1. **New Party Data**

   Numerical information about Czechoslovak Communist Party membership, age, and social composition is difficult to come by. (1) When the secretaries of communist party Central Committees of the Soviet bloc met in East Berlin from 3 to 5 June 1980, the Czechoslovak delegate, Mikulas Beno, gave them some information which otherwise would not have seen the light of day. A condensed version of his address has now appeared in *Zivot Strany*. (2) According to Beno, the party had 1,532,000 members and candidate members, as of 1 January 1980. (3) of whom 45 per cent were workers by present occupation and over 67 per cent workers by original occupation.

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(3) This figure is not new; it was given by Gustav Husak at the 15th plenum of the CPFS CC in March 1980. See also Czechoslovak Situation Report 10, *Radio Free Europe Research*, 14 April 1980, Item 2.
The number of workers in the party's ranks has grown considerably as the result of a determined recruitment campaign from 1971 onwards. If the figure of 45 per cent is to be believed, it would amount to an almost all-time high. In 1958 34.9 per cent of the party were workers; in 1971 (after the post-Prague Spring purge) the percentage plummeted to 26.1 per cent, and then rose to an estimated 34.8 per cent in 1976. (4)

Beno further said that the average age of a party member was 44 years at present, with one third, or 520,000 members under 35. This again represents an improvement, although not so spectacular as in the case of worker members. In December 1977 Husak said that "over 25 per cent" of the total party membership was "young," i.e., under 35. (5) In absolute figures this would have meant around 380,000. It should be noted that at the time of the 14th congress, in 1971, the average age stood at 49 years. Quite obviously, the effort that went into rejuvenation during the recruitment years in the 1970s has paid off.

Another of Beno's revelations concerns the 1979 exchange of party cards, which served the purpose of a mini-purge in addition to the more fundamental task of stirring members to greater activism. New party cards were issued to 99.2 per cent of the members, Beno said, implying that only some 12,000 to 13,000 impasse or otherwise erring members had been weeded out. This confirms what had been deduced earlier from oblique references in the Czechoslovak media.

The party, according to Beno, sets great store by its hard core of over 300,000 specially dedicated members, who constitute a reservoir of "cadres" for leading posts in politics, the economy, and the various apparatus.

This, then, is the proverbial hard or sound core of the party, also referred to in the early 1970s as "the healthy nucleus," who had saved the party from collapse under the impact of the Soviet invasion and the subsequent "normalization." Some of the old guard have died in the intervening years, and the salutary fountainhead of party orthodoxy has had to be replenished with suitably trained newcomers, but the size of the hard core has grown only slightly. It may be remembered that the screening commissions in the savage purge of 1970 alone comprised over 235,000 diehards.

As for the party apparatus, Beno noted that experience did not call for its continual enlargement, but for improvement of its quality on the basis of special five-year plans. At present, 89 per cent of party officials came from working class families, nearly 60 per cent were themselves originally workers, and 40 per cent

(4) See sources given in footnote 1.
(5) Rude Pravo, 3 December 1977.
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cent had a higher education. The latter figure, he hastened to add, still did not satisfy the leadership; and further educational opportunities were being created. Since 1970 the Party Political School produced 1,670 graduates and gave short-term courses to 23,700 functionaries. Another 1,669 Czechoslovaks attended courses in Soviet party schools.

Since its 15th congress in 1976, the party has augmented the nomenklatura lists under its jurisdiction. At present some 80,000 posts at the central, regional, and district levels can only be filled with the party's prior approval, and in reality with the party's own candidates.

On the subject of the recently announced screening of managerial and other leading personnel, (6) Beno said that regular checkups of this nature were started in 1972 when 350,000 people were examined. In 1974 the number grew to 404,000 and in 1976 to 527,000. The two-year cycle, Beno said, was then found to be much too demanding on time and energy, and it also led to routine assessment and general formalism. The party presidium therefore decided in 1977 to hold the "comprehensive assessment" campaigns only once every five years. The new format will be introduced in 1980-1981, and will consist of a preliminary assessment of every individual "cadre" by his or her superior, an "open comradely interview" with party secretaries at the pertinent level, and a conclusion which will also draw on the opinions of the screened person's colleagues. Personnel changes will be proposed where "leading workers" (i.e., managers) fail to attain the requisite results through their own faults, where they repeatedly make mistakes, and where they are shown not to possess "political maturity" and "professional aptitude." Strict measures will also be applied to those who "infringe on the norms of socialist morality, misuse the power of their office to obtain private benefit, pass their responsibility on to others, have a predilection for suppressing criticism, behave haughtily, use empty phrases, or tend to be over-ostentatious."

