LABOUR FOCUS ON EASTERN EUROPE

A Socialist Defence Bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR

25p

SPECIAL DOSSIER

Political Unemployment Must be Stopped!



Documents ** List of Names ** A Typical Case

Produced Jointly With: COMMITTEE TO DEFEND CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALISTS

POLITICAL UNEMPLOYMENT MUST BE STOPPED!

When Charter 77 was launched in January of last year, its signatories set themselves a simple and readily understandable task: to campaign for the Czechoslovak government to respect the human and civil rights provisions of the existing constitution and legal codes. The government at once revealed its attitude both to the Charter and to those human and civil rights by launching its own campaign of intimidation and harassment of Charter supporters. Four people, Ales Machacek, Vladimir Lastuvka, Jiri Lederer and Ota Ornest, were sentenced to jail last September and October for 'subversion of the republic' - a thinly disguised term covering active opposition to the present Husak leadership. In the case of Machacek, an agronomist who received the highest sentence of 3 1/2 years, the fact that he had refused to condemn the Charter was cited at his trial as an aggravating circumstance. Others who have been imprisoned for their Charter activities are: Miloslav Cerny (3 years), Frantisek Pitor (3 years), Alena Klimova (1 year) and Miloslav Lojek (18 months).

But these judicial performances are just one aspect of the kangaroo system that strikes countless Czechoslovak citizens in their daily lives. In the few years following Husak's 'Prague Counter-Spring' of 1969, hundreds of thousands of people were victimized in one way or another for continuing to support the demand for radical democratic change.

The present dossier deals with a question of special concern to trade unionists throughout the world - namely, the sackings and other job-related harassment of workers whose only crime is to have supported (or refused to condemn) the Charter movement for democratic rights. The letter to the Federal Assembly speaks of the great personal hardship suffered by Charter supporters through being brutally uprooted from their customary work-environment and thrown either on to the scrap-heap or into very badly-paid jobs quite unrelated to their qualifications. But beyond these personal situations, the threat and example of dismissal hangs over the entire Czechoslovak work-force: everyone knows that his or her job is not a right but, in the words of the Charter document, a 'reward' for good behaviour that may be taken away at any moment. Thus, in February 1977, Ivan Medek was sacked from the Supraphon Record Company in Prague for his activity in connection with the Charter. In a by no means unique development, 25 of his workmates then sent a written protest to the director, demanding that Medek be re-instated. But after repeated threats, 18 of the 25 were forced to withdraw their signatures, while 3 were summarily dismissed and 4 others demoted to lower-grade jobs. There is nothing mysterious, therefore, in the 'public apathy' so often detected in the Czechoslovak population. Nearly every day brings news of a fresh dismissal or act of harassment - a kind of daily penance extracted from the working people as a whole by the Husak leadership and its Russian backers. As for the official Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, it sees its task as enforcing the repressive decisions of managers and Party leaders, rather than defending its members against the State.

Western trade unionists rightly speak out against the scrap-heap on to which millions of workers are thrown by the operation of capitalist market forces. But in increasing numbers, they are also denouncing the policy of an East European regime that claims to speak in the name of the working class, while stifling the democratic life of the workers' movement and striking with repression its most conscious and active members. In Italy, the UIL (Italian Labour Union) has decided to provide substantial material aid to twenty Charter supporters over a period of six months, while the Union of Commercial and Tourist Workers (FISASCAT) has endorsed the proposal for an international commission of enquiry into conditions in Czechoslovakia. In France, all the major union federations have now condemned the repression of Charter supporters; and the communist-led CGT, a delegation from which had a recent meeting with Charter representatives in Prague, has just produced a dossier on job-related harassment of Charter supporters in its periodical journal La Vie Ouvriere. The FEN (National Federation of Educational Workers) has launched an appeal of its own for financial aid to Czechoslovak workers, itself 'adopting' ten Charter supporters, and has called for an immediate campaign of solidarity.

The Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists believes that the voice of the British labour movement can be of great significance in the mounting international campaign of solidarity with Charter supporters. The labour movement itself fought long and hard to win its existing democratic rights, and it continues to fight anti-working-class repression in such capitalist countries as Chile or Argentina. In 1968, the movement was virtually unanimous in condemning the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. And last March, at a public meeting in central London, labour movement leaders Ian Mikardo MP, Dave Bowman, Lawrence Daly and Ernie Roberts joined in declaring their socialist solidarity with Charter 77 and in denouncing the harassment of its signatories. It is unquestionable that the very great majority of trade unionists who are aware of the situation feel nothing but revulsion for the repressive actions of the Husak leadership in Czechoslovakia. In producing this dossier in collaboration with Labour Focus, the Committee hopes to make the struggle of Charter 77 better known in this country and to help lay the basis for a campaign to halt the repression directed against its supporters. You can help now by ordering extra copies for your friends and trade-union or party branch; by sending protest resolutions to the Czechoslovak Embassy, 25 Kensington Palace Gdns., London W.8. (with a copy to the Committee, please); by sending donations to the Committee, which is urgently in need of funds for its work; and by inviting Committee members to speak at meetings. In coming issues of Labour Focus, we hope to be able to announce further steps in building a campaign of labour movement solidarity with Charter 77, and to propose ways of drawing together the support we have received so far.

Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists 22 May 1978. 49A Tabley Rd., London N.7.

Labour Focus is a bi-monthly independent socialist journal committed toproviding information on events in Eastern Europe and on labour movement solidarity activity with those struggling there for democratic rights. Since it first appeared in March 1977, Labour Focus has carried regular and detailed reports of the Charter 77 movement, the Polish opposition and many other forms of oppositional activity in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It also contains many documents which are not available elsewhere in English. A regular issue costs 30p plus 10p postage; an annual subscription £3.50. Institutional, European and overseas rates on application.

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Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, Bottom Flat,

116 Cazenove Rd., London N.16.

The material in this dossier is of great importance, because it gives trade unionists the possibility to engage in serious, practical defence of working people in Czechoslovakia who have been thrown out of work for taking a stand in favour of basic civil rights.

Normally, labour movement defence work is hampered by the desperate shortage of information about what has really happened in any particular case of repression in Eastern Europe. The regimes have a general policy of trying to prevent any reliable information from reaching the West. And as for the bourgeois press, it is more concerned with making a general propaganda attack on the Left, or providing detailed information only on the few cases it wishes to dramatize.

But here we publish absolutely reliable, detailed information about political sackings of Charter 77 supporters in Czechoslovakia. We have this information on Czechoslovakia both because of the high level of communication between civil rights campaigners inside the country, and because of the fact that the links between the Czechoslovak opposition and the labour movements in the West are much more developed than is the case for other Eastern European oppositions.

We hope that this dossier jointly produced by Labour Focus and the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, will be taken up and used by trade unionists throughout the labour movement. In particular, we hope that individual trade unions will take up the cases of political sackings affecting workers in their own particular trade and industry. And we hope that trade unions will take up these particular cases directly with the Czechoslovak authorities while giving material aid to those at present out of work.

Labour Focus Editorial Board.

CHARTER LETTER TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

To the Federal Assembly of the CSSR Prague

The right to work is really one of the most important rights pertaining to a man and a citizen. By the right to work is understood the opportunity to do work which corresponds to one's abilities, qualifications and interests. The Czechoslovak Constitution guarantees this right to all citizens and does not link it with any further political or social requirements. However, hundreds of thousands of Czechoslovak citizens have been, and are still, discriminated against in a social sense and as regards job opportunities. This proves that in Czechoslovakia the right to work is implemented conditionally: the criteria according to which it applies more to some, less to others, and to some not at all, are governed not by a legal norm but by arbitrary decisions; that is to say they change according to the immediate needs of the political authorities.

Denial of the right to work as a form of "political punishment" is not new in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak society has vivid memories of such repression after 1948, in the fifties, after the "Hungarian events", and after 1969. It is an indisputable fact that this form of discrimination not only affects the individuals concerned, but has impoverished the whole of our society.

