

CZECHOSLOVAKIA/2  
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#### 1. The 1980 Plan: Main Targets Unfulfilled

Already the preliminary reports on 1980 plan fulfillment have indicated that it was impossible to meet even the modest targets of the last year of the five-year plan (1976-1980). They admitted that the growth rate of the Czechoslovak economy was considerably slower than in preceding years. They also revealed that the planned targets were unfulfilled in several sectors of the Czechoslovak economy and that the results would not be in keeping with the actual possibilities. The fact that the 1980 plan had fallen short in many sectors of the Czechoslovak economy and that the 1980 results were particularly bad and considerably below original expectations was confirmed in a report on the development of the economy and plan fulfillment in 1980, which was published last week by the Federal Statistical Office. (1)

At first glance the report shows that the planned targets were not reached for the second consecutive year and that the growth rates were not only below the originally planned increases but also below the corrected figures. This can be seen by comparing the original figures, as revealed by Vaclav Hula, a member of the CPCS CC Presidium, Deputy Federal Prime Minister, and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, in his report to the CPCS CC Plenum on 11 December 1979, (2) with the planned targets published last week in the report on 1980 plan fulfillment. That comparison shows that

- (1) For the full text see Rude Pravo, 23 January 1981, pp. 1 and 3.
- (2) Rude Pravo, 12 December 1979, pp. 3-5.

there were, indeed, considerable discrepancies between the originally envisaged growth rates and the corrected figures, which were probably set in the course of the plan implementation when it had become obvious that the original plan would not be fulfilled. It is not unusual for such "corrections" to be published only rarely. In most cases they can be found only by a painstaking comparison of various sources.

The following table shows some of the discrepancies between the originally envisaged targets, the corrected figures, and the actual 1980 plan fulfillment:

Increase in 1980 as Compared with 1979 Results in Percentage			
Economic Sector	Original targets (1)	Corrected figures (2)	Actual fulfillment (3)
National Income	3.7	?	3.0
Industrial Output	4.0	3.5	3.2
Building Industry	3.8	4.3 <sup>(4)</sup>	1.3
Agriculture	7.2	6.8	6.0
Investments	2.4	2.0	1.2
Labor Productivity <sup>(5)</sup>	3.2	2.8	2.5
<p>(1) Vaclav Hula at the CPCS CC Plenum, see <u>Rude Pravo</u>, 12 December 1979, pp. 3-5; and Vaclav Hula in <u>Planovane Hospodarstvi</u> No. 1, January 1980, pp. 1-8.</p> <p>(2) Report on the 1980 plan fulfillment issued by Federal Statistical Office, see <u>Rude Pravo</u>, 23 January 1981, pp. 1 and 3.</p> <p>(3) <u>Ibid.</u></p> <p>(4) The sole case of a corrected figure higher than the original.</p> <p>(5) It was originally envisaged that the increase in labor productivity should have accounted for about 91-92 per cent of the increase in national income. Actually, the share of labor productivity in the increase of the industrial output was only 80 per cent and in the building industry it was also considerably below the plan. The slow improvement in labor productivity is an important factor in the declining efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy in the past years.</p>			

As can be seen from the table, the actual growth rates are on the average about 25 per cent below the originally envisaged ones and almost 20 per cent below the corrected figures. Indeed, 1980 was an unsuccessful year for the Czechoslovak economy and it also adversely influenced the fulfillment of the whole five-year plan (1976-1980).

Development of the Basic Production Sectors. Industry. According to the report, industrial output rose by 3.2 per cent over 1979. Almost half the industrial enterprises did not meet the planned targets in all selected indicators. Material costs decreased slightly (by 0.6 per cent) compared with 1979, but total costs remained at the 1979 level. Labor productivity in industry increased by only 2.5 per cent compared with 2.9 per cent increase in 1979. The average number of people employed in industry increased by 17,000 to 2,647,000. The worker's average monthly wage in centrally managed industry was 2,764 Kcs, 2.5 per cent higher than in 1979. The relation between the development of labor productivity and the average wage was not in accordance with planned targets.

