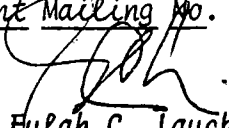


As a public service,  
THE LAUCKS FOUNDATION

from time to time calls attention to published material  
that might contribute toward clarification or under-  
standing of issues affecting world peace. The accompany-  
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August 22, 1988

(Reprinted by permission, from F.A.S. Public Interest Report June, 1988,  
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### HELPING GORBACHEV: AVOIDANCE AND DENIAL

We have, at least, finally resolved the issue of whether there are "moderates" in the Kremlin.

But while virtually the entire population roots for Gorbachev—and some polls show him to be, for Americans, the 8th most respected person—a new expert consensus can easily emerge that we ought not do anything about it.

There is no rush by specialists to explain to the public the importance of helping Gorbachev in whatever way we can. It would sound unprofessional. It would, worst of all, seem too enthusiastic.

Ironically, unlike the experts, our public may be more motivated—in psychologic or political logic—to reach agreements as a way to help a charismatic and daring "underdog" than it would be motivated to enhance its own security.

Of course, the real issue is one of helping ourselves by encouraging businesslike U.S.-Soviet relations with carrots as well as sticks.

Success in foreign policy is a major support for reform in the Soviet Union. It follows immediately that we can be helpful to Gorbachev if we could figure out what we really wanted on conventional troop withdrawals in Central Europe; in regional disputes; in strategic weaponry, and so on, and then negotiated, in a businesslike way, to achieve moderate goals.

On human rights, the time has come to attack the double standard—set in motion by anti-communism and the century old interests of American Jews in protecting their kin—which leads America to attack the human rights problem in the Soviet Union with so much more vigor than in all other countries bereft of either American relatives or American ideological enemies—Iran, Iraq, China, Pakistan, or Argentina. The time has come to universalize our human rights approach.

Another of the benefits of glasnost, is a new popular appreciation of the weakness of the Soviet Union—a weakness that could be the political support for permitting higher technology sales.

Of course, one important way to "help" Gorbachev is to treat him with respect and to treat his country with respect. The Russians are very sensitive to our attitudes toward them.

Businesslike relations with the Soviet Union are something which the West has long sought and now, in some circles, fears. Gorbachev said recently:

"Everyone is interested in Soviet-American relations being switched on to a normal and healthy track."

Unfortunately, some Western experts see as always, dangers to the defense budget and to the Alliance from normal relations. Predictably, they want commissions of experts to be set up to control the process of improving relations.

Gorbachev is, really, a test. Can the West adapt its attitudes to the circumstances in time to take advantage of a new situation?

—Jeremy J. Stone

# THOUGHTS ON PEACE AND SECURITY


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May/June 1987, Volume 3, Number 3

## MR. DA IN THE LAND OF NYET A Visit With General Secretary Gorbachev

**D**uring its seventh annual congress in Moscow, last June, the executive committee of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War met with the Soviet leader for almost two hours. As an in-coming vice-president of IPPNW, I participated in that event. What follows are my personal impressions and opinions for which I alone am responsible.

After introductions and handshakes, Mr. Gorbachev invited us to sit "anywhere" at a long table, as there was "no protocol." He and his translator, (Gorbachev spoke only Russian during the meeting,) sat at a large desk at one end. Besides a dozen members of IPPNW, those present included Anatoly Dobrynin and Alexander Yakovlev, two of Gorbachev's closest advisers, and



### The manner of a chief executive officer of a large company

Dr Evgueni Chazov, the former co-president of IPPNW who is now Minister of Health for the Soviet Union. Assorted scribes and camera men hovered in the background.

The General Secretary had no notes and the tenor of the meeting was informal. After a few words of welcome, he invited our questions and comments for the first hour, then laid out the views of his government in the remaining forty-five minutes.

I had gone into the room expecting to be impressed, and I was. The words of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came instantly to mind. Here indeed was a man "we could do business with." He seemed youthful, energetic and quick, yet comfortable with himself, confident without being overly aggressive or cocky. Although he would be appalled by the comparison, he had the manner and appearance of an accomplished chief executive officer of a large, influential, and prosperous company.

He has a sense of humour, or, to use the phrase of a friend, he has a "personal sense of irony." Through his light touch and informality he conveyed the impression that he did not take himself, (or anyone else for that matter,) too seriously. The events and issues of our times, he seemed to say, are as serious as any that have ever faced humankind, but he and each person in

the room is, finally, only one human being, with all the potential and the limitations that that implies.

He started by explaining where we were — in an old building that now houses the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, but which, historically, housed business firms and commercial enterprises. His remarks anticipated an obvious question since, although only a short distance from Red Square, we were not in the Kremlin. It was logical for his office to be here since he is the General Secretary of the Party, but he underlined the point. With a grin and a touch of enthusiasm, like a small boy showing off his classroom to his parents, he added, "so this is where I work!" Coming from one of the world's most powerful people, the comment had a homey touch.