Hundreds and thousands of acts of job discrimination have been documented relating especially to the period since 1969. And in only a negligible number of cases have these jobs later been restored. Therefore, while "only" tens and hundreds of persons are today being dismissed from their jobs in one way or another, it is very clear to the whole of society that an active civil stand carries the risk that reprisals in the form of mass sackings may again take place. It is no exaggeration to say that in Czechoslovakia the right to work is a reward rather than a right, a reward that can be withdrawn from anyone at any time as "a punishment".

This state of affairs is, of course, in contradiction to the Constitution and the existing laws. Provisions of the Labour Code, which was amended in 1969, were reformulated in 1975 in order to facilitate mass dismissals from work according to the needs of the political authorities. At an international forum — the International Labour Organization (ILO) — where Czechoslovakia was listed among countries not observing the accepted obligations, a Czechoslovak spokesman announced that the new provisions of the Labour Code now correspond to international agreements on civil and political rights, and on

economic, social and cultural rights, and that they make dismissal from work for political reasons impossible.

He also declared that "the revised wording of Article 53 of the Labour Code [regarding dismissal without notice - author] concerns cases in which the employee threatens the security of the State ... In such cases it is necessary to give proof that the employee has committeed an act of such a nature that it endangers the security of the State. By security of the State is understood the inviolability of the territory of the State, the inviolability of the defence capability of the State, the inviolability of state institutions and state secrets." (Minutes No.36 of the 60th session of the ILO in Geneva.) The Czechoslovak state spokesman voiced no objection to the following conclusion of the commission of ILO experts:

"It now appears that the new wording of Articles 46 and 53 of the Labour Code, in which the concept of 'violation of the socialist system of society' has been replaced by the concept 'threat to the security of the State' removes features from the previous wording which could have given grounds for objection.

"It is important that these changes should be publicized and really applied. It is necessary to stress that disagreement over political decisions or political opinions should be regarded not as being linked with State security, but as being related to freedom of thought. It is important to implement the spirit as well as the letter of an agreement."

However, a number of Czechoslovak citizens have been sacked either for signing the Charter 77 Declaration on observance of human rights agreements ratified by the Federal Assembly and published in the Penal Code No. 120/1976, or for refusing to condemn Charter 77. This testifies to the fact that the interpretation of the Labour Code put forward by the Czechoslovak representative at the ILO is not the interpretation which is generally applied in Czechoslovakia.

Today many employers regard signing Charter 77 as "threatening state security". The same attitude is taken by the Public Prosecutor of the CSSR, an office-holder whose basic duty is to ensure that the spirit as well as the letter of the law are observed, and that diverging interpretations of the law are not made for domestic and foreign requirements. This attitude is also adopted by the courts which deal with cases coming under the Labour Code. We have compiled a vast amount of data on persecution of citizens in the sphere of employment. The Charter 77 movement wishes to contribute to the solution of problems connected with the implementation of civil and human rights and, in this connection, to make known cases of violation of the Czechoslovak legal system and of guaranteed civil rights. If the violations included in this report mainly involve Charter 77 signatories, this does not at all mean that the Charter movement is concerned exclusively with the fate of those who have signed. The fact is that the present wave of persecution affects primarily these signatories. Charter 77 is resolved to go on publicizing all violations of civil rights brought to the notice of its signatories, and to submit them to the competent Czechoslovak authorities.

The documentation is not complete and does not even include all sackings that have occurred during the past weeks: dismissals continue and attempts to challenge their validity in the courts have not yet been concluded. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain documentation from places outside Prague. As of 30 April the report contains 81 cases — either copies of testimonies, official documents and detailed notes, or other information relating to specific cases.

Citizens taking an actively critical stand toward the present regime are persecuted in the field of employment in the following ways:

- 1. Summary dismissal;
- 2. Dismissal with 1 3 months' notice;
- 3. Notice given by the employee under various kinds of pressure, more than once by blackmail;
- 4. After a month's trial, a permanent work contract is not drawn up: this is the case of persons who have just changed their jobs or who have tried to find new jobs after being given unlawful notice from their previous jobs;
- 5. A situation is created wherein a citizen cannot find new employment after the termination of a previous contract;
- 6. Demotion to a lower grade or more poorly paid jobs not corresponding to the person's abilities, qualifications or interests a situation which he is forced to accept under threat of dismissal;
- 7. Other ways which cannot be summarized under one heading.

As an illustration, we quote a number of cases demonstrating the unlawful procedure adopted by employers:

1. Nineteen cases, in which citizens have been summarily dismissed from their employment, mainly in connection with Charter 77.

Thus, Oldrich Hromadka, an engineer employed as a qualified worker at the Prague firm of building reconstruction and renovation was dismissed without notice on the grounds that he had: "a) ... committeed a serious offence against the interests of the working class and our socialist society and a serious breach of work discipline; and b) played a direct role in threatening the security of the CSSR, in particular the integrity of its state system and its international relations." The court statement replying to Dr. Zdenek Mlynar's charge (entomologist at the National Museum) says: "By signing the so-called Charter 77, the defendant, together with the other signatories, is responsible for the fact that its publication in the Western mass media has become the impetus for a slanderous campaign against the very foundations of our socialist system. Our socialist state system constitutes, in the framework of the socialist community of states the main guarantee of our security. Voluntary signing of Charter 77 must therefore be regarded as threatening the security of the State'

The notice served on Ladislav Dvorak, Director of the CSSR State Library in Prague, lacks only the sentence: " ... at the same time you committed an act amounting to a penal offence against the foundations of the Republic ..." These and many other acts of dismissal define as a threat to state security that which the ILO spokesman refused to accept as such.

Motivation of summary dismissal by reference to Article 53. Section 1b is also a violation of the law. In fact, this provision refers to gross breach of work discipline such that the continued presence of the employee at the workplace during the period of notice would prevent the maintenance of discipline among the employees. It is against the law to define as "gross breach of work discipline" the act of signing a document on human rights performed by the employee outside his employer's premises and his own working hours, in effect in the sphere of his private life. The Rector of Charles University, in written notices to Blanka Dobesova and Ass. Prof. Radim Palous, states that the reason for giving them notice " ... is the fact that you signed the anti-socialist Declaration of the so-called Charter 77. In so doing you are guilty of a gross breach of work discipline such that it is impossible to allow you to remain at the University until the termination of the normal period of notice, as this would obstruct University discipline."

The following were also dismissed without notice: Anna Farova, historian, Ass. Prof. Frantisek Jiranek who died recently, Petr Kabes, engineer, Prof. Miroslav Kusy, Ivan Medek, Dr. Petr Pithart, Kvetoslava Princova, Drahuse Probostova, Helena Seidlova, Bretislav Verner, and Karel Kyncl who was first sent to a different workplace through a change in his work contract with which he did not agree, and denied access to his original



Gustav Husak (left) with Dubcek, Kriegel and other leaders during the Prague Spring. Husak became the principal Czechoslovak agent of the post-1968 reaction, and is now Party Secretary and President.

workplace. As he refused to report to this newly designated workplace, his work contract was immediately cancelled for gross breach of discipline. In this case of unlawful dismissal of a citizen who had signed Charter 77. the decisive reason for the dismissal was not even mentioned.

The same provision of the Labour Code was invoked in the summary dismissals of secondary-school teachers Jan Urban and Karel Pechacek, and driver Michal Kabas, because they refused to vote for a resolution condemning Charter 77 at their workplaces!

2. The documentation contains 23 cases of dismissal according to Article 46. In conformity with this Article, notice of dismissal can be given "if the employee does not fulfill the conditions stipulated by the legal provisions for the execution of the pertinent work", of "if he does not fulfil the requirements essential for the proper execution of the job".