Production increased slightly in all industrial sectors except coal extraction. The growth rates, however, are very modest. Coal extraction totaled 123,100,000 tons, 1.3 per cent below 1979. This was due to nonfulfillment of planned targets in the extraction of brown coal and lignite. According to the report, the supply of electricity was "in general steady." The generation of electricity grew, thanks to increased production of nuclear power stations and hydroelectric plants. Total generation of electricity amounted to 72,682 million kWh and was 1.3 percentage points higher than the planned target.

The growth rate in the metallurgical industry was 1.2 per cent over 1979. Steel production totaled 15,225,000 tons, 4.8 percentage points below the state plan but 2.7 per cent over the 1979 production. Production of "rolled materials" was also unsatisfactory. The 1980 output was not only below the planned target (by 5.2 percentage points) but also below the 1979 result (by 0.2 percentage points). The output of heavy engineering rose by 3.7 per cent (6.3 per cent originally planned) and that of general engineering by 4.8 per cent (5.4 per cent originally planned). Total engineering production increased by 4.6 per cent while a 5.8 per cent rise was originally envisaged.

The increases in the chemical industry (2.7 per cent), building materials (4.4 per cent), the consumer goods industry (3.8 per cent), and the food industry (1.7 per cent) were also moderate and below the planned targets. The report contains the customary table listing the production of 24 basic industrial goods in absolute figures with the comparative percentage increases and a comparison with 1979 results. The figures show that the production of 10 items was below the state plan (the fulfillment percentage varied between 80.6 per cent for refined sugar and 99.7 per cent for plastic materials) and that the output of 6 items was even below the 1979 results (hard coal, brown coal including lignite, rolled materials, shoes, refined sugar, and beer).

Agriculture. Despite adverse weather conditions, especially during the growing period, the agricultural sector had a relatively successful year. Gross agricultural output was 4,800 million Kcs,



an increase of 6.0 per cent over 1979, but still 0.8 per cent below the state plan. It should be noted, however, that in 1979 the results in agriculture were not impressive and gross agricultural production declined by 3.9 per cent when compared with 1978, thus modifying the 1980 results. Compared with 1978 the results are not particularly impressive, although it must be noted that a record cereal crop was produced in 1978.

Cereal crops and fodder crops substantially increased over the 1979 results, with cereal production estimated at 10,742,000 tons and fodder production at 5,302,000 tons. Thus, the 1979 results were largely exceeded, but the plan targets were not fulfilled. As far as cereal production is concerned, the 1980 result was only a marginal 158,000 tons below the record crop of 1978 but was still 2-3 per cent below the planned target of 11,000,000 tons. This relatively successful crop may be attributed mainly to substantial increases in hectare yields amounting to 4.13 tons, a 16.7 per cent increase over the 1979 yield. On the other hand, the potato crop was significantly below both the state plan (only 2,713,000 tons against the planned 3,900,000 tons) and the 1979 results (3,725,000 tons). Likewise, the sugar beet crop was both behind the 1979 results (by 395,000 tons) and below the state plan (by 950,000 tons), totaling only 7,250,000 tons. The planned state purchases were fulfilled in cereals and rape, but potato purchases were only two-thirds of the envisaged amount.

Results in the livestock sector were more stable than in plant production, but the report notes that these results were influenced by significant imports of fodder, because of the bad crops in 1979. These imports are reported to have created prerequisites for increasing the number of cattle and hogs. The average annual milk yield per cow increased significantly to 3,089 liters, 133 liters over the 1979 yield, although no data are available on butter fat content. The average egg output per hen increased slightly too, from 224 eggs in 1979 to 228 eggs in 1980. The purchase plan of animal products was fulfilled in all sectors; the purchase of cattle has even ended with a surplus. Especially good results were attained in the purchase of milk and eggs. In forestry planned targets were slightly exceeded.

Construction. The value of total work performed by the building enterprises was valued at 82,600 million Kcs, an increase of 1.3 per cent over 1979 but 3.0 percentage points below the plan. The reports also indicate that only 58.2 per cent of the enterprises fulfilled their planned tasks, and that only one quarter of the building enterprises reached the planned targets in all indicators. The average number of people employed in the construction industry remained stable at about 556,000. Despite a 1.4 per cent increase in labor productivity in that sector, the growth rate lagged 2.6 percentage points behind the plan. Average monthly wages in this sector increased by 1.5 per cent, reaching 2,920 Kcs.

