put on him that he should emigrate or else lose his job as a menial worker, the cancellation of his driver's license, and so on. He noted that his disability benefits of 740 crowns were reduced to 300 crowns. His monthly earnings total 600 crowns while those of his wife (as a cleaning woman), 1,000 crowns. "Why did [Revolutionary Action] not pick someone from among those to whom 'normalization' brought enough money, who enriched themselves at the expense of society and are among the 30,000 millionaires profiting from the general stagnation of our economy . . . and unprecedented corruption . . . ? Who is interested in terrorizing the family of a man because of his non-conformist stance . . . ?" he asked.

#### UNDER GROWING PRESSURE CHARTER 77 HANGS ON

The Czechoslovak communist regime is stepping up its pressure against dissidents but has been unable to break the movement. The Charter 77 human rights movement continues to issue documents and letters protesting human rights violations in all areas of political, economic, social, and cultural life.

On July 3, 1982, Charter 77 spokespersons Dr. Radim Palouš, Anna Marvanová, and Ladislav Lis published a report on Charter 77's activities in the first half of 1982. Following is a condensed version of the report listing the most important documents:

1. Czechoslovak Economic Situation (Document 6/82);
2. Discrimination at Work—Violations of the I.L.O. Convention (Document 17/82);
3. Education and Bringing Up Children (Document 20/82);
4. Letter to the Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers (Document 7/82);
5. Protest Against Imprisonment (Document 4/82);
6. Violation of Laws in the Area of Religious Life (Document 11/82);
7. Abuse of Article 98 of the Penal Code on subversion and of Article 122 on damaging the national interest abroad (Document 14/82);
8. Letter to the President of the Republic regarding the harassment of Charter 77 signatories (Document 19/82);
9. Actions Against Samizdat Activities (Document 21/82);
10. Prison Conditions (Document 22/82);
11. Open Letter to the Peace Movements (Document 13/82);
12. Expression of Solidarity with the Unofficial Peace Movement in East Germany (Document 18/82);
13. Letter of condolence to the Dutch Embassy in Prague on the death of four journalists in San Salvador (Document 12/82);

14. Letter of appreciation to the Palach Committee in Paris for awarding its 1982 prize to imprisoned playwright Václav Havel (Document 9/82);
15. Solidarity with Poland (Document 5/82);
16. Proposal to the Signatories of the Helsinki Agreement (Document 8/82);
17. List of the 36 Most Recent Charter 77 Signatories (Document 10/82);
18. Faked Text on the Congress of Czechoslovak Trade Unions (Document 15/82).

In addition to documents signed by all three spokespersons, individual Charter 77 signatories sent many letters to various public bodies dealing with police harassment, trials, and imprisonment mainly. In spite of everything (police interrogations, confiscations of documents, detentions, surveillance, etc.), Charter 77 continued to be active. It is starting the second half of the year by planning many new actions. The human rights situation in Czechoslovakia continues to be gloomy and pressure is not being discontinued despite Charter 77's consistent adherence to the standing legal order.