2. The Current Situation of Czech Catholicism

Of late the complicated religious situation in the Czech Lands as well as in Slovakia has been attracting the increased attention of the West European press. Most of the papers agree that at present Czechoslovakia is experiencing the sharpest anti-Church policies and the most widespread network of atheistic propaganda in the entire East bloc. All Church activities are under the supervision of the party and government apparat, from the State Secretariat for Church Affairs and the Office of the Presidium of the Federal Government down to the district Church secretaries.

The well-informed West German liberal daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, (7) reported about an agreement said to have


(7) 26 June 1980.
been concluded on 6 April 1980 between Czech Ordinaries and the Prague Office for Church Affairs. Some priests will be hit hard by this agreement: the clergymen concerned had already lost state authorization to officiate as priests, but had been allowed to assist in religious rites as cocelebrants; now they will not even be permitted to serve as deacons. Moreover, the new agreement also restricts the rights of priests who do possess state authorization. If they want another authorized priest to act as cocelebrant, they must first obtain permission from a state secretary for Church affairs. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung commented that this regulation is contrary to the provisions of the laws on religious affairs now in force. Informed sources in Rome have described the agreement as an ultimatum, but said that in contrast to the Czech Lands this regulation had already been applied in Slovakia for several years.

A review of the Catholic Church's situation in Bohemia and Moravia shows that, of the six bishoprics there, only one is properly occupied: Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek is the archbishop of Prague. Bishop Josef Vrana is only an Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Olomouc and the other sees are administered by proregime general or capitular vicars. With the exception of Cardinal Tomasek all these Ordinaries are officials or members of the procommunist Pacem in Terris organization. The vacant bishoprics and the repression of bishops who were stripped of official authorization to exercise their pastoral duties clearly illustrate the current situation of the Catholic Church. The disfranchised bishops belong to the theological and philosophical elite of the Catholic Church. They are the Czech bishops Dr. Karel Otcanasek, Dr. Kajetan Matousek, and the Slovak Jesuit Jan Korec. (8) Other prominent representatives of the Catholic intelligentsia are either in prison or have spent many years in penitentiaries; they include the Charter 77 signatories, Dr. Vaclav Benda and Professor Josef Zverina, perhaps the most outstanding figure of present-day Czech Catholicism. Zverina spent several years in Nazi concentration camps and was kept in communist prisons for 13 years. In 1968 he was fully rehabilitated and reinstated at the Litomerice Theological Faculty. However, in 1970 he was fired without any reason being given, and in 1971 his state authorization to exercise his office as a priest was withdrawn as well. Professor Zverina was among the first to sign Charter 77, as was a female representative of present-day Catholicism, Professor Ruzena Vackova. The Old Catholic bishop Dr. Augustyn Podolak suffered the same fate as Zverina; he was dismissed from the faculty in 1972 and subsequently stripped of all functions and offices as a priest. The Old Catholic See of Varnsdorf is also vacant. (9)

(8) Bishop of Litomerice Ladislav Hlad died on 16 December 1979. He was a political prisoner for many years and with the exception of a brief period during the Prague Spring he was not allowed to exercise his episcopal office. In an obituary from Czechoslovakia, published in the Rome periodical Novy Zivot (No. 4, April 1980) the question, "Who will take his place?," is posed, for even the silenced bishops bring succor to the believers by their mere presence.