A total of 127,800 apartments were built, 5,000 more than in 1979, but the (revised?) plan was met by only 97.9 per cent. Originally it was planned to build 141,000 dwelling units. Of the total dwelling units actually built, municipalities constructed 28,400, cooperatives 46,000, enterprises 21,100, and private individuals 32,300. By the end of 1980 construction had been started on 109,400 new apartments, nearly 20,000 less than at the end of 1979.

Transport and Communications. The results in transport were quite good, although they lagged slightly behind the original targets. Public transport enterprises carried 632,400,000 tons of goods, 1.8 per cent more than in 1979, so that the state plan was fulfilled by 100.2 per cent. The originally planned increase, however, was 2.1 per cent. Railroad transport, as in the past, was apparently affected by a shortage of qualified manpower as well as by some organizational difficulties which resulted in long delays in repairing freight cars. The number of passengers conveyed by public rail and bus transportation increased. One notable statistic was recorded: the number of passengers traveling by the Prague subway increased by 104.8 per cent. This was attributed to high usage during the physical fitness festival, the Spartakiad, and to the two additional lines added to the subway system during the year.

In communications, the number of telephones increased by 78,000, which was below the 1979 figure. At the end of 1980 there were 3,150,000 telephones in Czechoslovakia, *i.e.*, 20.57 phones per 100 inhabitants. Of these only 1,122,000 were private phones as of 31 December 1980. Automation of the telephone system continued so that 91.67 per cent of all international calls were automatic. New television transmitters were put into operation, so that by the end of 1980 the second TV channel could be received in 65 per cent of Czechoslovak territory.

Investments and Deliveries. The value of construction work and deliveries was only 1.2 per cent higher than in 1979 and was considerably behind the planned target. The volume of construction work rose by 1.4 per cent and that of deliveries of machinery and equipment by only 0.9 per cent. The report notes that in 1980 investments were funneled mainly into the "most important projects with priority," where better results were achieved than in other construction work. According to recently published plan fulfillment reports, too many projects were under construction, and the investment resources were too widely dispersed causing costs to accelerate. The reports cite some new facilities which were put into operation during the past year; their total value was 132,000 million Kcs, which is only 0.1 per cent more than in 1979.

Foreign Trade. The value of total foreign trade turnover increased by 11.0 per cent as compared with 1979; initial reports have not broken this data into detailed export and import values. Trade turnover increased at a faster rate with nonsocialist countries (by 17.9 per cent) than with socialist countries (by 8.3 per



cent). Nevertheless, according to official statistics the share of socialist countries in the total foreign trade turnover remained very high at 69.9 per cent. The report, however, does not mention the change in the trade volume, but likely deterioration in the terms of trade would indicate that the physical flow of goods and services increased less rapidly.

The development of foreign trade was reportedly also influenced by "complicated external and internal economic conditions." Despite the Western recession, Czechoslovak exports to "nonsocialist" countries rose faster than Czechoslovak imports. A detailed assessment of the development of Czechoslovak foreign trade in the past year will, however, be possible only after publication of more details.

Czechoslovakia's participation in world trade dropped from 1.5 per cent in 1965 to 0.9 per cent at present, and its share of trade between Comecon countries decreased from 12.98 per cent to 9.48 per cent in the same period. (3) One of the major aims of Czechoslovak economic policy has been to promote external balance but the report does not reveal whether the Czechoslovak trade balance actually improved in the past year or to what extent.

