



KATE BROWN

**HANDLEIDING OM TE
OVERLEVEN**

**EEN TSJERNOBYL-GIDS
VOOR DE TOEKOMST**



STARFISH BOOKS

**HANDLEIDING
OM TE
OVERLEVEN**

**EEN TSJERNOBYL-GIDS
VOOR DE TOEKOMST**

EINDNOTEN

KATE BROWN

STARFISH BOOKS

EINDNOTEN

- 1 'Instructies voor lokale gemeenschappen,' 25 augustus 1986, Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlyady (TsDAVO) 342/17/4390: 41–51.
- 2 *The Chernobyl Catastrophe: Consequences on Human Health* (Amsterdam: Greenpeace International, 2007), 1–15; en D. Kinley III, red., *The Chernobyl Forum: Chernobyl's Legacy, Health, Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts* (Wenen: IAEA, 2006).
- 3 Elisabeth Cardis, geciteerd in Mark Peplow, 'Special Report: Counting the Dead,' *Nature* 440 (2006): 982–83.
- 4 Telegram van Gale aan Beninson, 27 juni 1986, en Giovanni Silini, 'Concerning Proposed Draft for Long-Term Chernobyl Studies,' Correspondence Files, augustus 1986, UN Scientific Committee for the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) Archive.
- 5 Ihor Kostin, *Chernobyl: Confessions of a Reporter* (New York: Umbrage, 2006), 76–80.
- 6 'Informatsia MOZ URSR dlia Rady Ministriv Respubliky,' 30 april 1986, in N. P. Baranovska, *Chornobyl'sk'ka trahedia: Narysy z istorii* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2011), 86.
- 7 Interview van de auteur met Olha Oleksandrivna Bobyliova, 6 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 8 'Internal Report,' 2 juni 1986, Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (SBU) Archive 16/1/1238, 148–53.
- 9 Aleksandr Zakharov, 'Vospominania barnaul'skikh likvidatorov,' <http://milanist88.livejournal.com/12328.html>; 'To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus,' 6 augustus 1986; en 'On a Collective Petition,' 29 augustus 1986, NARB 4R/154/393: 7, 3–4.
- 10 'Memo,' 4 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701, 35.
- 11 'Situation Report,' 5 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chernobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 75–76; en 'Operative Group Information,' 11 mei 1986, Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlyady Ukrainy (TsDAVO) 27/22/7703: 13.