(9) The Uniat See of Presov has also been vacant for many years. The last bishop, the well-known Byzantinologist Pavel Gojdic, died in Leopoldov Prison in 1960.
The Western press continually refers to an interview with the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Tomasek, which was published in the left-wing Catholic periodical *Il Regno/Attualità*. Although expected, a formal denial followed (11), it has been completely disregarded, and Tomasek's interview continues to be discussed and analyzed, not only in the Catholic press. Three issues in particular are noted which have hitherto been the stumbling blocks in negotiations between the Vatican and the communist authorities in Prague:

a) the vacant bishoprics in the Czech Lands and in Slovakia;

b) the tightly restricted admissions at all the theological institutions (more than 100 applicants annually seek admission to the Litomerice and Bratislava Theological Faculties as first-year students, but for a long time the authorities have only permitted the enrollment of one fifth of this number): (12)

c) the withdrawal of the state's authorization for priests to exercise their pastoral duties, as a result of which many priests must perform duties in up to nine parishes. These priests are sometimes subjected to police harassment. In Bohemia only one quarter of all parishes have priests of their own. (13)

In his interview with the Bologna journal *Il Regno*, Cardinal Tomasek also mentioned the continued ban on all monastic orders. (14) He made no secret of his negative attitude toward the procommunist organization of priests, Pacem in Terris, pointing out that it was fully dependent on the state and could not be regarded as speaking for the Church.

The Vatican is fully aware of the difficulties of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. Pope John Paul II has drawn attention to his concern about the current situation of the Catholic Church there on several occasions. The most recent time, on 18 May 1980, he called on the faithful gathered at St. Peter's Square in Rome to pray with him for Czechoslovak believers and that they might remain unwavering in their faith and be able to enjoy full religious liberty, including unobstructed admission to the study of theology. (15)
Undoubtedly the imprisonment of priests is one of the most sensitive aspects of religious repression in Czechoslovakia and one that is almost insolvable. At present some 100 priests (Catholic as well as others) are in jail. (16) The communist authorities have kept this number steady for a number of years. Most recently, the trial of the Jesuit Oskar Formanek, who is 65 and ailing, attracted great attention. He was charged with infringing on the regulation regarding state oversight of the Church; he allegedly celebrated Mass without the consent of secretaries for Church Affairs and distributed religious literature. (17)

The communist authorities use a variety of expedients to reduce systematically the number of priests. The forced premature retirement of priests or withdrawal of state authorization to carry out pastoral duties are among the most frequent methods used to achieve this end. The new "agreement," as it is called, of April of this year is yet another step in this direction.

The official abolition of parishes is another form of repression of the Churches. This is done when the bishop or vicar general is unable to appoint a cleric to take care of it within three months. In former years a vacant parish used to be joined on to another in most instances. Owing to the burden the parish priests have now to bear, this way out is no longer feasible. Moreover, priests are often transferred by the authorities from one place to another so that they cannot become fully active anywhere. The bishops and vicars general can only endorse these enforced changes as a formality.

Cardinal Tomasek also pointed out the question of religious instruction of the young, which is one of the most urgent problems. It does not affect Catholics alone, but applies equally to all the other Churches, including the Jewish religious communities. The permission of both parents is required if a child is to attend lessons of religious instruction. The implications of this are twofold: frequently the parents lose their jobs under various pretexts and the children are barred from receiving a higher education. (18)

If priests have written contact with the West (including with relatives there), they are summoned for interrogation to the State Security Police offices. Every Catholic priest must report all visitors from abroad and compose a detailed protocol about the purpose of the visit, the duration of talks with the visitor, and the language in which these conversations were conducted. (19)

The situation of the religious press is now worse than it was in the 1950s. While the number of antireligious literary publications steadily increases, the output of the publishing house of the Czech Catholic Charity is now confined to St. Cyril-St. Metodius calendars. New religious literature exists only in samizdat form and is subsequently published in the West, primarily by Accademia Cristiana Cecoslovacca.

Along with the increased antireligious activity, an extensive campaign of atheistic propaganda is currently conducted at schools, universities, and in the press. The party weeklies Tyorba and Tribuna are at the forefront of this effort. However, the quality of this atheistic propaganda is inferior and its subjects are derived mostly from Soviet sources. On the other hand, the religious periodicals, which are subject to strict censorship, must not refute atheistic propaganda or polemicize with it.

The current situation of Czech Catholicism is highly complicated. The State Security Police keep a close watch on the activity of the Church, of priests, divinity students, and laymen alike. The believers lose confidence in the so-called patriotic clergy and in many cases turn for advice or spiritual help to priests who have been deprived of state authorization to exercise their calling.