Standard of Living. The Czechoslovak work force increased further (by 0.8 per cent over 1979) and averaged 7,340,000 in 1980. The employment in "nonproductive" (*i.e.*, service) sectors rose faster than that in the "productive" sphere. The cash income of the population increased by 4.1 per cent over 1979, but it was below the originally planned 5.3 per cent rise. The report, however, does not reveal either the increase in the general price level or in real income. It mentions only that the average monthly wage in the socialist sector (except for agricultural cooperatives), which represents the largest part of cash income of the population, rose only by 2.4 per cent to 2,640 Kcs, although a 2.8 per cent increase was originally envisaged. The increase in "savings and money in circulation" amounted to 10,400 million Kcs and was considerably higher than in 1979, when it was 7,400 million Kcs.

Retail trade turnover in current prices increased by 5,000 million Kcs, which is almost 2.0 per cent over the 1979 figure, but the planned target (3.4 per cent) was not reached. Although an increase in retail trade turnover of consumer goods was registered (0.7 per cent), their share in the total retail trade turnover reached only 52.9 per cent, *i.e.*, 1.0 percentage points below the plan.

The estimated rate of population growth slowed down significantly. Only 247,000 live births were registered while the figure for 1979 was 273,000. The report does not mention the number of deaths but notes that the natural increment was 4.0 per 1,000 inhabitants, the lowest in the history of postwar Czechoslovakia. No estimates have yet been provided on total population, the omission being due to the November 1980 census, the results of which have not yet been published.

Conclusion. The figures cited above show that in 1980 the rate of Czechoslovak economic growth continued to decline, confirming a trend toward stagnation. In 1978 "some difficulties" in achieving planned targets were reported, while in 1979 the annual plan was unfulfilled on the whole with only minor achievements made. This has meant that the overall results of the entire five-year period (1976-1980) were adversely affected and the economic development was slower than originally expected. There has also been no improvement in the traditional weak spots of the Czechoslovak economy. This does not augur well for the economic development in the present five-year plan (1981-1985), whose targets will be set by the 16th CPCS Congress in April of this year.

P. M

## 2. Mounting Czechoslovak Criticism over Poland<sup>+</sup>

Czechoslovak officials and the media alike have been following the developments in Poland with misgivings from the very beginning of the campaign for free (independent) labor unions. To this very day, though grudgingly recognizing the existence of Solidarity, they consider it at variance with Marxist-Leninist teachings and consistently prefix the name with the phrase "the so-called independent." In fact, it may be argued that Czechoslovakia has been spearheading the attacks on Solidarity and other organizations, namely, the Self-Defense Committee (KOR) and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

In the eyes of Czechoslovak ideologists, labor unions are a transmission belt of the party and consequently they can be neither independent nor free. Strikes are considered an even greater heresy. Even to talk about them under socialism is "explicitly wrong, un-Marxist, and completely dogmatic." (4)

It has, therefore, not come as a surprise that the issue of a five-day workweek in Poland has prompted Czechoslovak correspondents in Warsaw and commentators at home to man the battle stations over the last weekend. The red alert was sounded on Thursday, January 22, evidently having been provoked by the announcement of "warning strikes" on that and the next day. Frantisek Sojka, Czechoslovak radio correspondent in Warsaw, phoned in to Prague to report that "the conflict provoked by the so-called independent labor union Solidarity over the issue of free Saturdays is once again gaining in intensity." (5) With equal alacrity he identified the source of all the trouble:

Solidarity not only disregards the present complex economic situation in the country, but it is also not choosy in the selection of the means with which to press its own goals, thereby seriously hampering the normalization of the internal political situation.

(4) Jan Fojtik, CPCS CC Secretary, in Tribuna No. 49, 3 December 1980, pp. 3 and 8.

(5) Radio Hvezda, 22 January 1981.

+ The article only covers material up to 27 January.



As of Friday, January 23, the attacks had grown both in number and aggressiveness. Correspondents, and even more the home commentators, reached deep into their ideological arsenal and came up with heavy calibers. "Fifth column," "antistate activity" "the liquidation of People's Poland," and "counterrevolution" were the terms used in the broadsides fired in the direction of the northern neighbor.

