

SOVIET SCIENCE UNDER CONTROL

Soviet Science under Control

The Struggle for Influence

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To my loving wife and partner, Penny Seymoure

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Preface

This book examines the relationship between the political leadership of the Soviet Union and Soviet science. The most frequent characterization of this relationship is dominant and submissive, respectively. Most authors have written that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exerted influence on scientists' careers, access to foreign scientific publications and interaction with their foreign colleagues in the Soviet Union and the ability of scientists to travel abroad. While this characterization is correct, it tends to be uni-directional. Furthermore, the literature usually ignores the relationship between scientists and the Party in the decision-making arena. In this book, I argue that the relationship between scientists and the leadership is better viewed as bi-directional. Thus, I argue that scientists had an influence on policy-makers in the areas of nuclear policy and human rights although not to the same degree as the Party had on science and scientists. This book also examines the relationship between the natural sciences and the political leadership in the post-Soviet context.

This book makes two contributions to the existing literature. First, it examines the question of influence by documenting the influence certain Soviet scientists had on the Communist Party. Most of the current Soviet scientific literature uses the perspective of the Communist Party to examine how influence was applied to scientists. And second, I develop a new definition of influence, challenging both Robert Dahl's outcome-oriented definition as well as the process-oriented definitions of Dean Schooler Jr and William Gamson.

J.L.R.

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My thanks also extend to the American Council of Teachers of Russian program that enabled me to conduct my field research in both Russia and Ukraine as part of their Research Scholar Program, as well as the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois which granted me some financial assistance.

My field research would never have been successful without the help of Louis Menashe who put me in touch with many friends and acquaintances of Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov. In this light I am very grateful to the Theoretical Department at the Physical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (FIAN). Boris Altshuler, Boris Bolotovskii, Evgenii Feinberg and Vladimir Fainberg, among others, all generously gave their valuable time to talk with me about my project and directed me to other sources of information. Igor Golovin of the Kurchatov Institute gave me invaluable insight into the personal and professional objectives of those scientists engaged in the nuclear enterprise. In addition, Irina Arutiunian and Mikhail Smondryev helped to make sure that I properly understood the many subtleties that existed with regard to scientists working within the Soviet system. And finally, Academician Pavel Volobuev greatly contributed to my knowledge of how the Science Department of the Central Committee operated by providing me with an insider's point of view. Unfortunately, there are simply too many other people to thank for their help

while I was in Russia and Ukraine. I hope they will know that they are appreciated just the same.

Beyond the many people who helped me in this enterprise, I also wish to thank the Centre for the Preservation of Contemporary Documentation (TsKhSD). Access to this archive proved invaluable in substantiating important evidence that I was provided in interviews.

The academic year that I spent in Russia and Ukraine was made much more pleasant through the companionship of my fellow-researchers and friends. The emotional and intellectual support that I received from Barbara Van Drasek, Tamara Resler and Sally West made a difficult year go by much easier. Furthermore, James Alexander, Brian Souders and other colleagues at the University of Illinois provided me with fresh perspectives as well as steadfast support and friendship. Additionally, I wish to thank Paul Roberts for his willingness to assist me with technical problems associated with my computer.

I also wish to express my utmost gratitude to Julie Elliott, Graduate Secretary of the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois. Throughout my graduate career Julie saw to it that I completed any necessary paperwork by the appropriate deadline and generally eased the bumps that are an inherent part of graduate school. Most importantly, she reassured me when times were tough and I am proud to count her among my closest friends.

However, this book would never have been completed without the exceptional fortitude of my wife, Penny Seymoure, who acted as critic, editor and chief cheerleader from the moment I began working on this project. Her love and support kept me going when I wanted to stop and generally made my work much easier while I was engaged in this undertaking.

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While all of these people played an important part in the success of this book, I nevertheless take full responsibility for any and all statements or misstatements made in this volume.

Note on Transliteration

Although there are a few exceptions, the transliteration of Russian words and names into English in this book follows the Library of Congress system. Exceptions occur when the word or name has been published in a different style. When this happened I used the source as it was written. In addition, I have maintained the original author's preference for the spelling of his or her name if he/she had already been published in English. Thus, when referring to Viktor Adamsky it is written with a 'y' and not 'ii'.