No sooner had he said this than one of our group launched into some introductory remarks. Gorbachev's surprise was evident. Unlike Queen Victoria, however, (or even Stalin one suspects,) he was amused. With a good-natured smile he waited, then interjected at an appropriate moment that he did not want to seem impolite or to interrupt but he hadn't really finished his remarks of welcome. All of us, including Gorbachev, chuckled. He was not being smooth, diplomatic or polished, nothing that studied or premeditated. He was simply at ease and enjoying himself.

The other oft-repeated comment that came to mind



### "Year after year — Sakharov, Sakharov, Sakharov"

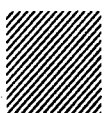
as we confronted this now famous face was that he has a "smile of steel." If, by this, is literally meant a steely smile, a smile implanted on the mouth while the eyes look expressionless and cold, then the comment is slanderous. Nothing could be farther from the truth. His smile is warm and genuine, a sensitive play of expression across all of his features. His eyes are an absorbing brown, not darkly reflective, and his gaze is open and receptive rather than fierce and intrusive.

If, on the other hand, by the comment is meant that behind this friendly face is a man of steel, someone who can be tough, even ruthless, who can say? Time and his record as leader will tell us that, not his face. The

Soviet political system is not noted for picking leaders on the strength of their looks or personalities.

During the talk it was clear that Gorbachev is neither passive nor impassive. He was quick to display emotion, if only slightly, and projected himself into the conversation with enough zest to suggest a fairly aggressive personality. For instance, one of our co-presidents, Dr. Bernard Lown, mentioned the American advertising practice of delivering the same message incessantly, morning, noon, and night. With obvious irritation, Gorbachev leaned forward, tapped the table rhythmically and interrupted, "yes, and year after year, after year — Sakharov, Sakharov, Sakharov."

Who knows what dark deeds lie hidden in Gorbachev's closet. At the very least, he must have accommodated himself to a political regime which has much to answer for. But unless someone produces hard evidence that he is more blameworthy than our own political leaders, the "smile of steel" remark remains a rather transparent piece of anti-Soviet propaganda.



### **An oversimplified view of the evils of American capitalism?**

First impressions, even gleaned over a two-hour period, are bound to be misleading. Nor is there any electronic record of the talk available, just our notes and memories. But one or two exchanges with Gorbachev may provide a deeper glimpse into the man, particularly as to how he views the United States.

Predictably, he was critical of American policies on a number of issues, especially arms control and disarmament. Indeed, when complaining that the U.S. Administration not only did not meet him half way on a nuclear test moratorium but "did not even budge one inch," Gorbachev made clear his sense of frustration. But there were also more subtle clues, not just about his opinion of U.S. policies, but about his beliefs as to why those policies exist.

At one point, Dr. Victor Sidel, President of Physicians for Social Responsibility, the American affiliate of IPPNW, made the point that the arms race, even without a shot being fired, is killing people, especially in the Third World. "We have death now," Sidel said, "because of the arms race."

Gorbachev agreed, but immediately shifted the conversation to potential victims closer to home. He was aware, he said, of a point of view, prevalent in some circles in the United States, that the U.S. Administration should "continue the arms race in order to exhaust economically its potential enemy." And then he added that there are people in America who benefit from the arms race and who influence public opinion on these issues.

Does Gorbachev's trend of thought, here, imply a somewhat over-simplified view of the evils of American capitalism? A later exchange added to the impression that it does. The Secretary of IPPNW, Dr. John Pastore,

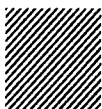
spoke of the various illusions under which people operate. One is the illusion that nuclear weapons provide national security. Pastore wondered if, in the United States, it might not prove more fruitful to attack this misconception than to concentrate on economic motives.

Instead of commenting on this idea, Gorbachev chose to do the very thing that Pastore was questioning — focus on the machinations of business men. "It is only natural," he replied, for a business man who makes a profit to be subtle about his interests. Of course he wouldn't speak in terms of those interests. Of course he would talk about national security.

Sensing that Gorbachev had missed Pastore's point, Conn Nugent, IPPNW's Executive Director, interjected, "but [those business men] are believed, Mr. General Secretary." People sincerely think that nuclear weapons give them security. It is that *belief*, Nugent was saying, supporting Pastore, that is a real problem. The conversation was diverted to something else before Gorbachev's reply was translated.

In themselves, Gorbachev's observations are valid. I doubt that anyone around the table would have taken issue with him. Economic interests are of fundamental importance in driving the arms race. Indeed, a popular U.S. military leader and Republican President, Dwight Eisenhower, gave us the term "military-industrial complex" over twenty-five years ago. But such interests are only part of a complex web of factors that also include Soviet behaviour.