The opening shot came in the form of an accusation that Solidarity leaders "wanted the cake without work, if possible"; but, the commentator recalled, there was a saying about "no work -- no reward," (the literal translation from Czech is "no work -- no cake") and added a stern warning that in the present difficult economic situation a strike amounted to a "political provocation." (6)

The most vicious attack, however, came from Czechoslovak radio commentator Antonin Kostka. He likened the tactic of Solidarity officials to that of "antisocialist wreckers /puciste/ in Czechoslovakia in the year 1948" who were allegedly driven by the slogan "The worse for the republic, the better for us." The issue of free Saturdays, according to Kostka, was only one instance in a systematic "demagogic misuse of any occasion for disrupting the economy, rousing anarchistic emotions, . . . and for spreading insecurity, tension, and dissatisfaction." In Kostka's view, Solidarity leaders were taking "undue advantage" of the patience and the "responsible prudence" of the Polish government and the party, "in order to turn socialist democracy into a license of pressure and disorganizing demagoguery." In conclusion, Kostka asked ominously:

The question is whether the leaders of Solidarity and their home and foreign advisers are aware of how far they can go, and where anarchistic irresponsibility borders on an open attack on the state system, on socialism in Poland.

Kostka's line of argument was picked up by the editor responsible for Radio Prague's broadcast for Czechs and Slovaks abroad, a program known for its sharp formulations. In its version, the Solidarity leadership strives to drive the situation in Poland to the extreme at a time when the Polish economy is about to collapse due to a heart attack. It creates pressures even against government bodies, "tries to provoke anarchy and thus free the hands of antisocialist forces in Poland." This is qualified by the commentator as "bordering on antistate conspiracy," suggesting a well premeditated and organized scheme. (7)

After this general onslaught on Solidarity, attacks on its leader, Lech Walesa, were only a question of time. The Czechoslovak party's main daily, Rude Pravo, was assigned the task and promptly

(6) Petr Nemec, Radio Hvezda editor, over that station on 23 January 1981.

(7) Radio Prague, 24 January 1981.



charged that Solidarity had been "radicalized" following Walesa's return from Rome, where he had been received in an audience by Pope John Paul II. The paper renewed accusations that Solidarity was trying to disrupt Poland's economy and claimed that it had gone over to "open terrorism." As examples, the daily cited incidents in Gdansk, where an incendiary substance was allegedly hurled into a shop, and in Warsaw, where tear gas cannisters were thrown into a warehouse. Also, Solidarity officials hindered people willing to work last Saturday from entering their places of work. "All these instances," Rude Pravo concluded, "are a practical implementation of the directives from those forces abroad that are behind the Polish counterrevolution." (8)

KOR and its leading members, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, as well as the KPN and its leader, Leszek Moczulski, were also selected for special treatment. (9) The history of the KPN was recapitulated in some detail on January 24, and Rude Pravo returned to the subject two days later. Under the heading "Fifth Column," the paper's correspondent in Warsaw compared the two organizations and asserted that "the tactics and methods" of the KPN as "assigned" by foreign anticommunist forces coordinating activities against Poland "substantially differ" from those assigned to KOR. The "Confederation" is to play the role of an "extreme" anticommunist organization, which is to "arouse unrest, support anti-Polish propaganda, and capture attention both at home and abroad." KOR, on the other hand, is to pose as a "moderate opposition organization whose activities provide no ground for penal sanctions." Its "evolutionary" program of "gradual erosion" is tuned to this goal.

The Radio Prague program for Czechs and Slovaks abroad, again in its customary way of not mincing words, assessed the situation in Poland as follows: the program of the "so-called independent" labor union Solidarity was to "block the process of socialist renewal, to nourish terrorism and anarchy, and to attack government and party bodies and their representatives." Much of the "true mission" of Solidarity was indicated by its "close ties with extremely reactionary forces and organizations of the [same] type as the American labor union center AFL/CIO." The leadership of Solidarity "had grown wings" (in the sense of stepping up its activity) after Lech Walesa's return from the Vatican. One must not overlook the fact that Zbigniew Brzezinski "in his recent meeting with specialists on Polish affairs" had "emphasized the inevitability of giving Polish forces of opposition access to arms." These "specialists," the commentator added by way of explanation, were "from the dynasty of the famed cloak and dagger knights." The efforts of "honest Poles" for a consistent development of the process of renewal could not succeed as long as the forces around Solidarity resorted to "arrogance, aggressiveness, and psychological terrorism." The commentary, however, ends in a rather conciliatory tone. Quoting the Polish Army paper Zolnierz Wolnosci, the author concurs with its suggestion that "anarchy, chaos, the war of nerves, and emotions should give way to prudence, reason, and a constructive dialogue, the door to which is still open." (10)

(8) As quoted by AP and dpa, 26 January 1981.