- 12 Richard Wilson, 'A Visit to Chernobyl,' *Science* 236, no. 4809 (1987): 1636–40; en Alexander Sich, 'Truth Was an Early Casualty,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (mei/juni 1996): 36.
- 13 Fernald Preserve, 'Touring the Fernald Preserve PLEASE BE CAUTIOUS,' U.S. Department of Energy.
- 14 'Professor Angelina Guskova: na lezvii atomnogo mecha,' 29 maart 2015, *Ozersk* 74, <http://www.ozersk74.ru/news/politic/239887>.
- 15 Christopher Sellers, 'The Cold War over the Worker's Body: Cross-National Clashes over Maximum Allowable Concentrations in the Post-World War II Era,' in *Toxicants, Health and Regulation since 1945*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (Londen: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 24–45.
- 16 Hiroshi Ichikawa, 'Radiation Studies and Soviet Scientists in the Second Half of the 1950s,' *Historia Scientiarum* 25, no. 1 (2015): 86; en A. K. Gus'kova en G. D. Baisogolov, *Luchevaia bolezn' cheloveka* (Moskou: Meditsina, 1971), 42, zoals aangehaald in Adriana Petryna, *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 119–20.
- 17 Andrei Ivanovich Vorobiev, 'Gematologicheskii nauchnyi tsentr,' geraadpleegd op 5 september 2017, <http://blood.ru/about/vse-rukovoditeli-tsentra/vorobjov-a-i.html>.
- 18 Voor een specifiek geval uit 1970, zie de 'Verklaring van de Uitvoerende Commissie van de Academie van Wetenschappen van de Oekraïense SSR,' gedateerd 9 februari 1970, bewaard in het *Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskykh ob'yednan' Ukrainy* (TsDAGO), archiefnummer 1/25/365, pagina's 11–16. Voor een breder overzicht, zie Grigori Medvedev, *The Truth about Chernobyl: An Exciting Minute-by-Minute Account by a Leading Soviet Nuclear Physicist of the World's Largest Nuclear Disaster and Coverup* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 5.
- 19 'Prichiny Chernobyl'skoi avarii,' 1990, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (RGAE) 4372/67/9743: 86–99.
- 20 Sonja D. Schmid, *Producing Power: The Pre-Chernobyl History of the Soviet Nuclear Industry* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015), 128–30.
- 21 Zie het 'Informatief communiqué' van 28 april 1986, bewaard in het archief van de SBU, dossier 16/1/1238, pagina's 53–57 en 71–75; daarnaast is er het getuigenis van Joeri Tregub, ploegbaas bij blok 4, beschikbaar via: http://igpr.ru/library/dejstvija_personala_chast_1.
- 22 Vivienne Parry, 'How I Survived Chernobyl,' *The Guardian*, 24 augustus 2004, geraadpleegd op 24 augustus 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com>.
- 23 'Avarii na ChAES,' Fireman.club, <https://fireman.club>, 24 augustus 2017; en Serhii Plokhly, *Chernobyl: The History of a Nuclear Catastrophe* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), p. 87–101.
- 24 Zie 'Uit het rapport van Medisch-Sanitaire Eenheid nr. 1,' opgesteld niet eerder dan januari 1991. Dit document is opgenomen in: Nataliia Baranovska (red.), *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia naseleennia: zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv u dvokh chastynakh*, deel 2 (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy, 1995), p. 111–115.
- 25 Andrei Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia: vzgliad vracha* (Moskou: New Diamond, 1996), p. 58–60.
- 26 Karl Z. Morgan, 'Reducing Medical Exposure to Ionizing Radiation,' *American Industrial Hygiene Association Journal* (mei 1975): p. 361–62.
- 27 'AFRRI Briefing for Sue Bailey, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Clinical Services,' 28 oktober 1994, Uniformed Services University (USU) Archives.
- 28 Svetlana I. Vashchenko, 'Liuberechane v Chernobyle,' *Mestnye novosti iz pervykh ruk*, geraadpleegd op 26 april 2017, <http://lubgazeta.ru/articles/292856>.
- 29 Miquel Macià, Anna Lucas Calduch en Enric Casanovas López, 'Radiobiology of the Acute Radiation Syndrome,' *Reports of Practical Oncology and Radiotherapy* 16 (augustus 2011): p. 123–30.
- 30 Timothy Jorgensen, *Strange Glow: The Story of Radiation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 154.
- 31 Steve Weinberg, 'Armand Hammer's Unique Diplomacy,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 42, no. 7 (8 september 1986): p. 50–52.
- 32 Vashchenko, 'Liuberechane v Chernobyle.'