The Polygraphic Research Institute informed Prof. Vladimir Kasik that "... with regard to the fact that you are a ... signatory of the document, Charter 77, which has been used against the interests of the CSSR and against the socialist system of our State, we regard your continued activity in our research institute as unjustifiable."

The director of Military Constructions, National Enterprise, also found Dr. Karel Kostroun's further employment as an unskilled labourer on the building construction of the Prague metro to be unjustifiable. The respective managements used the same wording when dispensing with the services of the following: Tomas Brunclik, philosopher, employed as a night watchman by the National Gallery, Pavel Blattny and Dr. Jiri Cutka, employed as a gang leader by the Railway Constructions, National Enterprise.

Similar notices of dismissal were served on Antonin Belohoubek, technician, Zuzana Dienstbierova, Zbynek Hejda, Prof. Zdenek Jicinsky, Jan Lestinsky, Jindra Kadlecova, Ass. Prof. Vladimir Klokocka, Jiri Pallas, Dr. Martin Palous, Dr. Zdenek Pinc, Jan Sabata, Dr. Tomas Vrba, Richard Urx, technician, Dr. Jirina Zelenkova and also Bonaventura Bouse, Sona Cechova, Vladimir Cech, Michal Dymacek, Vladimir Nepustil and Tomas Ruzicka. It is quite evident that in spite of the claim of the Czechoslovak spokesman at the ILO, Czechoslovak citizens are still being dismissed from their jobs for political reasons.

3. Six citizens who signed Charter 77 agreed to cancellation of their work contract. The validity of such a step is questionable because their agreement was given under pressure, i.e. under threat of dismissal according to Articles 46 and 53 of the Labour Code. Jitka Matzenauerova says that her employer (the State Library) threatened that if she did not terminate her contract herself (i.e. by agreement), she would be dismissed for "loss of confidence". The following terminated their contracts in the same way: Ludvik Kavin, Hana Svobodova and Frantisek Vanecek; Dr. Jaroslav Krejci and Jaroslava Binarova were forced to agree to leave their jobs when their employers threatened that their applications to emigrate to Austria would not otherwise be granted.

4. Five citizens who had just changed their jobs were released during their one month's trial period; the connection between this failure to offer them permanent jobs and their signing of Charter 77 was obvious. This is a classical example of abuse of a legal right, because refusal to draw up a work contract does not have to be justified. The following lost their jobs in this way: Miluse Stevichova, sales assistant in Vernerice (the shop had to be closed as there was no one to serve in it), Pavel Sremer, Ivan Dejmal, a window-cleaner for the Cleaners enterprise (he was informed in writing that "... we have received instructions to release you during the trial period") and Jaromir Litera. Drahuse Probostova was dismissed according to Article 53. The labour exchange in Prague 1 found her a new job but she was released during the trial period.

5. Further citizens lost their jobs in connection with Charter 77 under various circumstances. Milan Machovec, philosopher, latterly employed as organist in the Church of St. Antonin in Prague, is no longer allowed to play the organ. He was verbally informed that his playing in church meant that he was an ecclesiastical employee, and that, like clerics, he required the consent of the State in order to follow this occupation. Cleric Frantisek Korbela obtained a pledge of State consent on 28 February 1977, but this was immediately withdrawn. Ass. Prof. Jan Mlynarik was refused a job as porter at a student hostel; Jan Princ, who left his job as assistant at the Philosophical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences because he followed his wife to her place of residence, did not get the promised post as business manager of the Vernerice State farm, nor other jobs in the local housing department, a grocery store, the Meliorace cooperative, the State Forestry office at Decin, and so on.

Dr. J.S. Trojan lost his job as a result of "staff re-organization" at his workplace. Former political prisoners Milan Hübl and Jiri Müller are now without work. Another political prisoner, Dr. Jan Tesar, who first of all tried to find work corresponding to his qualifications and later any kind of job in order to keep himself alive, received a written communication from Povodi, Moravia: "For cadre reasons you cannot be taken on as watchman of a

construction — site in the area of Komarov, near Brno. "As Dr. Tesar has been unable to find any other job, he has applied for permission to work abroad while retaining his permanent residence in Czechoslovakia.

6. According to our information, at least nine citizens have been demoted to lower grade or more poorly paid jobs in connection with Charter 77. The procedure requires at least the passive consent of the person concerned. Most of the persons affected accepted this solution in order to keep themselves and their families. For example, Jitka Bidlasova was transferred from her post as economist in the research and development institute of the Prague confectionery enterprises to a job as a worker in confectionery production, "... as a consequence of essential needs of management, since she did not fulfil the conditions stipulated by a resolution of the CC of the CPCz on Employment in Cadre and Personnel Departments". Similar measures were taken against Karel Fridrich, technician, Dr. Jiri Grusa, Dr. Vaclav Hyndrak, whose part-time contract with the Prague Information Service was cancelled at the same time (he had been working as a translator and interpreter), Jan Lopatka, Vaclav Novak, Ales Richter, and Dr. Milan Richter.

7. Josef Cisarovsky, former Ass. Prof. of Aesthetics at Charles University is a painter and sculptor in wrought iron. After he signed Charter 77, the arts commission of the CFVU refused to conclude any further contracts with him or to accept any of work for sale in the shops of the "Dilo" monopoly enterprise. Furthermore, all existing contracts with him were cancelled — an act which can lead to loss of status as a citizen employed on a free-lance basis and thus to loss of health and pension rights. Vaclav Sabata of Brno has met with a similar fate.

Writer Hana Ponicka was expelled from the Union of Slovak Writers after her sincere and courageous stand at this year's congress of the Slovak Writers' Union. At the same time, she was prohibited from publishing books and work was stopped on a film for which she had written the script. Writer Karol Sidon cannot earn a living even as a newsagent. The PNS enterprise sacked him on the basis of an amendment to his work contract to the effect that the enterprise may terminate his employment without giving any reason. Jiri Olt, a worker from Teplice, sent a letter to the daily Pruboj in which he expressed dissatisfaction with the campaign being waged against Charter 77. The daily attacked him and printed his address. This article in Pruboj was sufficient reason for him not to get a promised job at the Teplice housing department. He had no better luck with other jobs - at Trizon, PNS, Sklo Union — although there were vacancies. Vratislav Brabanec, Ass. Prof. Lubos Kohout, Miroslav Rezba and Andrej Stankovic also lost their jobs under various pretexts.

There are also milder forms of persecution. For example, Dr. Jaroslav Opat and Karel Lansky, employed as workers by the Assembly Construction Enterprise, were deprived of bonuses for work performed. One could quote numerous such cases ...

The Czechoslovak trade unions have not escaped discrimination. The Presidium of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement was given instructions to expel all signatories of Charter 77 from the trade unions. Among those expelled were J. Opat, K. Lansky, J. Pallas, V. Klokocka, Zdenek Jicinsky, T. Vrba and many others. All dismissals are approved by the works councils of the respective workplaces. The trade unions do not defend the rights of their members persecuted for their political opinions; they do not invite them to attend meetings which deal with their cases. and they do not provide legal assistance. Thus, when J. Cutka made a request for legal assistance, he received the following reply: "By signing the anti-Party and anti-State pamphlet Charter 77, you violated the duty of members of ROH (the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) arising from Article 5 of the Statutes. Therefore, in conformity with the regulations for legal assistance we cannot provide any such aid." To the honour of some trade-union officials it must be stressed that agreement is not always unanimous. Members of works councils have been found, and certainly will continue to be found, who do not

support injustice and either vote against such instances or at least abstain.