Gorbachev had introduced the notion of vested American economic interests on two occasions in a manner that suggested more a preoccupation with a viewpoint than a sensitivity to the thrust of what others were saying. It may be evidence, but very slim evidence, of a slight dogmatism in the views he holds of the country he needs to understand most.



### **"But they are believed, Mr. General Secretary!"**

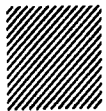
If this is true, it is hardly surprising. Any national leader, immersed in his own propaganda and surrounded by those who are dependent on and vulnerable to his power, has few opportunities to become a subtle scholar of the complex realities of a rival country, however intelligent and able he may be. Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* — openness — is something he himself needs if he is to minimize that problem. It is fortunate, too, that he has at his side Anatoly Dobrynin, for almost a quarter-century Soviet Ambassador to the United States, and now Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

It is unreasonable, of course, for us to be asking so much of Gorbachev. Already he has no obvious intellectual equal among western political leaders. The industrialized democracies are presently dominated by those whose understanding barely reaches beyond their



knowledge of how to manipulate their own electorates. It is a sobering thought that a very different political system has produced a head of government who, in international affairs at least, shows promise of being far superior to many of his current, democratically elected counterparts.

Gorbachev's understanding of what is needed at the global level was amply demonstrated during our meeting. Among the things that impressed me most were his unequivocal statements of the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce conventional forces as well as nuclear arms. (After the meeting, I had a brief opportunity to speak to him personally on this point, seeing that he might not have had time yet to read the March/April issue of THOUGHTS! "Please! please!" I urged him, "continue to link the reduction of nuclear arms with the reduction of conventional ones. If nuclear weapons are reduced or eliminated by themselves, what we have to fear is not a conventional war but a conventional arms race." He shook my hand firmly, and, with a look of seriousness and conviction said through the translator, "I agree.")



### No obvious intellectual equal among western political leaders

More important, still, were his remarks on nuclear deterrence. He characterized it as a "theory" that is "dangerous" and "immoral." He is clearly committed to nuclear abolition as humanity's only hope.

Most important of all, to me, was the breadth of his vision. It is truly global. "The world has changed so much in recent years," he said. "First is the nuclear problem — the problem of survival." Second is the ecological problem, which is also a problem of survival." These, he went on, have arisen from scientific and technological revolutions and from the social developments that have followed these revolutions. They have been accompanied, in turn, by new information and communications systems. "The world is smaller and closer. ... Security can now be only universal."

The themes are not new, but it was reassuring to hear them being spoken with conviction and, I believe, sincerity by someone so influential. It was also good to hear him say that he was hopeful. "We know the positions of the non-aligned countries, the public of much of the West, and many practical-minded politicians in the West, and therefore we are optimistic."

One unfortunate incident, just before we entered Gorbachev's building, reminded us that a country does not change over night. As we clambered out of our

minibus, a man, wearing a large sign and accompanied by two young children, stepped onto the street from the tree-lined, center strip of the boulevard in front of the building. Uniformed men rushed at him as he began to speak through a megaphone, wrestled with him, ripped up his poster, and marched him and his children away. It happened so quickly that only two of us, waiting to disembark, even saw it happen.

After the meeting with Gorbachev, a Russian staff member of IPPNW told us that the man was unhappy with Gorbachev's farm policies and was insisting on an audience with him. He had been taken into custody, it was explained, for having trespassed on the security area around the building's entrance, but was later released.

There was no way we could check this story. On the face of it, the man was treated no more roughly or unfairly than a protester in North America is sometimes treated. But there may be much more to the episode than we were witnesses to. In any event, it was upsetting, a reminder of the record of the Soviet Union in the treatment of political dissent.

Because of his initiatives on arms control and disarmament, Gorbachev has been dubbed "Mr. Da," that is, "Mr. Yes." In his fresh and positive thinking, he is not only out in front of the NATO countries, he is also ahead of the traditional nay-sayers in his own. Slowly he is redividing the world, neither into East and West, nor North and South, but into "Yes" and "No." Whether he will succeed in making the "Yes" prevail, or whether he will simply become Mr. Da in the land of Nyet remains to be seen. □

"The only difference between people who make a difference in this world and people who don't is: People who say, 'I make a difference,' do; people who say, 'I don't make a difference,' don't."

—Frank Sanitate

(Quoted from *Santa Barbara News-Press*, June 26, 1988, p. A-15)

# New Options

June 27, 1988

Issue No. Forty-nine

## Who Can Get Us Out of This Mess?

Just who voted for Bush and Dukakis? Which whites voted for Jesse Jackson? Who *are* the American voters, anyway? And which ones can be counted upon to get us out of this mess?