- 33 Richard Champlin, 'With the Chernobyl Victims,' *Los Angeles Times*, 6 juli 1986.
- 34 Zie 'Notulen van vergadering nr. 14 van de regeringscommissie,' gehouden op 14 mei 1986. Dit document is opgenomen in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, p. 95–100.
- 35 Robert Peter Gale, 'Two Chernobyl Doctors Were the First Humans to Get GM-CSF,' *Cancer Letters*, 29 mei 2015, p. 1-3.
- 36 Paul Jacobs, 'UCLA Researcher Gets Reprimand for Marrow Transplant,' *Los Angeles Times*, 14 december 1985.
- 37 Telefonisch interview van de auteur met Robert Gale, 29 oktober 2017.
- 38 Telefonisch interview van de auteur met Dr. Michael Carome, Public Citizen Foundation, 5 september 2017, en e-mailcorrespondentie, 7 december 2017.
- 39 'Informatief communiqué,' 5 juni 1986, SBU 16/1/1238: 178–79.
- 40 'Uit Protocol nr. 7,' 6 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 58.
- 41 'Intern rapport,' SBU 16/1/1238: p. 118–24; en 'Intern rapport,' 18 juli 1986, SBU 16/1/1238: p. 289–92.
- 42 'Informatief communiqué,' 23–25 mei 1986, SBU 16/1/1238: p. 147–52.
- 43 'NBC and ABC Admit Reactor Film Was a Hoax,' *New York Times*, 15 mei 1986.
- 44 Alex S. Jones, 'Press Sifts Through a Mound of Fact and Rumor,' *New York Times*, 1 mei 1986.
- 45 *Z arkhiviv VUCHK-HPU-NKVD-KHB: Spetsvypusk* 16, no. 1 (2001): p. 79–80.
- 46 Stuart Diamond, 'Long-Term Chernobyl Fallout: Comparison to Bombs Altered,' *New York Times*, 4 november 1986, C3.
- 47 Zoals geciteerd in Alexander Sich, 'Truth Was an Early Casualty,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (mei/juni 1996): 39; Stuart Diamond, 'Chernobyl's Toll in Future at Issue,' *New York Times*, 29 augustus 1986.
- 48 Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 25–26. Op blote voeten - interview door de auteur met Dmitri Grodzinsky, 14 juli 2015, Kyiv.
- 49 Vladimir Gubarev, *Strasti po Chernobyl'iu* (Kyiv: Algoritm; Arii, 2011), 35–40; en "Protokol No. 23," 23 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 157–58.
- 50 Robert Peter Gale, 'Two Chernobyl Doctors Were the First Humans to Get GM-CSF,' *Cancer Letters*, 29 mei 2015, 1–3.
- 51 Harry Nelson, 'Ordinary Americans Also Chip in for Chernobyl,' *Los Angeles Times*, 18 mei 1986.
- 52 Robert Peter Gale en Alexander Baranov, 'If the Unlikely Becomes Likely: Medical Response to Nuclear Accidents,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 67, no. 2 (maart 2011): 10; en Gale en Baranov, 'Bone Marrow Transplantation after the Chernobyl Nuclear Accident,' *New England Journal of Medicine* 321, no. 4 (1989): 205–12.
- 53 'Gorbachev Meets Dr. Gale,' *The New York Times*, 16 mei 1986; en William J. Eaton, 'More Chernobyl Deaths,' *Los Angeles Times*, 16 mei 1986.
- 54 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobyl'ia*, 91–93, 112–15. Zie over de censuur 'Ob ogranicheniakh dlia pechaty,' 31 juli 1986, Nesterenko Papers, Natsional'naia akademiia nauk Belarusi (BAS).
- 55 William J. Eaton, 'More Chernobyl Deaths,' *Los Angeles Times*, 16 mei 1986.
- 56 Zie voor het gebrek aan expertise op het gebied van stralingsgeneeskunde in het Westen: 'Request for Waiver of Department Regulations,' NCI Thyroid/Iodine 131 Assessments Committee, 5 juni 1990, National Cancer Institute (NCI), RG 43 FY 03 Box 5, deel 1.
- 57 Gale en Baranov, 'Bone Marrow Transplantation'; en N. Parmentier en J. C. Nenot, 'Radiation Damage Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' *Atmospheric Environment* 23, no. 4 (1989): 771–75.
- 58 Robert Gillette, 'Soviets Disparage Transplants for Chernobyl,' *Los Angeles Times*, 28 augustus 1986; en 'Information,' 11 november 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 46–48.
- 59 Harry Nelson, 'Chernobyl 1 Year Later,' *Los Angeles Times*, 25 april 1987.