The first experiences of cases handled by the labour courts show that these courts support the persecution of citizens. Often no attention is paid to lack of evidence, and the legal validity of the cancellation of employment contracts is recognized on the basis of the standpoint of the Public Prosecutor, which is not actually binding on the courts. Charter 77 is not read out in court, neither is it put in the files, so that the court has no way (and even if it wished) of convincing itself whether the employers' arguments are based on the truth. Examples of such a verdict are those of the District Court of Prague 1 in the cases of Zdenek Mlynar, Zdenek Jicinsky and Jiri Pallas. In contradiction to the valid legal norms, judges do not dare to investigate the truth because they are aware of the consequences to their own position if they were to recognize the indictments - if they were to ascertain that Charter 77 does not, in fact, threaten the security of the State, that to sign Charter 77 is not a gross breach of working discipline, and that the testimonies are therefore not valid ...

The majority of those who have lost their jobs during the past few weeks cannot find new employment, even if in order to keep their families they do not insist on jobs corresponding to their abilities and qualifications. The State as the only employer, as an institution governing the activities of the courts and the security organs, the social and health services and the schools, can give cadre officers instructions as to who may or may not be employed and in what jobs. Under these circumstances, it is very easy to see that hundreds and thousands of persons condemned by political or police organs even before their court cases have been concluded, are given jobs only when and where the political powers allow it in their own interests. Through this method of allocating jobs to this type of person, a system of forced and unfree labour is put into practice. There is virtually no escape from this system; for some people the final solution is to leave their country.

We propose that the Federal Assembly, as the highest legislative organ of the Republic, the only one (since the Constitutional Court envisaged by the Constitution has not so far been inaugurated) competent to issue a generally binding interpretation of the laws, should put forward an interpretation of Articles 46 and 53 of the Labour Code and inform the Czechoslovak public which interpretation is correct — that of the government spokesman at the ILO or that of the Public Prosecutor, circulated to the Czechoslovak courts. Further, we propose that the committee of the Federal Assembly dealing with constitutional and legal matters should examine this report and the documents relating to scores of citizens, which we are handing over, and that it should initiate the revocation of unlawful dismissals from work and further forms of persecution of working people. (The practices of the past years should be investigated and the wrongs suffered by tens of thousands of citizens should be restituted in full.)

We propose that the Federal Assembly — as the body which the courts and the

We propose that the Federal Assembly — as the body to which the courts and the Public Prosecutor are responsible — should examine their practices during labour disputes, especially disputes about the validity of dismissals for civic stands or open political views, and that it should ensure that the interpretation of the law put forward by the courts and Public Prosecutor are in conformity with legal norms adopted at a later date, in this case with Agreements on civil and political rights. The Federal Assembly should also ensure that all Czechoslovak citizens are acquainted with the precise interpretation of the laws.

We are prepared, at any time in the future, to hand over to the Federal Assembly all the documents which we obtain, and, if the Assembly is interested, to cooperate in clarifying and eliminating discriminatory practices. In our opinion, responsibility for the preservation of legal systems lies not only with the pertinent institutions but also with the public at large. This, in any case, is the basic motive of the Charter 77 movement.

Prague

30 May 1977

Copies of this letter are being sent to:

The Public Prosecutor of the CSSR, the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the CSSR, the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Signed by:

Karol Sidon, Dr. Jiri Cutka, Dr. Petr Pithart, Zuzana Dienstbierova, Ivan Medek, Jiri Pallas, Karel Kyncl, Ass. Prof. Vladimir Klokocka, Prof. Zdenek Jicinsky, Ass. Prof. Lubos Kohout.

Prof. Jiri Hajek, Dr. Sc., spokesman for Charter 77.

CHARTER DOCUMENT ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS

[Charter Document No.7, which was previously published inLabour Focus Vol. 1 No.2, provides a brief general over-view of the condition of the working class, making specific reference to the position of women workers. It thus indicates the background against which the political victimization described elsewhere takes place.]

Since the inception of Charter 77 we have encountered critical observations about the state of social and economic rights. In this document we aim to summarise them.

Both pacts on which the Charter is based are imbued with the democratic ideal of the free human being. We think it just to emphasize in this regard, that the ideal of the liberation of man from fear and want had and has its most radical defender in the international workers' movement, which has formulated these rights in their most developed form. The socialist movement has set, and continues to set, as its aim to create the conditions in which workers will not have to sell their labour power. One cannot, however, on account of this aim of the complete liberation of work, set aside the simple and immediate demand that the man who enters the labour market should be able to sell labour power under the most favourable conditions; that he should not only have the right to organize in the factories or in other work places struggles for wages and other demands; that he should have the right to form free trade unions with the possibility of free activity, etc.

All these demands are now enacted in law in the international pact about economic, social and cultural rights — see the Digest of the Laws of the CSSR No.120/76, which has now become a part of the Czechoslovak legal code.

We, the signatories of Charter 77, citizens of different political opinions, express agreement with the provisions of this pact. On the basis of our deliberations, we have arrived at the conclusion that the state of economic and social rights in Czechoslovakia demands an unbiased evaluation, which we want to stimulate with this document. 1. One of the most important articles in the pact speaks about the right to work at a job which is "freely chosen or accepted" (Article 6). We often meet with statements to the effect that this right has already been realized in Czechoslovakia, and that as distinct from capitalism there exists no unemployment here. It is true that the Czechoslovak workers have created the economic conditions which have abolished overt unemployment; the workers have in this respect more social security than in other developed countries. This, however, has been achieved at a price which was not necessary for the abolition of unemployment. And it has produced a decline in economic efficiency and created widespread hidden unemployment, shown in the great number of superfluous institutions and working positions which could, by applying modern technology and organization of work, have long ago been done away with.

This state of affairs is accompanied by the de-facto duty to be employed, the restriction on the right to choose, give up or change one's place of work and legal handicaps on the citizen who does not fulfil the increasingly strict demands of the state. The state is more or less the monopoly employer; the association of workers in co-operatives is ever more restricted; the co-operatives themselves are being brought increasingly under the control of the state organs. The possibility of a free choice of work is an inseparable component of the right to work; in fact, normal practice and the labour code go only a little way towards meeting this aspect of the right to work. In recent years there has even been a tendency for the labour laws and practice to get worse in this respect.

2. The international pact also affirms the right to a just reward for work sufficient for "a decent standard of living for a family" (Article 7). This right to a just reward for work is, however, almost illusory in Czechoslovakia, because the wage of one breadwinner is only rarely sufficient to guarantee a decent living standard for a whole family.

There is in Czechoslovakia a high level of employment for women, perhaps one of the highest in the world. But everyone is conscious of the fact that this is making a virtue of necessity. The majority of women do not take work from a longing for a fuller life and independence, but under economic pressure, from sheer necessity, because the wage of the man cannot ensure a decent standard of living for the family. Thus from this point of view, the general employment of women is a further shackle on women and not an expression of their equal condition.

Women are discriminated against in the type of work they do and over wages. Figures published sporadically in the first half of the 1970s show that women earn on average a third less than men. Those areas where women make up the majority of the workforce offer as a rule below average wages. In any case, the decision as to whether a given vacancy is to go to a man or woman is usually a matter for state officials to decide. Working conditions in those sectors where women play an especially great role — light industry, commerce, agriculture — are in a state which is far from reassuring. In fact the intensity of work here often reaches the limits of human capacities.

The social situation of women is also made worse by the systematic neglect of the development, and especially the continual increase in the prices of, services of all kinds throughout the entire existence of the contemporary social system. The chronic problems with the supply of consumer goods of the most varied kinds for the market is also well known: the range of goods in insufficient supply has without doubt decreased, but the problem itself remains unchanged.

The official women's organization either takes no notice or responds in only a very lukewarm way to these problems; it does not put any serious pressure on either the legislative or executive authorities to get them to improve matters. Instead it concentrates its energy on demonstrating directly or indirectly that the equality of women has already been achieved in Czechoslovakia, that the equal rights of men and women (Article 3) are already secured. The creation of another organization which would really defend the interests of women is, however, ruled out by the legal regulation on the right of association.