(9) Radio Prague, 24 January 1981; Rude Pravo, 26 January 1981.

(10) Stefan Babiak, Radio Prague, 27 January 1981.

Irrespective of the verve with which the Czechoslovak public media took up their scathingly critical drive against the nonconformist organizations in Poland, one should not overlook two facts: first, there has been no chastizing of either the Polish government or the party. On the contrary, the Czechoslovak media have been profusely using the Polish press to demonstrate an allegedly growing popular dissatisfaction with the activities of Solidarity, and the "responsibility and patience" of state and party bodies. Furthermore, there have not been even veiled hints at possible "fraternal assistance." Though one can never know for sure, it may only have been pure coincidence that an item containing the dictum about the socialist states' common duty to defend socialism cropped up on Friday, January 23, in the midst of that week's "warning strikes." (11)

L. N.

### 3. Czechoslovak Dissidents Struggle On

Rudolf Stamm of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung has the same opinion of Czechoslovak dissent as many other observers: "... today the Charter movement is practically destroyed." (12) It would certainly appear that the pounding which Charter 77 has had to sustain since its inception has taken its toll. There is less vigor and vehemence among these human rights campaigners who have neither emigrated nor gone to jail than even a year and a half ago. Nonconventional activities in Czechoslovakia have a different focus now; they are evolving in the form of samizdat publications, (13) in the writing of history, in composing and performing underground music, and in religious dissent.

With regard to religious dissent, Amnesty International noted in its annual report for 1980, which covers the period from May 1979 to April 1980, that Roman Catholic priests and laity had been subjected to widespread harassment in Czechoslovakia. (15) Poland in general and the role of Catholicism in particular have worried the Prague authorities. The ideologists have conjured up a vision of a underground "secret Church" and the attendant "political clericalism" rearing their ugly heads; the public is enjoined to combat

(11) Vladimir Ruml, Chairman of the Socialist Academy (former Association for the Dissemination of Political Knowledge) reviewing once again the importance of the 1970 "Lessons from the Crisis Development" in an article entitled "Historical Lesson," Rude Pravo, 23 January 1981, p. 4.

(12) "Osteuropa vor dem Machtwechsel in den US," 20 January 1981.

(13) The Padlock Edition has recently celebrated the publication of its 200th volume, a dictionary of proscribed writers.

(14) Writings by 90 independent historians were listed in V. Precan, ed., Acta Creationis (Hanover: Precan, 1980).



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these phenomena readily and relentlessly. (16) Furthermore, a Western correspondent reported that "all priests who had been to Poland on the occasion of the Pope's visit were now being subjected to heavy surveillance by the secret service and some also to intensive interrogations." (17)

Charter itself has not, however, died yet. On 14 December 1980 its spokesmen addressed an open letter to the president, the Federal Assembly, and the Czechoslovak government, warning them against intervention in Poland. The letter was no doubt meant as a response to the harsh and biased attacks in the Czechoslovak media on the compromises which the Polish government had to strike with the new trade unions. (18) The Charter letter said that

The historic experience of our nations has shown that foreign interference by force cannot solve the internal problems of a country; on the contrary, it exacerbates them and burdens even the future generations with feelings of hate and guilt.