- 60 William Sweet, 'Chernobyl's Stressful After-Effects,' *IEEE Spectrum*, 1 november 1999.
- 61 In een interview merkte Gale op dat hij zelf geen Sovjetpatiënten behandelde; dat deden de Sovjetartsen. Hij ging ervan uit dat hun toezichhoudende instanties de behandelingen hadden goedgekeurd. Een jaar later werkte hij mee aan het testen van hetzelfde medicijn op slachtoffers van een nucleair ongeluk in Brazilië. (Telefonisch interview van de auteur met Robert Gale, 30 oktober 2017.)
- 62 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 112–15.
- 63 William J. Eaton, 'Gale-Soviet Atom Victim Study OKd,' *Los Angeles Times*, 7 juni 1986; en Robert Peter Gale, 'Chernobyl: Answers Slipping Away,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 46, no. 7 (september 1990): 19.
- 64 Tony Perry, 'Doctor Testifies That San Onofre Leaks Caused Leukemia,' *Los Angeles Times*, 14 januari 1994.
- 65 Robert Peter Gale en Eric Lax, 'Fukushima Radiation Proves Less Deadly Than Feared,' 10 maart 2013, Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2013-03-10/fukushima-radiation-proves-less-deadly-than-feared>.
- 66 'Over de stralings situatie,' 3 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 35–38.
- 67 Op 27 april werden 55 duizend mensen met bussen uit Pripjat geëvacueerd. Van hen werden 42 duizend ondergebracht in de regio Poliske en 13 duizend in de regio Ivankiv. In deze gebieden werden op de ochtend van 27 april hogere stralingsniveaus gemeten dan in Pripjat zelf (2–4 milliröntgen per uur). 'Informational Communiqué,' 28 april 1986, SBU 16/1/1238: 73–74; 'Memo over evacuatie van de bevolking,' 15 juli 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 93–96; en 'Over medisch-sanitaire voorzieningen,' 7 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, deel 1, 70–73, 7, 10, 13, 28, en deel 2, 12.
- 68 Phil Taubman, 'Soviet Challenges U.S. Milk Warning,' *The New York Times*, 28 mei 1986; 'Radiation in Soviet Veal Reported,' *The New York Times*, 1 juni 1986; en 'Protocol No. 7,' 7 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 67–68.
- 69 'Bijeenkomst van de regeringsmissie,' 20 mei 1986; 'Van het protocol,' 13 mei 1986; en 'Protocol No. 25,' 26 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 25–26, 131–32.
- 70 'Protocol No. 30,' 3 juni 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 202–4.
- 71 'Protocol No. 30,' 21–23.
- 72 'Bijeenkomst van de regeringsmissie,' 20 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 131–32.
- 73 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 6.
- 74 'Over de getroffen maatregelen,' 30 april 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 16–18.
- 75 'Report on Health Examination of the Evacuated from 30-km Zone Children,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 41–44.
- 76 'Over medisch-sanitaire voorzieningen,' 7 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*.
- 77 'On Medical-Sanitary Provisions in Gomel and Mogilev Provinces,' 28 mei 1987, RGANI 89/56/6: 199–204, en 'On Progress in Implementing the Decree,' 16 mei 1987, RGANI 89/56/7: 210–14, Hoover Institution Archive (HIA). 'Regions of 30-km Zone,' 1986, en 'Results of Screening,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 73–79; 'Protocol No. 12,' 12 mei 1986, en 'Informatie,' 22 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 81, 151–53; en 'Memo on Employment,' 1 augustus 1989, Natsionalnyi arkhiv respubliki Belarus (NARB) 46/14/1264: 11–14.
- 78 Zie voor symptomen bij kinderen: E. Stepanova et al., 'Effekty vozdeistviia posledstvii Chernobyl'skoi avarii na detskii organizm,' *Pediatriia* 12 (1991): 8–13.
- 79 'Uit protocol No. 14,' 14 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 95–100.
- 80 'Medical Aspects of the Accident,' 16 juni 1987, RGANI 89/53/75; en A. K. Guskova en Iu. G. Grigor'ev, 'Conclusions,' 16 november 1986, RGANI 89/53/55, HIA.
- 81 Margaret Peacock, *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