3. Discrimination between men and women is not the only manifestation of wage discrimination. A tendency towards discrimination against whole groups of workers can be seen in the remuneration of the young compared to the old, of manual workers compared to non-manual, and also of certain highly qualified groups as compared to the unqualified, with regard to evaluation of sectors, etc. One massive and especially demoralizing manifestation of wage discrimination is the so-called personal working evaluation, which prefers political commitment to the detriment of professional skill and real working efficiency. One does not have to prove that this practice contravenes the law on "equal opportunity for all to achieve a correspondingly higher level at work, on the sole criterion of length of service and ability" (Article 7). The discrepancy is even more evident in that the so-called criterion of political commitment is at variance with real social needs.

This practice finds an extreme expression in the sphere of work organization through the nomenklatur system which capriciously favours certain individuals — especially members of the Communist Party — and unjustly passes over others. Via this mechanism, the economic and management system is deformed by being filled with people who are part of the apparatus of the political power. What is given first priority is not production but the need to protect and maintain the regime. The criteria for deciding the remuneration of administrative workers are not the most beneficial from the point of view of efficiency. The fate of people who have been forced to leave their jobs for political reasons and are now employed in work not on the same level as their qualifications, is only the most extreme manifestation of this general practice.

4. Both the practice of the trade union movement and the legal norms concerning association in unions are at variance with the right of union organizations to "free activity" (Article 8), for they do not admit the "right to found union organizations" nor the "right to join the union organization of one's own choice" (Article 8). In the unions, it is not the blue and white collar workers but economic and other apparatuses which take the decisions. The function which the unions played for long decades in defending the basic interests of the workers has practically disappeared. It has been forgotten for a long time now that in the first years after the 2nd World War there existed, alongside the unions and independent workers' organs, factory councils with extensive powers including management functions and with an impressive activity in the political and socio-economic fields; it is also forgotten that the post-May 1945 workers' councils found their continuation in the workers' councils of 1968.

The attitude of workers to their work at that time is revealed in a sociological investigation, carried out in 1969:

Interest in work	Until August 1968	After August 1968
much more somewhat more no change somewhat less much less can't decide	$\begin{array}{c} 46.8\% \\ 20.1\% \\ 21.0\% \\ 4.9\% \\ 3.1\% \\ 4.2\% \end{array}$	0.9% 2.6% 11.3% 14.2% 68.1% 2.8%

The unions do not ensure that broad layers of the workers take part in formulating wages policy either at the local or the overall level. They allow this policy to be decided from above; when the workers resist the lowering of wages, as for example during the rationalization of the wages system in 1973-75, the unions do not stand by their side. If the workers go on strike — at the risk of persecution, which is in conflict with the right to strike, so that it doesn't often happen — the unions betray them. Nor do the unions try to make the government work out the minimum necessary for existence, which could be adjusted each year, and which could form the basis for determining the minimum wage.

The union organizations have at their disposal all kinds of information about the state of security of work and about the living conditions of the workers; they have at their disposal data about the real lowering of wages by hidden and overt inflation, and they are often made aware of the mess in the management of accommodation. In none of these directions, however, do they bring pressure to bear for basic solutions. Instead of launching a struggle for participation in basic economic decision-making, they abandon the field and thus bear a common responsibility for bureaucratic decision-making.

The unions take part in moralizing campaigns about the full use of working time, but the real opinions and interests of the workers in this question are not expressed. It is true, and everyone knows it, that Czechoslovakia has perhaps the shortest working time in the world; much less than the established working time is actually worked, often in tacit agreement with the management. But everyone also knows that if one considers overtime and Saturday and Sunday mornings, the Czechoslovak workers have one of the longest working weeks, at least in Europe. This paradox is not accidental. It is the consequence of unrestrained attempts by the workers to achieve just payment by the ways which, in the given situation — in conditions of a generally low standard of living and organization of work appear the most obvious. For this reason, the worker husbands his labour power and does not achieve the efficiency which could be achieved. The "saved" labour power is then used in overtime, or is sold on the black market. In this sphere in fact there is a strong stimulus from the high demand for services of various kinds. The remuneration for overtime is in fact an important part of the wage for most workers.

The trade union organization does not take any productive standpoint towards this complex problem of the national economy, although a whole gamut of possibilities offer themselves, like the participation of all union members in assessing real working time, possibilities of shortening it at least to the legal time of $42\frac{1}{2}$ hours, while maintaining the present level of wages or even raising it in some sectors.

But to expect the unions, which have become appendages of the economic apparatus, to take up the right of workers for a just remuneration and for the development of a radical initiative in this direction would be wholly unrealistic. This fact, however, should not become a handy alibi for anyone who has anything to do with these matters. For each "individual, having a duty towards others and towards the society, to which he belongs, is in duty bound to strengthen and uphold the rights recognized in this pact" (preamble to the pact about economic, social and cultural rights).

The critical remarks directed at the unions could be extended to a series of other points. And it would be possible to be much more specific than we have been here. This goes for all the other questions which we have touched on. It goes also for a whole number of other problems which are part of the sphere of social life: the right to secure and congenial work, the questions of commuting to work and public transport in general; the problems of the health service; the right of choice in cultural life and the question of the regimentation of culture; the problems of the worsening of the living environment and the protection of nature, etc. These real problems can only be resolved through making them public and discussing them. Silence about them combined with exaggerated claims of successes only deepens the piling up of contradictions and makes the state of things even more disturbing. For this reason it will also be the task of Charter 77 to make critical analyses of the spheres of social, economic and cultural life and bring them forward for discussion throughout society.

In connection with many questions, we could take note of many positive developments, especially in comparison with the past. The essential thing, however, lies not in adding up the pluses and minuses in the field of social and economic rights, but in what attitude one takes to them. We consider it to be the duty of every citizen to express disagreement with the notion that the worker has full social rights and that these rights are all assured, and especially with the idea that the realization of the right to work and certain other basic social rights deprives all the remaining rights — above all the political and democratic rights — of their significance.

It is true that the worker no longer sells his labour power on a capitalist market of the old type. But this does not mean that all their rights are automatically respected. Only the working people themselves can guarantee their interests and rights. If their role in this is restricted, curtailed or even prevented, so that they are denied civil and political rights, this has an inevitably negative effect throughout the whole of socio-economic life. In agreement with the pact about social and economic rights we are convinced that "the ideal of the free human being, free from fear and want, can only be achieved if the conditions are created in which each will be able to enjoy economic, social and cultural rights, alongside their civil and political rights" (preamble to the pact).

With similar urgency we would like to remind people that the aim and meaning of socialism is not only the simply assurance of social rights and security, but also the all-sided development of man as a free being — the liberation of humanity in the deepest and most meaningful sense of those words. There is still much to be done to achieve this aim. This would apply even in a situation where we in Czechoslovakia enjoyed social and economic rights not only on a much higher level than today, but even to the extent which is guaranteed to us by the international pact on economic, social and cultural rights.

Prof. Jan Patocka Prof. Jiri Hajek Prague 8 March 1977

(Document made available by **Palach Press**. Translation by **Mark Jackson.**)

DISMISSAL: A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Prague Construction Renovation

Ing. Dr. Oldrich HROMADKO Na Babe 11 PRAHA 6

By Registered Post Our ref. KPU/9/77 Subject: immediate dismissal

By virtue of sub-paragraphs b) and c) of paragraph 1 of Article 53 of the Labour Code and by virtue of law 20/75 of the Penal Code, we find ourselves obliged to terminate your contract signed 1 September 1973.

This decision, which comes into effect immediately, has been taken for the following reason: you are one of the signatories of the pamphlet, hostile to our socialist state, called "Charter 77" During your hours of work you distributed this pamphlet to the employees of our firm, thus provoking a conflict after which they asked you to leave your place of work. Thus your attitude constitutes:

a) a grave offence against the interests of the working class and our socialist society, as well as a grave infringement of socialist labour discipline;

b) a direct menace to the security of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and above all the integrity of the structure of the State and its foreign relations.