3. Difficulties in Livestock Production

Announcing the results of state procurement in the first half of this year, Czech Minister of Agriculture and Nutrition Miroslav Petrik stated that the plan for market poultry and eggs had been exceeded, but that there had been shortfalls in purchases of beef and especially pork. At the half-year mark, the plan for the whole year had been fulfilled by 48.8 per cent, he said. (20)

For some time the Czechoslovak media have critically noted an insufficient development of livestock production, the consequences of which necessarily are felt in the meat supply. Czech Minister of Trade Dr. Antonin Jakubik indirectly admitted as much when he said in a recent speech that during the period just past the supplies of food products did not fully meet the demand, although the domestic market had been augmented by products of a new quality. (21) Federal Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal was even more specific on 9 April 1980 at a joint meeting of the two chambers of the National Assembly when, in reply to questions from the floor, he admitted that "a certain imbalance of supply and demand of meat products" does exist. (22) He amplified this with the information that in 1979 there had been a 36,000 ton shortfall in the procurement of beef while in the case of milk the result had been 2.5 per cent below expectations. (23) Strougal explained that this situation had

(20) Radio Prague, 7 July 1980.
(21) Ibid., 28 June 1980.
(22) Radio Hvezda, 9 May 1980.
(23) Rude Pravo, 10 April 1980.
arisen owing to the poor harvest last year as well as to a decline in "natural consumption," which means a decrease in the number of consumers who draw their supplies from their own sources, chiefly in the countryside. He added that improvements should gradually be achieved through the determined utilization of all existing reserves in agriculture as well as in the food industry. The government and its agencies were giving acute attention to these matter, Strougal assured the questioners.

Consumption of meat and meat products is very high in Czechoslovakia, amounting annually to more than 81 kg per capita. Undoubtedly the authorities are taxed to the utmost in their efforts to meet this kind of demand, inasmuch as the population can be expected to put up with an insufficient choice and poor quality of meat, but not with a permanent and substantial shortage. For this reason Czechoslovakia imported more than 2,000,000 tons of grain last year for fodder, that is, for meat production, which had priority over all other consumer products, according to the press secretary of the federal government, Frantisek Kouril. In practice this meant that imports of Italian footwear, for instance, had to be reduced. (24) This is not all, however. The foreign currency needed to import foodstuffs is obtained through exports of Czechoslovak consumer goods which are then in short supply on the domestic market. CPCS CC Secretary Milos Jakes, a candidate member of the CC Presidium, also admitted this at a statewide symposium of agricultural managers dealing with problems of livestock production, held in Prague on 11 June 1980. Jakes criticized the fact that targets in livestock as well as crop production, specifically bulk feeds, had not been reached. Instead of the 4,000,000 tons of grain that were to be imported according to the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980), the actual quantity would be nearer double that figure; and in addition, hundreds of thousands of tons of compounds and proteins must be imported, Jakes said. Therefore, he asked for economizing in the use of feed and he went so far as to label the use of fodder as a political issue with a bearing on meat production and on the food supply situation. He also enjoined farm managers to increase the production of domestic bulk feed substantially. (25)

Indeed, bulk feed is supposed to be a way out of the vicious circle. Traditionally, pork is the favorite meat in Czechoslovakia. However, a further increase of pork production would require large quantities of grain which must be imported at least in part from the West. The solution to this problem would be an increase in beef production, because beef cattle consume bulk feed, in addition to crop production by-products, which need not be imported. For this reason, as long ago as the 15th CPCS Congress in April 1976 and again at the 9th Cooperative Farm Congress in April 1979 Lubomir Strougal declared that beef cattle breeding must receive priority to ensure adequate food supplies for the people. This ties in with the efforts to restrict imports, because 3.7 tons of grain are required to produce one ton of pork; moreover, this feed

(24) Radio Prague, 12 April 1980.
(25) Zemedelske Noviny, 1 July 1980.
contains a half ton of protein components, all of which must be imported from the West at present. (26)

Federal Minister of Agriculture and Nutrition Josef Nagr also had much to criticize at the symposium of agricultural managers. He pointed out that last year neither grain nor bulk feed could be produced domestically in sufficient quantities. Owing to this, "substantial imports of grain, oil-bearing plants, and other feeds containing protein, all of them costly in terms of foreign currency," were required. Furthermore, progress in cattle breeding was slow, and the procurement plan for livestock products was fulfilled only in the case of marketable poultry and eggs. It had not been possible to replace the number of cows which had formerly been bred by holders of private plots. (One should note that the present, socialist, large-scale agricultural production method has not been able to keep the number of cows at the prewar figure. In contrast to the 1934-1938 average of 2,384,000 cows, there were only 1,909,000 head as of 1 January 1979) (27)