The mass media has been remarkably unhelpful in answering such questions, and so has the traditional political press. Both still speak of the voter as "white collar" or "blue collar," "middle class" or "working class." But how much do those old terms tell us, really? Aren't they too crude and mechanistic to tell us much of anything, any more, about people's attitudes and behavior?

For the last few years, there's been a movement afoot to reconceptualize the American voter—to replace simplistic terms like "white collar" and "middle class" with more complex sets of terms that have more to do with voters' values and life chances. The marketing departments of some major American companies have begun making use of this material, but that's no reason for political activists to reject it. In fact, it would be a tragedy if activists continued making poorly focused appeals to "Labor," "the Poor," "the Middle Class," etc., even as advertisers continued sharpening their appeals to Belongers, New Collars, Upbeats, etc.

### Three pioneers

At least three major attempts are being made this year to analyze American voters in new, more sophisticated ways, and this month NEW OPTIONS managed to speak with champions of each of them:

• **James Ogilvy** was, until recently, director of research at the VALS (Values and Lifestyles) Program of SRI International, a think tank based in the Silicon Valley;

• **Don Kellermann** is vice president for public relations of The Times Mirror Company, publisher of *The Los Angeles Times*;

• **Ralph Whitehead** is public-service professor at the University of Massachusetts and one of the most sought-after political consultants in the U.S. (NEW OPTIONS #25).

They don't see eye-to-eye on all things, but on one thing they are in total accord: It's time to move away from the old dichotomous schemas. Listen:

Whitehead: "As a newspaper reporter in Chicago during the late 70s-early 80s, I worked in a highly competitive newspaper marketplace where there were two kinds of newspapers: two 'white-collar' and two 'blue-collar.' And day by day, as I tried to fit what I saw happening into either a white-collar package or a blue-collar package, I came across more and more people and events that simply didn't fit into those two packages."

Ogilvy: "Even in the 70s it was clear from public polling that 'years of education' was a better correlate of liberal views than income."

Kellermann: "Life in the U.S. has changed to such a degree that one can find conflicting values and differing attitudes toward issues within the same person that would prevent you from labelling him all that clearly. And so we decided to provide a new lexicon, if you will."

### "Values and lifestyles"

Of the three typologies, Ogilvy's VALS is the most widely used (so far). The nine VALS types:

• **Survivors** (4% of the population) "tend to be despairing, depressed, withdrawn, mistrustful, lacking in self-confidence";

• **Sustainers** (7% of the population) are "angry [and] distrustful, [and] live at the edge of poverty; but unlike Survivors they have not given up hope";

• **Belongers** (38%) are "traditional, conforming, conservative, 'moral,' family-oriented";

• **Emulators** (10%) are "seeking to be like those they consider richer and more successful. [But] they do not really understand the values and lifestyle of those they emulate";

• **Achievers** (20%) are "the driving and driven people who have built 'the system' and are now at the helm . . . diverse, gifted, hard-working [and] self-reliant";

• **I-Am-Me's** (3%) are "young, impulsive, dramatic, experimental and narcissistic";

• **Experientials** (5%) are "intensely oriented toward inner growth";

• **Societally Conscious** (11%) are "concerned with societal issues . . . Most try to lead lives that conserve, protect, heal";

• **Integrateds** (2%) "score high both as Achievers and as Societally Conscious types."

One useful way of seeing the VALS types, Ogilvy emphasizes, is as a hierarchy. On the first level are the "Need-Driven" groups (Survivors and Sustainers). On the second level are the "Outer-Directed" groups (Belongers, Emulators and Achievers) and also the "Inner-Directeds" (I-Am-Me's, Experientials and Societally Conscious). On the third level are those Achiever and Societally Conscious types who've managed to "overcome the split between the personal and public domains," e.g. between personal success and public service.

Who would VALS say are the white Jackson supporters? "I think they're coming from the Sustainer, Belonger and Emulator groups," Ogilvy told NEW OPTIONS. "Then there's a small fringe of highly educated liberals in the Societally Conscious group, but I think that's a pretty small fringe."