It is for these reasons that the employees of our establishment refuse to co-operate with you and that your further presence in our establishment until the expiry of prior notice is consequently impossible. This is on the one hand in the interests of labour

ACTRESS

Chramostova, Vlasta, Celakovskeho sady 10, Prague 2. Born 1926. Until 1973 actress. Last engagement at the Za Branou Theatre. Since then has lived on an invalid pension.

AGRICIII TURAL ENGINEERS

Belohoubek, Antonin, Prague 6, Lysolaje 36. Born about 1937. Assistant Director at the School of Agriculture, where he was doing research. Sacked, 2 children.

Deimal, Ivan, Prague 6, Na Petynce 32. Born 1946. Twice served prison sentences amounting in all to 4 years. Expelled from the Agricultural School. Worked as laboratory assistant and then as lavatory cleaner. Now as a manual worker. Married 4/12/77. His wife has also been sacked on a verbal decision.

Ryba, Pavel, Vetrov 39 852 p. Nadejkov, Okres Pisek. Born around 1947. Now a manual worker. 3 young children.

ART THEORISTS

Hlavacek, Dr. Ludvik, Snemovni 8, Prague 1. Born 1940. Until 23/8/77 worked at the Institute of the Theory of Art History, part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Has been out of work for two months, 2 children.

Jirousova, Vera, Prague 2, Navratilova 11. Born 1944. Art historian, poetess, unable to publish. 1 child.

CAMERAMAN

Milota, Stanislav, Prague 2, Celakovskeho sady 10. Now unable to find work.

CIVIL SERVANTS

Hosek, Milan, Prague 3, Biskupcova 16. Now has an invalid pension. Hromadko, Oldrich, Prague 6, Na Babe 11/1777. Now a manual worker. Socha, Ladislav, Prague 3, Konevova 203, Now unemployed.

DOCTORS

Novotny, Zbynek, Prague 6, Dvoreckeho 13. Born 1937. Employed on temporary basis as dentist. 3 months in prison in '72.15 months suspended sentence for 2 years in '74.4 children. ECONOMIST

Fridrich, Karel, Brno, Vesela 29. Born 1926. Imprisoned. Later cafe waiter. Now manual worker. Low income. EDITORS

Cichova, Daniela, Prague 2, Libusina 128/16. Born 1944. Now housekeeper.

Formankova, Eva, Prague 10, Vrsovice, Kodanska 25. Born around 1937. Editor of Mlada Fronta. Sacked. Divorcee. 2 grown-up children. Fort, Zdenek, Prague 7, Holesovice 11, U pruhonu 6. Now out of work.

discipline in our firm and then again for the smooth running of our establishment.

We learnt of your behaviour on 31 January 1977. The delay of 15 days required for your immediate dismissal has therefore been observed. The termination of your contract takes effect on receipt of the present communication. Would you please contact the Personnel Department in order to complete the necessary formalities concerning your departure and the settlement of any salary outstanding.

The ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] Works' Committee has given its prior agreement to your immediate dismissal on 1 February 1977.

Ing. Otta Jahoda Director

LIST OF POLITICAL VICTIMIZATIONS

Lopatka, Jan, Prague 1, Mala Strana, Vlasska 10. Now reporter. Trefulka, Jan, Brno, Barvicova 61. Born 1929. Writer. Editor-in-Chief of Host do Domu 1969. Lost job. Worked only sporadically since. In bad health and unable to do manual work. Unable to publish. Signed Charter.

ENGINEERS

Müller, Jiri, Brno, Jana Babaka 3-5. Born 1943. Before May 1970 student at Engineering Faculty. 1971-6 in prison. Unable to find work until 18/4/77 when gets job as window-cleaner. Signed Charter.



Former student leader, Jiri Müller.

Stehlikova, Dana, Prague 10, Jahodova 2890. Husband also previously engineer, now worker. 5 children.

Urx, Richard, Prague 4, Olbrachtova 1052. Engineer, now gets occasional manual work.

FILM EDITOR

Masek, Petr, Prague 1, Melantrichova 9. Demoted. Child benefits withdrawn. 2 young children.

HISTORIANS

Bokova, Antonie, Prague 3, Biskupeova 38. Now a postal clerk.

Brabec, Jiri, Prague 3, Kubelikova 61. Born 1929. Literary historian, then museum keeper, now because he signed Charter watchman at a motel.

Cierny, Egon, Prague 10, Michelangelova 16. Born about 1945. Now a shop assistant.

Hejda, Zbynek, Prague 4, Jizni mesto, Haje 573. Unable to work at speciality since 1969. Unemployed since 1/7/77. Following serious operation is now unable to do manual work. 1 child.

Mlynarikova, Edita, Prague 1, Mala Strana, Nosticova 4. Now housekeeper, 3 young children.

Opat, Dr. Jaroslav, Prague 6, Na Hubalce 4.

Stindl, Ladislav, Prague 4, Sladkovicova 1306. Born 1928. Literary historian, Russianist, employed at the Academy of Sciences, now nightwatchman at National Gallery. 2 children.

JOURNALISTS

Bednarova, Otta, Prague 4, Novodvorska 416. Born 1927. Journalist, then housekeeper. Now living on half invalid pension.

Dienstbier, Jiri, Prague 4, Sporilov, Hlavni 2731. Now housekeeper. 1 child.

Frodl, Jiri, Prague 5, Janackovo Nabrezi 33. Now washes cars. Seriously ill. 4 children.

Kynci, Karel, Prague 4, ul. Lounskych 12. Now lives on part of invalid pension.

Marvanova, Anna, Prague 2, Vinohradska 69. Pensioned off. Invalid.

Nepras, Dr. Vladimir, Prague 4, Bitovska 1227. Born 1929. Imprisoned. Now building worker. 1 child.

Probostova, Drahoslava, Prague 2, Makarenkova 47. Born 1934. Former journalist. Signed Charter. Lost job 3 times, now badly paid job at post office.

Ruml, Jiri, Prague 10, Kremelska 104. Now worker.

Vaneckova, Dagmar, Prague 6, Petriny 193. Now gets invalid pension. III, as is her husband. 2 dependent children.

Vit, Jan, Prague 5, Plzenska 187. Born 1948. Until beginning of 1977 journalist and script-writer. Member of Union of Dramatic Artists. After signing Charter did not work for 4 months. Now a doorkeeper.

Volarik, Josef, Prague 4, Jizni Mesto, Opatov 1345. Now a worker.

Vondra, Premysl, Prague 10, K louzi 10. Now manual worker.

Vrabec, Vaclav, Prague 3, K lucinam 20. Washes cars. Seriously ill. 4 children.

LIBRARIANS

Dobesova, Blanka, Prague 4, U haje 34. Gets occasional work. Kadlecova, Jindra, Prague 4, Za sidlistem 2145/11. Born 1953. Now a clerk.

Matzenauerova, Jitka, Prague 2, Katerinska 20. Sacked. Now out of work.

MATHEMATICIANS

Benda, Dr. Vaclav, Prague 2, Karlovo namesti c.18. Born 1946. Now a driver. 5 young children.

Dymacek, Michael, Brno, Soukupova 5. Born 1944. Now out of work.

Tesar, Jan, Brno, Kallabova 29. 6 years in prison. III and cannot find work. 3 young children.

PAINTERS

Blattny, Pavel, Prague 1, Navratilova 14. Painter at the Academy, restorer at the National Gallery. Sacked. Can now find no work at all. 3 children. children.

Havlicek, Karel, Prague 2, Plavecka 402/10. Born 1944. Painter and designer. Graduate of the Art Academy in drawing. Unable to find work. 1 child.

Slavik, Otakar, Prague 5, u Santosky 5. Born 1950. Painter at the Academy. Now unable to find work.

Tresnak, Vlastimil, Prague 2, Zitna ul. Born 1925. Cannot exhibit.