Minister Nagr also remarked on the low standard of care in livestock breeding and on serious shortcomings in managerial and organizational work in some places. He was critical of the fact that in 1979 95,000 fewer suckling pigs were weaned than in the preceding year, that only 71 head of cattle are bred per 100 hectares of land, and that the milk yield of dairy cows is low. In 12 of the 112 districts in Czechoslovakia, the average yield of milk is about 2,500 liters or less per year, and only in 47 districts does the yield exceed 3,000 liters. (28)

Nagr deplored the high number of farm animals that die. (29) In this he touched upon a very sore point in socialist agriculture. Exact details are kept secret. The statistical yearbook only gives the number of young animals that die apparently shortly after their birth: in 1978 the average for calves was 4.8 per cent and suckling pigs 6.1 per cent. According to another source 91,000 calves died and another 157,000 had to be slaughtered in 1979. (30) According to the latest available information, the forced slaughter of 92,000 head of beef cattle and 490,00 pigs was necessary in three quarters of 1977. (31) If this problem is emphasized even more strongly today, this means that forced slaughter is apparently necessary in even greater numbers. Moreover, it seems that the quality of meat has also deteriorated, especially that of pork, which is either pale, soft, and watery ("PSB") or, too dark, tough, and dry ("DPD"). Inferior quality beef also is on sale, as the agricultural daily Rolnicke Noviny reported. (32)

(26) Rude Pravo, 10 April 1979.
(28) For interest's sake, in the whole country there are only three cows with an annual milk production of over 10,000 liters, Zemedelske Noviny, 16 April 1980.
There are a number of factors behind these deplorable conditions: the generally poor state of the stables in which the farm animals are kept, the poor quality (sometimes even toxic) feed, and the poor care of the animals. One factor must be singled out. As a part of specialization and concentration of production, sheds for very large numbers of animals have been built in the past few years. Up to 1,000 cows and an even larger number of pigs are kept together. Such conditions invite the outbreak of epidemics. Furthermore, these unfavorable accommodations with their noise, dust, and humidity even lead to stress syndromes, heart failure, and eventual death. Milk yields have also been affected, and cows must be taken out of the dairy herd after two or three periods of lactation. (33) In 1979 the fertility of sows was impaired by up to 50 per cent. (34)

Today it is admitted that these large capacity sheds have not produced the expected results. (35) Apparently the authorities concerned have learned from the adverse results and may also have been influenced by the very high costs of these investments. Therefore, the construction of the so-called mono-block (factory-farm) stables with a large floor space reportedly will be abandoned and simpler and less expensive pavilion halls are to be erected, (36)

The insufficient development of livestock production has prompted the authorities to contemplate a resurrection of the private sector. Smallholders may contract with state organizations to fatten farm animals for market. The smallholders will receive a certain quota of grain feed, but they themselves are expected to provide a part of the necessary feed, such as leftover food or bulk feed gathered on small fields, which are not suitable for mechanized harvesting. (37) One must wait to see whether or not this solution is successful. However, one breeder has stated that, according to his calculations, fattening a pig is hardly a profitable proposition, and the case of beef cattle is not much better.

The prospects for a substantial improvement of the situation in livestock production are not very auspicious. For instance, the harvest of bulk feeds, normally completed by now, is still in progress under rainy conditions, which means an inferior quality of produce. In some places hay-making or haystacks have not been possible at all, so that only silage is left which, however, has to be entirely prepared in open pits so that high losses result in the value of this silage as feed.