Persecution continued in December 1980 and January 1981. The police raided a flat where a small group of members of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS) was meeting. (19) When West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher came to Prague for a routine round of talks, Professor Jiri Hajek was forced to leave the capital temporarily, Mrs. Otka Bednarova was forcibly hospitalized, and Professor Karel Kosik was warned not to accept an invitation to the West German embassy. (20) Two young adherents of the movement for civil rights, Karel Soikup and Jindrich Tomes, had their sentences of 10 and 12 months' imprisonment, respectively, confirmed by the court of appeals on 5 January 1981. (21) A former radio commentator and signatory of Charter 77, Lubos Dobrovsky, was held for 48 hours and interrogated about an article on Poland that he had allegedly written for the underground magazine Forum. (22)

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- (16) See Czechoslovak Situation Report/1, Radio Free Europe Research, 15 January 1981, Item 2, which gives details about the regime's attacks on alleged religious excesses. The Polish connection is explicitly cited, as it has been in the criticism of the Polish episcopate by Andrej Oravcan in Ateizmus No. 6, 1980, pp. 538-542. An argument associating a section of religious dissent with Charter 77 has been offered by Father Jozef Zverina in his essay "Not To Live in Hate," addressed to "Friend and Foe," which appeared in Studie No. 72 (Rome), 1980, pp. 599-604.
- (17) Heiko Flottau in the Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 January 1981.
- (18) Reuter (London), 22 December 1980, and text of letter.
- (19) AFP, Reuter, and AP, 12 December 1980. The flat was that of Anna Sabatova, the daughter of Professor Jaroslav Sabata and wife of Petr Uhl, both prominent dissidents.
- (20) AP, 22 December 1980; and J. Hajek in Der Spiegel, 12 January 1981.
- (21) AFP, 6 January 1981.
- (22) Reuter, 9 January 1981.

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At the beginning of the year, the Charter changed its spokesmen again. After holding the office for a year, Milos Rejchrt and Marie Hromadkova were replaced by Professor Bedrich Placek, a surgeon, and Father Vaclav Maly, a Roman Catholic priest. The move was said to be routine. (23)

Dr. Placek, 66, is a prominent personality, the first Czechoslovak to have performed open heart surgery. Active in Slovak resistance groups during the war, he was a communist party member from 1945 to 1968, but lost his membership for involvement in the Prague Spring. Of late, he has been a night watchman in a church.

Vaclav Maly, 30, became a priest in the mid-1970s, became involved with the Charter movement, spent seven months in jail, and had his state permit for the performance of pastoral duties withdrawn in 1979. He has recently worked as a boilerman.

The third spokesman, Rudolf Battek, has been in custody pending a trial since 14 June 1980. His case typifies the utilitarian and at the same time vindictive nature of present-day Czechoslovak justice. Arrested after an alleged altercation with a policeman and threatened with the charge of "assault on a public official," he has now spent seven months pretrial incarceration despite failing health. Evidently, the procurator has repeatedly extended Battek's custody, although the original cause was simple enough and could be dealt with swiftly. The police version of the story is not, however, uncontested by Battek. The most recent reports, following the 14 January 1981 extension of Battek's custody, suggest that the original charge has now been augmented to include "subversion," which allegedly arose through his possession of a manuscript entitled "On Freedom and Power," found on him in October 1979. The text purportedly represented the Czechoslovak contribution to an unofficial publication to be issued jointly with Polish dissidents. At that time Battek spent four days in jail but was released under pressure, possibly from Western Social-Democrats, Battek had never been a Communist but styled himself "an independent socialist." In addition to many shorter arrests, he served 13 months in 1969-1970, at least 22 months in 1972-1974 (available information is not clear), and now another seven months with no end in sight, all for clearly political reasons. The years 1979 and 1980 were particularly bad for Battek; police harassment was frequent and severe. In January 1980 the police took him 80 kilometers out of Prague and left him in the open country wearing inadequate clothing. His wife Dagmar Battek announced she was going on a hunger strike on her husband's behalf on 16 January 1981 but had to give it up for reasons of ill health two days later. The fast was taken over by Ladislav Lis, another signatory of Charter 77. He has reportedly been replaced by Vendelin Komenda in what is said to be a system of volunteers taking turns fasting. Each new hunger striker also plans to send a letter to the authorities protesting Battek's detention. (24)

(23) Various agencies, e.g., AFP, 13 January 1981 and others, 14 January 1981. AP reported on 23 January 1981 that Jaroslav Sabata had resumed his office as Charter spokesman. It is not clear, however, whether he has replaced someone or whether Charter 77 added a 4th man to its traditional 3 spokesmen. (S)

(24) Reuter, 20 January 1981; AP and Reuter, 23 January 1981. (SS)



It would seem possible that the persecution of Rudolf Battek reflects the regime's desire to force a persistent critic of its malpractices to emigrate. (25) Although it would be difficult to conclude that suppressive practices against Czechoslovak dissidents have become considerably harsher since last summer, the police are no doubt aware of the Polish connection, which they may even exaggerate in order to justify a higher degree of interference.