Vankova, Helena, Karlovy Vary, Vridelni 33. Porcelain painter. Without work. 2 young children.



Charter spokesperson, Ladislav Hejdanek

PHILOSOPHERS

Hejdanek, Dr. Ladislav, Prague 2, Slovenska 11. Now a driver. 4 children.

Korcis, Vavrinec, Litvinov VI, ul. Brigad CSM 1679. Philosopher, psychologist and sociologist. Then a miner. Had a heart attack. Refused an invalid's pension. Now unemployed.

Kusy, Prof. Miroslav, Bratislava. Now gets occasional manual work.

Stankovic, Andrej, Prague 1, Melantrichova 6. Gets occasional manual work.

Tomin, Julius, Prague 7, Keramicka 3. Born 1938. Without work. 2 young children.

PLASTIC ARTS

Cisarovsky, Josef, Olesno c.12, Okres Melnik. Unable to find work. III. Havel, Olaf, Prague 1, Mala Strana, Lazenska 6. Now a chauffeur. Safranek, Jan, Prague 2, Katerinska 12. Cannot work in his field.

POETS

Kabes, Petr, Prague 10, Uzocka 3. Now unemployed.

Vodnansky, Dr. Jan, Prague 10, Tulipanova 2804. Born 1941. Poet and actor. Cannot now work. 1 child.

POLITICIANS

Jaros, Karel, Prague 10, Kounicka 65. Now pensioned.

Jicinsky, Dr. Zdenek, Prague 1, Parizska 12. Lawyer and politician. Now unemployed.

Kovinna, Anna, Brno, Kallabova 29. Imprisoned. Now a warehouse worker.

Lis, Dr. Ladislav, Sosnova 84, posta 47101 Zahradky, Okres Ceska Lipa. Born 1926. Now woodcutter. Has lost invalid's pension. 2 young children.

Prikryl, Zdenek, Brno, Uvoz 25. Born 1932. Head of Information Department of CP in South Moravia. 1969 analyst. Imprisoned 1972-4. Then assembly worker. Signed Charter.

PROCURATOR-GENERAL

Richter, Dr. Milan, Prague 6, U ctvrte baterie 19586/5. Born 1924. Deputy procurator general. Now auditor. 3 children.

PSYCHOLOGISTS

Auerova, Michaela, Horni Berkovice 262, Okres Litomerice. Born 1947. Sacked. Now unemployed. 2 children.

Dienstbierova, Zuzana, Prague 2, Podskalska 8, Born 1947. Now a chaffeuse. Single mother. 1 child.

Hybler, Dr. Martin, Prague 1, Myslikova 18. Born 18. Born 1950. Until 1/4/77 psychologist. Now a cleaner. 1 child.

Hyblerova, Ivana, nee Simkova, Prague 2, Myslikova 18. Born 1929. Imprisoned for 6 months. Now on unpaid maternity leave. 1 child.

Jozefik, Josef, Olomouc, namesti Elisky Krasnohorske 8. Born 1949. Only gets temporary work. 1 child.

Nemec, Dr. Jiri, Prague 2, Jecna 7. Born 1932. Until 1/9/77 psychologist at the Faculty 11 Hospital. Has not worked since. 6 children.

Nemcova, Dana, Prague 2, Jecna 7. Now out of work. 7 children, of whom 5 are dependent.

Nepustil, Vladimir, Brno, Jana Svobody 15. Born 1947. Psychologist at a consultation centre. Now sporadically employed as a manual worker.

Rezek, Dr. Petr, Prague 5, na Vaclavce 36. Born 1948. Until 1/6/77 psychologist. Out of work for a month. Now looks after horses. 2 children.

Saba., Jaroslav, Brno, Krizkovskeho 43. Born 1927. Doctor and psychologist. Taught in high school. 6 years in prison. Now warehouse keeper. Cannot continue in job for health reasons. No other possibility of work.

RELIGIOUS MINISTERS

Bisek, Tomas, Teleci u Policky c.129, Okres Svitavy 56 994. Born about 1938. Curate in the Czech Evangelical Church. Low income. 4 children. Brodsky, Petr, Curate of the Czech Evangelical Church. No longer has, government permission to preach. For last year has been without steady work. 3 children. Keller, Jan, Jimramov c. 148, Okres Zdar nad Sazavou 59242. Bcrn about 1942. Curate of the Czech Evangelical Church. Now on minimum salary. 4 children.

Pivonka, Bohdan, Svratouch c.123, Okres Chrudim 53 942. Born about 1940. Pastor in Czech Evangelical Church. Now has part of invalid's pension. 5 dependent children.

Simsa, Jan, Brno, Volfova 12. Since 1973 a warehouse-keeper. III. 3 children.

Syrovatka, Vojen, Rumburk, Krasnolipska 30, Okres Decin 40801. Born about 1940. Curate in Czech Evangelical Church. Low pay. 4 children. SCIENTISTS

Effenberger, Dr. Vratislav, Prague 5, Vladislava Vancury 11. Born 1921. Until 1970 worked as scientist at Academy of Sciences. Then unemployed for 2 years, then watchman. Poor health.

Kautmann, Dr. Frantisek, Prague 10, Zahradni Mesto, Jablonova 55. Cannot work. Invalid pension.

Palous, Dr. Martin, Prague 1, Mala Strana, Vsehdrova 14. Born 1950. Now driver. 1 child.

Ruzicka, Dr. Tomas, Prague 10, Vinohrady, Hradesinska 47. Born around 1940. Physicist at Academy of Sciences. Now driver. 3 children.

Samalik, Dr. Frantisek, Prague 3, Biskupcova 95. Now unemployed. Has lost invalid's pension.

Verner, Bretislav, Prague 4, Krc, na Krcske strani 18. Born 1950. Chemist at Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Now doorkeeper. 3 children.

Zeman, Petr, Brno, Kridlovicka 24. Born 1947. Technician at Institute for the Research of Vertebrates, then sewage worker, then zoologist.

SINGERS

Hutka, Jaroslav, Prague 2, Neklanova 30. Born 1947. Could work until July 1977. Now forbidden to present his own work. 1 child.

Kubisova, Marta, Prague 4, Soudni 1514/12. Born 1942. Since 1970 unable to work as an artist. Now without a job.

SOCIAL WORKERS

Belikova, Jarmila, Prague 9, Novovysocanska 12. Born 1948. Today without permanent employment.

Eisenbergerova, Vera, c/o Hana Palcova, Narodni Obrany 10, Prague 6, Born 1948. Sacked. Now has no steady job.

Pinc, Zdenek, Prague 3, Cimburkova 8. Born 1945. Until 31/3/77 a social worker. Since then has lived on part of an invalid's pension. Paralysed, must pay for a nurse.



Prominent Charter activist, Dr. Rudolf Battek.

SOCIOLOGISTS

Battek, Dr. Rudolf, Prague 8, Krizikova 78. Today a worker.

Lukes, Klement, Prague 1, Celetna 10. Blind. Now caretaker.

Richter, Ales, Brno, Slovinska 10. Born 1948. Six months in prison. Now does lower-ranking jobs at very low pay. 2 young children.

Richterova, Zuzana, Brno, Slovinska 10. Born 1948. Sociology lecturer. 6 months in prison. Then charwoman. Signed Charter.

Silhanova, Dr. Libuse, Prague 3, Jeseniova 105. Gets half of an invalid pension.

STUDENTS

11

Fladr, Milos, Brno, Gorkeho 28. Born 1948. Research student at Institute of Scientific Atheism. Signed charter. Now driver on public transport in Brno. Janyr, Premysl, Prague 1, Dlouha 29. Now a worker.

Silar, Frantisek, Prague 1, Stare mesto, Klimentska ul. Previously theology student, not allowed to preach. Works as driver and manual worker on a casual basis. 3 children.