### "Basic orientations"

The Times Mirror Co. is heavily promoting its typology this election year, with ads appearing regularly in *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*. "Our profiles [of people] are value-driven," Don Kellermann told NEW OPTIONS. "Our [typology] was developed by looking closely at people's basic values and orientations." Eleven types emerged:

• **Enterprisers** (10% of the population, 16% of the likely electorate) are "affluent, pro-business and anti-government, but tolerant and moderate on questions of personal freedom";

• **Moralists** (11% of the population, 14% of the likely electorate) are "middle-aged and middle-income, [and] hold strong and very conser-

vative views on social and foreign policy”;

- **Upbeats** (9%/9%) are “young, optimistic and strong believers in America, [but] are not critical of the government’s role in society”;

- **Disaffecteds** (9%/7%) are “middle-aged, middle-income, alienated and pessimistic. They’re strongly anti-government and anti-business, but also pro-military” and pro-capital punishment;

- **Bystanders** (11%/0%) are “young, poorly educated and marked by an almost total lack of interest in current affairs” — and the views they have are “fairly conventional”;

- **Followers** (7%/4%) have “little faith in America, but are surprisingly uncritical of both government and business” and are “very persuadable and unpredictable”;

- **Seculars** (8%/9%) are “heavily concentrated on the East and West coasts, professional, 11% Jewish. [They] combine a strong commitment to personal freedom [with] a very low level of [militant] anti-communism”;

- **60s Democrats** (8%/11%) are “upper-middle-class, well-educated, heavily female (60%). They strongly identify with the peace, civil rights and environmental movements that grew out of the 1960s. They combine church-going and religious beliefs with a very high degree of tolerance for views and lifestyles they do not share”;

- **New Dealers** (11%/15%) are “blue collar, union members, [of] moderate income with little financial pressure; religious; intolerant on questions of personal freedom, yet favor many social spending measures”;

- **The God-and-Country Poor** (7%/6%) have “a strong faith in America and are uncritical of its institutions and leadership.” At the same time, they’re “committed to social justice”;

- **The Partisan Poor** (9%/9%) are “very low income; feel very high financial pressure; are very concerned with social justice issues.”

According to Kellermann, the Republican party has a lock on two of the types: Enterprisers and Moralists. The Democratic party has four: 60s Democrats, New Dealers, God-and-Country Poor and Partisan Poor. Of the remainder, two *lean* Republican (Upbeats and Disaffecteds) and two *lean* Democratic (Followers and Seculars).

Who would the Times Mirror say are the white Jackson supporters? “There are some indications that Jackson does very well among the Partisan Poor,” Kellermann told NEW OPTIONS. “And he cuts heavily into the 60s Democrats. But in the other areas you would have to say Dukakis has been overwhelming.”

### “Life chances”

“My scheme is very simple,” Ralph Whitehead told NEW OPTIONS from his office in Amherst, Mass. “The old social structure—the one that was in place in this country for

the first three decades after World War II—was based on a broad middle-class that embraced two ways of life: white-collar life and blue-collar life. Today we have a more steeply graded middle-class.

“[Imagine it as a kind of vertical box.] At the top of that box you have what I call *Bright Collars*, sort of the evolutionary successor to white-collar life. There are about 20 million adults like that [11% of the adult population—ed.].

“Then I would draw a line and separate about 60% of what’s left of that box from the other 40%, okay? (It would not be a horizontal line; it would be either vertical or diagonal.) And I’d call the bigger half of that remaining box *New Collar*, and the smaller half *Blue Collar*. . . .

“Bright Collars make their living largely by taking intellectual initiative. [So] they face both the necessity and luxury of making their own decisions.

“New Collars are the people who work in the rapidly-growing middle level of the service economy, where the jobs are neither for manual laborers nor for coat-and-tie professionals. A Federal Express courier, a secretary, a clerk—there’s been a lot of job growth there.

“One of the critical issues in the workplace during the next 10 years is whether certain occupations move in a Bright Collar or New Collar direction. Nurses live and work on the borderline. Teachers live and work on the borderline. If I were a leader of a teacher’s union, I would have a very clear-cut and deliberate strategy that I’d be pursuing to make sure that teachers became members of the Bright Collar work force [with, e.g., more say over what goes on in their classrooms].

“At the same time, you have similar struggles gaining momentum along the New Collar-Blue Collar border, and along the Blue Collar-Bright Collar border. I believe it’s possible to turn many forms of Blue Collar work into Bright Collar work—by respecting the workers’ know-how, and investing in their knowledge and skills, and letting them call more of their shots.”

Who would Whitehead say are the white Jackson supporters? “In my terms, I would say that Jackson drew his white vote largely from the Bright Collar-New Collar border. Sort of younger and slightly marginal Bright Collars like graduate students—and sort of hip New Collars. And he also got younger Blue Collars. So Jackson drew from all three elements of the new social structure.”

### Whom to look to

So—can these new typologies help us identify our natural political allies? Can they tell us where to find members for our organizations, canvassers for our political candidates?

We asked each of our interviewees to tell us

which of their “types” might be most likely to support “a candidate or organization espousing such values as ecology, global responsibility, and paying attention to the next 50 years not just the next four.” None of them hesitated.

“Given my scheme, I think we’re talking about at least a third and perhaps half of [the] Bright Collars,” Whitehead said.