(33) Zemedelske Noviny, 6 May 1980.
(34) Ibid., 31 August 1979.
(36) Ibid., 2 July 1980.
(37) Ibid., 29 January 1980.
Czechoslovak and Austrian nuclear experts had talks in Brno from 30 June to 2 July 1980 to discuss problems arising from the fact that the construction of nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia is pressing ahead while a ban on nuclear power has been in force in Austria since a referendum in November 1978. Similar talks were held in January 1978 and then again in June 1979. (38)

Little is known about the content of the talks, but there can be no doubt that the Austrian public, or at least a part of it, is concerned about radiation hazards to their country emanating from Czechoslovakia. There have even been small demonstrations in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Vienna in the past, (39) and the issue was raised during Czechoslovak Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal’s visit to Austria in November 1977. At that time Strougal assured the Austrian Parliament that Austrian experts would have access to the Czechoslovak plants in question. He also said that the Soviet model of nuclear power generation was more expensive than comparable Western plants precisely because the safety precautions were heftier. (40) After the antinuclear referendum and parliamentary vote, Austrian anxiety was once again vented by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky during his meeting with Strougal in Brno in January 1979. Kreisky was then reported as pleading for a change in the Czechoslovak plan to site a number of nuclear power plants near the Austrian border. Strougal, unimpressed, stated that four such plants would be erected in the southern regions of Czechoslovakia as planned. The Czechoslovak Prime Minister repeated that Austrian experts would receive from their Czechoslovak counterparts all the relevant information to prove the safety case. (41) It is presumably as a consequence of these assurances that the subsequent meetings of experts took place.

The Austrians continued to make initiatives toward an arrangement that would go beyond mere consultations. Their Foreign Minister, Willibald Pahr, announced in April 1979 that Austria would seek a general international ban on the building of atomic power plants in 5-10 kilometer zones along state borders, a say in safety measures for plants in 30-40 kilometer zones inside the other country, and a right of access to relevant information on nuclear plants in neighbouring states wherever they might be located. (42) The Pahr program has not been internationally endorsed and the Austrians are now reported to be interested in the compilation of an international list of criteria whereby interstate problems in this field would be regulated. In the meantime, it would appear, information supplied by the Czechoslovak experts is the most the Austrians can hope to get.

(38) Reuter from Vienna, 7 July 1980.
(39) Agence France Presse from Vienna, 1 February 1978.
(41) Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 29 January 1979, and Deutsche Presse Agentur from Prague, 26 January 1979.
(42) Die Presse, 4 February 1980.
In contrast to the anxious and often paralyzing concern about atomic power generation in the Western countries, the Czechoslovak authorities have no doubt about the urgent need for energy from this source. They are also supremely confident about safety, perhaps unduly so. (43) One station is already in operation in Jaslovske Bohunice (West Slovakia), and work is going on to commission another one in the same locality and yet another in Dukovany (South Moravia) before 1985. Preparatory work on clearing the site has begun in Mochovce (near Lecvice, West Slovakia). (44) Among the other locations mentioned was Malovice (near Ceske Budejovice, South Bohemia). (45) All these plants are close enough to the Austrian frontier to give rise to concern. (Mochovce is nearer to Hungary than Austria.) Further plants are to be built in the course of the eighth five-year plan period (1986-1990). (46) Despite the planning, one may recall that it took almost 20 years to bring the one and only station so far, in Jaslovske Bohunice, from the drawing board to actual production of power.

To placate the Czechoslovak public -- which, however, has not shown, or at least has not been permitted to show, any concern -- there is stress on the absolute safety of the Soviet VVER 440 and VVER 1000 designs. The argumentation moves on two levels: the one tries to minimize the effects of radiation on the environment, while the other rules out the danger of a mishap. Both lines of argument are attuned to the mind of an average citizen, not involving a great deal of technical detail. Compared to coal-fired power stations, the nuclear variety is said to be "a contribution to the environment." (47) An expert says that the degree of radiation from a nuclear power plant, affecting the immediate vicinity of the plant, is not greater than that which emanates from a television set, and only half the amount to which man is exposed during a high-altitude flight. (48) Jan Neumann, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission, conceded that risk did exist but added that this was the case with any new technology. For reassurance he told his readers of the "three barriers" of which the safety of a VVER plant consists: the rods are sealed in hermetically closed tubes; the primary circuit has a built-in safety mechanism; and there is a protective shell around the whole installation. Neumann admitted that "in theory" the primary circuit could burst, but the probability of it happening was "one in a thousand plants in a century." (49)

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(44) Radio Prague, 7 February 1980.


(48) Vladimir Evenkl on Radio Prague, 31 January 1980.

(49) Czechoslovak Television, 7 February 1980.