TEACHERS, LECTURERS, AND PROFESSORS

Hübl, Dr. Milan, Prague 5, na Brezince 14. Professor. Imprisoned for five years. Unemployed. 2 children.

Kohout, Lubos, Prague 2, Varsavska 24.

Princova, Kvetoslava, Lipnik nad Becvou, Alsova 1102. Chemical engineer. Teacher. Now out of work. Her husband only works irregularly. 2 children.

Sabata, Vaclav, Brno - Pisarky, Krizkovskeho 43. Born 1948. Psychiatry teacher. After 1970 various manual jobs. 6 months in prison. Signed Charter.

Svobodova, Hana, Prague 4, Ul. 5 kvetna 61. Born 1944. University lecturer, then on maternity leave. Signed Charter. Expelled from trade union 14/11/77 for signing it.

Uhl, Petr, Prague 2, Anglicka 8. Born 1941. Has been in prison, as has his wife. Was a teacher (in industry). Now a technician. Sacked as from 31/1/78.

Urban, Jan, Okrsek IV, 659, 38301 Prachatice. Now agricultural worker.

TRANSLATORS

Touskova, Jana, Prague 1, Pohorolec 24. Born 1943. Interpreter, now secretary at Ecuadorian Embassy. Does not get sick pay, pension rights, or maternity or family benefits. Expelled from the International Organization of Journalists in 1977. Signed Charter.

Urbanek, Dr. Zdenek, Prague 6, Stresovicka 64. Born 1917. Cannot find work.

TV ANNOUNCER

Mouckova, Kamila, Prague 1, U nemocenske pojistovny c.2. Now a caretaker.

WAITRESS

Ledererova, Elzbieta, Prague 9, Bilinska 496. Now unemployed. Husband imprisoned. 1 child.

WORKERS

Hradilek, Tomas, 75 131 Lipnik nad Becvou, Zahradni ul.892. Sacked. Now has no source of income.

Parkan, Viktor, Repcice u Trebusina okres Litomerice. Worker, now unemployed.

WRITERS

Cutka, Dr. Jiri, Prague 6, Leninova 114. Born 1930. Literary critic, then bricklayer, today without steady work. 2 children.

Dvorak, Dr. Ladislav, Prague 6, Srbska 1. Born 1920. Poet, editor, librarian in Slavic library. Sacked for signing Charter. Now locksmith. 2 children.

Horakova, Dana, Prague 1, Parizska 7. Born 1947. Cannot publish.

Johnova, Jarmila, Prague 4, Donska 19. Single mother. Cannot publish or produce.

Pecka, Karel, Prague 10, Jahodova 2889, Born 1928. 10 years in prison in '50s. Writer. Now relief worker.

Sidon, Karel, Prague 6, Kyjevska 5. Born 1942. Has taken second category work since 1969. Last worked as a shop assistant at PNS (until May 1977). Sacked for signing Charter. Since unemployed.

OTHERS

Cech, Vladimir, Rokycanova 54, 61500 Brno. Programme analyst at Institute of calculator technology in Brno. Signed Charter. Given notice 20/4/77.

Cejka, Karel, Brno, Ukrajinska 19. Director of enterprise in Brno, then 1970 taxi driver. Imprisoned '72-3. Signed Charter. Driving licence removed (worked as a driver after leaving prison.)

Kubicek, Jiri, Repcice u Trebusina okres Litomerice. Ran a restaurant, now gets occasional manual work.

Korbelik, Miloslav, Prague 3, Stitneho 25. Worked until 19/11/77 in a power station.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALISTS

CHAIRMAN: Lawrence Daly

Tariq Ali Sarah Benton Lord Brockway Norman Buchan M.P. Pete Carter Ken Coates Vladimir Derer Peggy Duff Geoffrey Edge M.P. Martin Eve Martin Flannery M.P. John Fowles Margaret Gardiner Trevor Griffiths Peter Hain Stuart Hall Royden Harrison Simon Hebditch

SPONSORS:

Eric Heffer M.P. Stuart Holland Lena Jeger M.P. Mervyn Jones Russell Kerr M.P. Neil Kinnock M.P. Alex Lyon M.P. Oliver MacDonald Oonagh MacDonald M.P.

SECRETARY: Marian Sling

Joan Maynard M.P. Ralph Miliband Stan Newens M.P. Denis Ogden Owen O'Brien Anne and Don Sassoon Hugh Scanlon Brian Sedgemore M.P. Peter Sedgwick Dennis Skinner M.P. Ken Sprague Hillel Ticktin John Westergaard Philip Whitehead M.P. Raymond Williams Reg Williams David Winnick Audrey Wise M.P.



A Committee demonstration outside the Czechoslovak Embassy during the summer 1972 wave of trials.

Medek, Ivan, Janackovo Nabrezi 5, Prague 5. Music critic. Now unemployed.

Pithart, Dr. Petr, Prague 1, Mala Strana, Drazickeho namesti 10. Jurist. Now a doorkeeper. 1 child.

Pokorny, Zdenek, Brno, A Slavika 17. Born 1927. Research worker. Imprisoned 1972 to 1976. Then worker. Signed Charter.

Sabata, Jan, Krizkovskeho 43, Brno. Born 1952. After 1971 could only find job as stoker. Signed Charter. Expelled from trade union and lost job in June 1977 after 1 month's notice.

Sabatova, Anna, Prague 2, Anglicka 8. Born 1951. On unpaid maternity leave. 2 children of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and 9 months.

Suk, Jaroslav, Prague 10, Strasnice, Celna 63. Two years in prison. Sacked by Film Faculty studios. Now a worker. 2 young children.

Sukova, Petra, Repcice u Trebusina okres Litomerice. Ran a restaurant. Now unemployed, gets occasional manual work, sweeping leaves in park.

Tesarova, Jana, Prague 4, Kotorska 38/1580. Born 1937. Was expert assistant at the Academy of Sciences, now charwoman, 3 children.

Trinkewitz, Karel, Prague 7, U pruhonu 20. Born 1935. Designer. Now unable to exhibit.

Vasicek, Dr. Zdenek, Brno, Lucni 25. Born 1933. 1970 director of the Podkrkonosi Museum at Trutnov. 1972 imprisoned. 1974 to present - worker. Signed Charter.

Vohryzek, Dr. Josef, Prague 10, Pocernicka 469140. Born 1926. Until 30/9/77 doorkeeper at Stavescavis. 1 child.

Vyroubal, Alois, Tr. kap. Jarose 4a Brno. Born 1924. Leading project worker at the Chemoprojekt Institute until imprisonment in 1972. Released end 1973. Since 1976 worker at chemical and poison factory. Given notice 1/10/77 allegedly for health reasons. Signed Charter.

Bidlasova, Jitka, Prague 5, Zborovska 44. Blazenkova, Jana, Lazne Kynzvart, Nadrazni 127. Brunclik, Tomas, Prague 1, Nerudova 9.

Farova, Anna, Prague 2, Anny Letenske 17. Havelka, Karel, Komenskeho 97, Prestice u Plzne. Hyndrak, Vaclav, Prague 6, Vorechova 9. Juracek, Pavel, Hvozdy, Hvozdnice u Davle, Praha-zapad. Korbela, Frantisek, 61400 Brno-Husovice, Nam. Republiky 21. Born 1938. Komarkova, Dr. Bozena, Brno, Pekarska 32. Born 1903. Miluska, Ivan, Brno, Lucni 15. Ondrich, Frantisek, Prague 8, Sokolovska 144. Palous, Radim, Prague 1, Vsehrdova 14/449. Povolny, Vaclav, Tynec nad Sazavou, Ruzova ul. c 5. Stibico, Jaromir, Pardubice, Rokycanova 2583. Stibicova, Jarmila, Pardubice, Rokycanova 2583. Vanacek, Frantisek, Prague 6, Marikova 2. Zelenkova, Dr. Jirina, Prague 4 - Libus, Vyletni 346.

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