“[Within the VALS hierarchy], the Inner-Directeds is clearly the primary group,” Ogilvy said. “The problem is, the group isn’t big enough. Where one has to expand that reach is to the Achievers, who need to be convinced—and are *becoming* convinced, on their own—of the problems with more short-sighted views.”

“[Within the Times Mirror typology], two groups come to mind immediately,” Kellermann said. “One is the 60s Democrats and the other is the Seculars.

“The Seculars is an interesting group. It is the most well-informed group in the population. It tends to vote somewhat less than one would expect, [given] its level of information. There is some degree, perhaps, even of cynicism there. But these are people who are interested in the very issues you are talking about. And they have a complex set of attitudes—more so, perhaps, than the 60s Democrats. . . .”

“My guess,” said Whitehead later, “is that the 60s Democrats would be more interested in your world than the Seculars, because the Seculars are secular! [However], the Seculars may be simply people who are indifferent to traditional religious belief, but very open to humanistic systems. They don’t say the rosary, but they may have a very profound spiritual and ethical dimension in their lives. . . .”

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## NewOptions

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# The disaster just waiting to happen

On April 27, one of the Soviet Union's most brilliant nuclear scientists committed suicide. Valery Legasov, 51, was one of the investigators appointed in 1986 to examine the causes of the Chernobyl disaster. Pravda has just published Legasov's remarkable final testament, in which he lambasted the Soviet nuclear power programme. These extracts are the first publication in his indictment in English.

**VALERY ALEKSEEVICH LEGASOV** wrote these notes for Pravda. We went to him last year with a request to tell us about Chernobyl, to share with us his thoughts about the development of contemporary science and technology, particular his thoughts on nuclear power. The academician had begun to work on his "memoirs", as he called them even before we made our request... time was always short for Valery Alekseevitch and he therefore dictated his thoughts onto a tape.

We talked with him on the eve of his tragic death. Unfortunately he said we have few books on Chernobyl and have not yet fully analysed all of its lessons.

We can say without fear of contradiction that academician V. A. Legasov was one of the first amongst those who put out the flames at Chernobyl and in my view his achievement has still not been properly evaluated.

"Legasov was at the same time a Don Quixote and a Joan of Arc," academician Y. Tretyakov said of him.

"He was not a comfortable or an easy person to be with but without him one feels an emptiness and loss of something very close to the spirit of life." Tretyakov's thoughts expressed the feelings of all who had the pleasure of knowing and working with him.

Valery Legasov's death is difficult to explain and to understand. At the height of his powers he took his own life. This tragedy should be a lesson to all of us and a reproach to all those for whom a quiet life and prosperity come before all else.

(Signed) V. Gubarev, Science Editor of Pravda.

## 26th April 1986

It was a Saturday, a beautiful day. I tried to decide between going into department at the university (Saturday is my usual day in the department) to the party activists meeting at 10 o'clock or turning my back on it all and spending a relaxing day somewhere with Margarita Mikhailovna, my wife and friend. Finally though, through force of habit developed over many years

and by natural inclination I went to the party meeting. Before it began I had heard about the accident at Chernobyl... around 12 noon the meeting stopped for a break. I went upstairs to the academic secretary's office on the second floor. There I found out that a government commission had been established and that I was a member... in charge of a group responsible for establishing means of localising the effects of the disaster.

As we drove near to the power station the sky was lit up. From eight to 10 kilometres away you could see a crimson glow. It was immediately apparent that the station management and the Ministry of Energy officials present were at loggerheads. On the one hand the staff and managers of the plant and the ministry officials acted bravely... but until the arrival of the government commission (which only arrived at 8 o'clock on the evening of the 26th) there was no real plan of action.

The upper part of the reactor hall had been completely destroyed and sections of graphite block either whole or in pieces were scattered on the roof of the machine hall and the surrounding area. The first problem facing us was whether or not the reactor was still working and therefore producing short-life radioactive isotopes. The next problem to crop up was that a quite powerful torrent of radioactive gas was coming out of the crater of the destroyed No 4 reactor. The graphite was burning and every particle carried with it a considerable quantity of radioactive material. It was to become a very complex problem. By the next morning telegrams from abroad were arriving recommending different ways of acting on the burning graphite with the help of a variety of different chemical mixtures. After much deliberation and consultation the two components lead and dolomite were chosen to act as temperature stabilisers...