VVK

#### 4. Care for the Disabled

In connection with the International Year for the Disabled, which the United Nations has designated for 1981, the Czechoslovak press and radio have also paid more attention than usual to this problem. So far, however, it appears to be mostly another opportunity for the regime to stress the apparent advantages of the communist state over the capitalist system. Actual efforts made to improve the living and working conditions of the disabled over the past 30 years have been mentioned only in rather general terms.

At present there are some 920,000 disabled people in Czechoslovakia, i.e., about 6 per cent of the country's total population; and their number is growing despite considerably improved medical care. Diseases such as tuberculosis and poliomyelitis, which have almost been eliminated, used to be the main causes of disability; they have been replaced by the ailments of modern times, traffic and recreational accidents. (26)

The share of fully or partially disabled people in the labor force is increasing. Although in 1970 only 193,000 disabled people were able to work, the number has risen to 261,000, 3.6 per cent of total manpower. (27) About 30,000 of them found work in enterprises operated by the Union of the Disabled, Meta in the Czech Lands and Integra in Slovakia. This union has a membership of 170,000. It organizes courses, lectures, training, and social events, and also tries to help to solve the housing problems of its members. There are two housing cooperatives for the disabled in Czechoslovakia, which have built special housing units in Prague, Brno, Ostrava, and Gottwaldov.

Special care is provided for disabled children and young people. All of them, about 80,000, are centrally registered to facilitate coordinated care. This system includes a network of rehabilitation day care centers and nursery schools and also provides for constant

(25) Information about Battek's involvement in the human rights movement and his present ordeal comes from a variety of sources. His case has been closely followed in the West. For more on the latest developments, i.e., prolongation of detention, extending the charges to include subversion, as well as on Mrs. Battek's hunger strike see AP and other agencies, 17 January 1981.

(26) Pravda, 15 January 1981.

(27) Radio Hvezda, 3 January 1981.

(28) Ceteka, 15 January 1981.

expansion of its elementary, secondary, and apprentice schools for handicapped children and advisory centers for their parents.

In Czechoslovakia the disabled receive all the necessary nursing care and medical treatment free of charge, as well as a variety of social welfare services. They can apply for grants toward the purchase of motor vehicles and are given special advantages in public transport. In Slovakia, for example, some 226,000 disabled citizens receive full or partial social security benefits amounting to 2,600 million Kcs a year. In 1979 Slovak authorities provided 9,500,000 Kcs in financial aid for the purchase and maintenance of vehicles for amputatees and paraplegics. All the disabled have access to educational and vocational training in 107 institutions for children and young people and in 66 institutions for adults. (28)

In giving its account of favorable conditions for the disabled in Czechoslovakia, some shortcomings were also noted. Critical remarks were made about the healthy population's attitude toward the disabled. The integration of these people into the working process is far from satisfactory; numerous regulations passed by the state in recent years have been widely ignored by many enterprises. Many disabled, who are able and willing to work are confronted with an unconcern and unwillingness to hire them on the part of the employers. Further problems are caused by a lack of beds in institutions for the mentally retarded. Some 2,700 children and 1,100 adults are waiting for admission. Production of orthopedic and prosthetic aids is chronically behind schedule. (29)

Several events are being planned in Czechoslovakia for the International Year for the Disabled. Youth games and a swimming championship for the disabled, international competitions for composers and musicians with impaired vision, a festival of deaf mimes, and an international chess championship have been scheduled. (30)

T. S.

(28) Ceteka, 15 January 1981.

(29) Pravda, 12 January 1981.

(30) Lud, 9 January 1981.