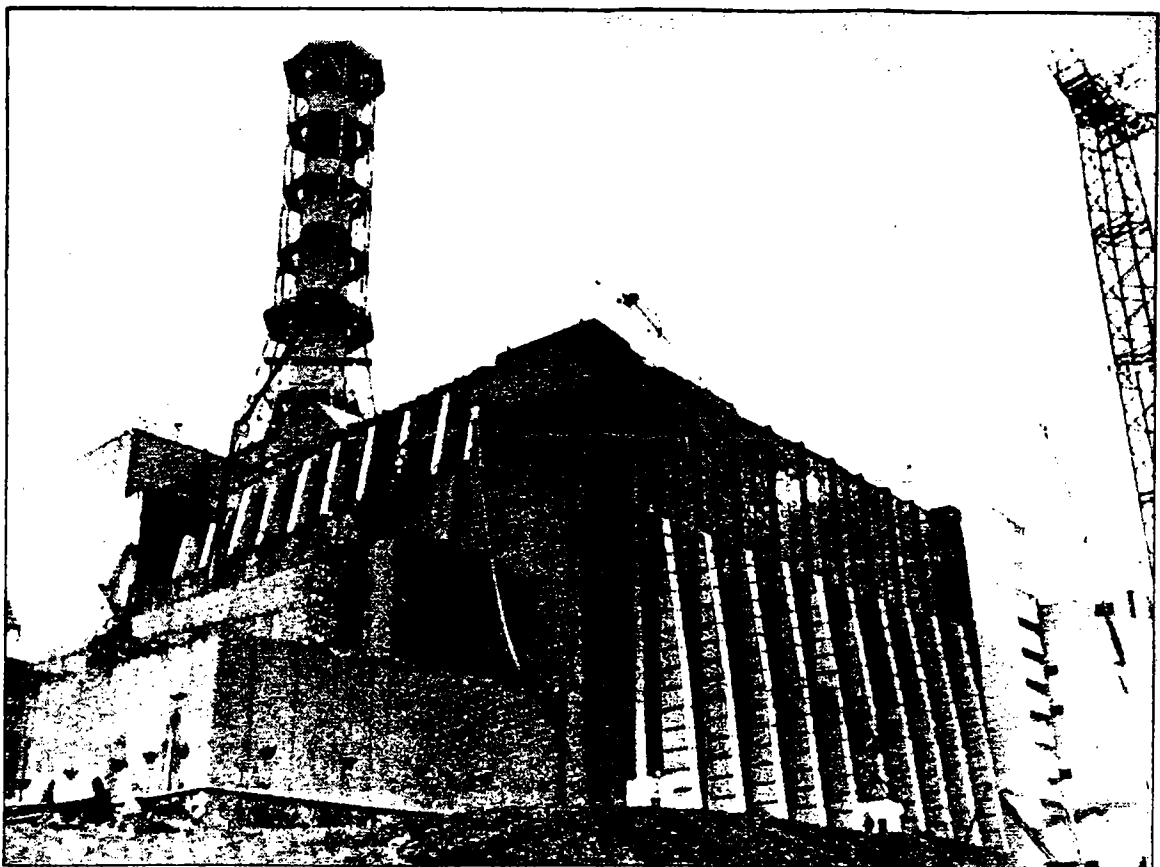


V. A. Legasov

An even more serious question before the government commission concerned the fate of the town of Pripyat. Physicists felt that the situation would not change for the better and insisted upon compulsory evacuation. The medical personnel yielded to physicists' pressure and sometime between 10 and 11 on the evening of the 26th Shcherbina having heard our discussions and believing our prognosis took the decision to evacuate the town. The evacuation was set for the next day. At 11 o'clock in the morning it was officially announced that the whole town was to be evacuated. The evacuation was reasonably well ordered, quick and precise, although carried out under unusual conditions and with several hiccups.

## 2nd May 1986

Nikolai Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Ygor Kuzmich Ligachev arrived in the zone. Their coming was of great importance. A working party under Ryzhkov was established which in practice had all Soviet industry under it. From this moment on the government commission became the key administrative mechanism for this huge state enterprise coming under the overall control of a Politburo working party.



Mistakes at every turn . . . the number 4 reactor encased in concrete after the disaster.

I do not know of a single development no matter how petty that was not looked at by the Politburo working party. I must say that they held their meetings and took decisions very calmly and seriously paying maximum attention to the guidance of experts whilst comparing in every possible way the points of view of the different specialists. It was in my opinion the very model of correct organisational work.

Perhaps now is the right moment to recount my personal impressions of how I became involved in this story, my connections with it and of how I understood the history and nature of the development of atomic energy and of how I understand it now. It is rare for one of us to speak out openly and precisely on this topic.

In our institute's scientific and technical council we quite frequently discussed the conceptual problems of developing atomic energy but we only talked about the technical aspects extremely rarely, the merits of different reactors and the quality of fuel were rarely discussed. I have never seen a scientific collective in the Soviet

Union which could in any way competently raise and discuss these problems. The most active exponent of safety in atomic energy amongst us was C. A. Siderenko. Unfortunately he did not receive the necessary support. A generation of engineers emerged who were well qualified to do their work but who were not critical of the very machines and systems which were the guarantees of their safety.

At the moment of its conception everything in the nuclear industry was properly organised. The idea that the main principles underlying the construction of nuclear reactors were to be decided by designers was central to the view of the scientific leadership. This was justifiable when the atomic industry was in its infancy. But when the organisation of design grew and when proper purpose-built physics departments had appeared the existence of a system of "dual power" under one administrative apparatus (in reality a "triple power" system as there were also a large number of departmental and inter-departmental committees) created a feeling of collective responsibility for the quality of reactors constructed.

The same situation exists today and in my opinion it is incorrect. All the confusion and the absence of any feeling of personal responsibility for the quality of machinery built leads to large scale negligence as the Chernobyl affair shows.

In his speech to a meeting on the 14th July Nikolai Ryzhkov said that it seemed to him that the disaster at Chernobyl had not been accidental. Atomic energy had with a certain inevitability been moving towards such an event. The accuracy of these words impressed me although I myself was unable to express such a view.

Naturally I began to study this problem in detail and to speak up about the need for the next generation of safer atomic reactors, the VTGR or liquid sodium reactor. This called up an exceptional storm of indignation. It was said that I was ignorant and interfering in things of which I knew nothing, and that it was impossible to compare one type of reactor with another. The whole situation was extremely complex. Work on alternative types of reactors and on improving existing reactors proceeded slowly but saddest of all no attempt was made to carry out



a serious objective and scientific analysis to define what could happen and to examine thoroughly possible areas of trouble and discover means of dealing with them.

After I had been to Chernobyl I reached a single conclusion. The accident at Chernobyl was the apotheosis and the highest point of all that was wrong in the management of our country's economy and had been so for many decades. The blame for the events at Chernobyl is not of course an abstract concept. There are real guilty parties. We know now that the system of safeguards surrounding the operation of the reactor was defective and that scientists knew this and had put forward recommendations for the remedying of these defects. The designers however, not wanting the extra work did not rush to carry out the necessary changes to the system of safeguards. Look what happened at Chernobyl over the years: the carrying out of experiments, the negligent and inaccurate programme, the failure to take account of all the possibilities before carrying out an experiment . . . the total neglect of the opinions of the designers and the scientific leadership with a struggle needed to get the implementation of all technical practices. No attention was paid to the condition of instruments or to the establishment of a system of preventative repairs. One director of the station said bluntly "What are you worried about? An atomic reactor is like a samovar and much simpler than a thermoelectric power station. We have experienced personnel and nothing ever happens."

When you look at the chain of events, why one thing happened in a certain way and another thing happened in a different way etc, you can see that it is impossible to lay the blame at the feet of any one person and say that they were responsible for the initiation of the criminal events because it is obvious that there were mistakes at every turn: the operators made mistakes as they wanted to complete the experiment, a course they considered correct: the plan for carrying out the experiment was of poor quality, lacking in detail and not sanctioned by the specialists whose responsibility it was. I have in my safe transcripts of telephone conversations between operators from the night before the accident. My blood runs cold when I read them. One operator rings another and asks "The manual says what has to be done but there's a lot crossed out; what shall I do?" The man on the other end of the line thinks for a minute and then replies "Do what's crossed out". We should not blame the operators alone . . . The very fact that the station personnel could not bring the event at Chernobyl about on their own without their being sanctioned by professionals shows that the professional's relationship with the plant was unsound.

Turning once more to the events at Chernobyl . . . it seems that even when during those terrible days our mood was paradoxically elated. It had nothing to do with our presence at the ending of such tragic events. The tragedy was mainly in the background. Rather the elation came from the way in which people worked, quickly responding to our requests and to the way in which different engineering solutions were discarded and whilst we on the ground first thought up the way of constructing a dome over the ruined reactor . . .

• *The original of this article appeared in Pravda on May 20.*

(The following is quoted from "Reinventing the World" by Samuel H. Day, Jr., which appeared in THE PROGRESSIVE April 14, 1982):

"We have never drawn the appropriate lessons from the two revolutions that were set in train by the splitting of the atom. We understand the gravity of the consequences at the intellectual level but not in our gut, and so we continue to run our private and public lives as though the atom had never been split.

"The splitting of the atom was, in the first instance, a *physical* revolution—a quantum increase in the amount of physical force available to humans. The bomb that destroyed Hiroshima released from just *one gram* (one-thirtieth of an ounce) of Uranium-235 the energy equivalent of 12,500 *tons* of TNT. Steeped as we are in more familiar energy scales, we do not yet really comprehend what it means to have at our disposal a physical force *twelve billion* times more powerful than anything we had commanded before.

"In failing to grasp the significance of the physical revolution, we have failed to deal with the *political* revolution that is its direct result. The unlocking of so much physical power meant that humanity, after thousands of years of searching, had at last achieved the capability of its own destruction."

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