- 82 'Valentina Satsura to TsK BSSR,' 25 mei 1986, NARB 7/10/530: 287a–b.
- 83 Ambtenaren in Kyiv berekenden dat inwoners van de besmette gebieden maandelijks een stralingsdosis van 300 microsievvert op hun schildklier ontvingen (Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, deel 1, p. 61–62)
- 84 Rudy Abramson, 'Worst May Be Yet to Come,' *Los Angeles Times*, 4 mei 1986.
- 85 'Tasks for Sanitary-Epidemiology Service,' 23–26 september 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4355: 155–74.
- 86 'Memo van het ministerie,' 15 januari 1987, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 2, 69–73.
- 87 Zie 'To the First Secretary N. N. Sliun'kov,' 30 april 1986, no. 588, Nesterenko Papers reprinted in Rodnik, no. 5–6 (1990): 56–58; 'Over enkele urgente maatregelen,' 5 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 46–47.
- 88 'Memo on Clinical Examination of Children,' 29 december 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 144–46a.
- 89 'Regulations,' 9 oktober 1986, Nesterenko Papers, Akademia navuk Belarus' (BAS).
- 90 Telefonisch interview van de auteur met Maria Kuziakina, 28 september 2017.
- 91 'Memo,' niet eerder dan oktober 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 108–10.
- 92 'Methodical Recommendations,' 20 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390: 5–8.
- 93 'Besluit van het ministerie van Volksgezondheid,' 18 mei 1986, en 'Emergency-gram,' 20 mei 1986, in: Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, deel 1, p. 125–126 en 134. Voor klachten van lokale artsen over het gebrek aan toegang tot gegevens over stralingsdoses, zie: 'Operative Council,' 8 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 324/17/4886, p. 15–17.
- 94 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 52.
- 95 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 52.
- 96 'Methodological Recommendations,' 4 juni 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390: 17.
- 97 'Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between General Groves and Oak Ridge Hospital, 9:00 a.m., August 25, 1945,' National Security Archive, geraadpleegd op 1 mei 2018, <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu>.
- 98 Stephen I. Schwartz, *Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons since 1940* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1998).
- 99 Janet Farrell Brodie, 'Radiation Secrecy and Censorship after Hiroshima and Nagasaki,' *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 4 (zomer 2015): 842–964.
- 100 James V. Neel en William J. Schull, *The Criteria of Radiation Employed in the Study* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1991).
- 101 'The Atom at Work,' *Time* 65, no. 10 (7 maart 1955); en William C. Maloney, 'Leukemia in Survivors of Atomic Bombing,' *New England Journal of Medicine* 253, no. 3 (21 juli 1955): 89.
- 102 Kotaro Ozasa et al., 'Japanese Legacy Cohorts: The Life Span Study Atomic Bomb Survivor Cohort and Survivors' Offspring,' *Journal of Epidemiology* 28, no. 4 (5 april 2018): 162–69.
- 103 Silini to Beebe, 25 juli 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986; en Silini to Ilyin, 5 februari 1987, Correspondence Files, 1987, UNSCEAR Archive.
- 104 Daniel L. Collins, 'Nuclear Accidents in the Former Soviet Union: Kyshtym, Chelyabinsk and Chernobyl,' 1991, Defense National Institute, Uniformed Services University (USU) DNA/AFRRI 4020, AD A 254 669.
- 105 'Design Institution – UkSSR Ministry of Health,' TsDAVO 342/17/4390, niet later dan juni 1986, 13–20; en Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 14, 45–49.
- 106 A.K. Gus'kova, E. I. Chazov en L. A. Ilyin, *Opasnost' iadernoi voiny* (Moskou: Novosti, 1982), 92–94.
- 107 Collins, 'Nuclear Accidents in the Former Soviet Union.'
- 108 'Iu. I. Izrael to Central Committee of KPSS,' 27 april 1986, in V. I. Adamushko et al., red., *Chornobyl': 20 let spustia* (Minsk: Natsional'nyi archiv Respubliki Belarus, 2006), 27–29.

- 109 'Central Aerological Observatory, Department of Cloud Physics and Modification,' geraadpleegd op 17 september 2017, http://www.cao-rhms.ru/OFAV/hist_of_dep/hist_of_dep_AktVoz.html.
- 110 Oleg Makarov, 'Bitva s oblakami: razgon oblakov,' *Populiarnaia mekhanika*, 21 april 2009.
- 111 'Playing with the Weather,' BBC-documentaire, 2007.
- 112 'Progress Report,' maart–september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6, Attachment E.
- 113 'Information,' 1986, NARB 1088/1/989: 64.
- 114 Igor Elkov, 'Chernobyl'skii tsiklon,' *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, 21 april 2006.
- 115 Interview door Olha Martynyuk met Boris Leskov, 3 november 2017, Kyiv.
- 116 Albert A. Chernikov, 'Works on Precipitation Modification in the Area of ChAES,' *Moscow-Chernobyl'iu*, vol. 1 (Moskou: Voenizdat, 1998), 479–83; en 'Letter to the People's Deputy of UkSSR A. A. Dron,' 28 april 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5328: 98–104.
- 117 Het werk om 'neerslag te voorkomen' werd uitgevoerd in de provincies Kyiv, Zjytomyr, Tsjernihiv en Tsjerkasy. Zie hiervoor het 'samenvattend memo' van 1 augustus 1986 (TsDAVO 27/22/7701, p. 316–331) en 'Memo nr. 8095' van 9 oktober 1986 (SBU 68/483, p. 23).
- 118 'On Reorganization and Changes,' 19 mei en 13 juni 1986, NARB 1088/1/986: 214–18.
- 119 'Dlia uskorenii likvidatsii,' *Tribuna energetika*, no. 13 (15 november 1989): 1.
- 120 'On the Process of Liquidation,' 10 juni 1986, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob'edinenii Mogilevskoi oblasti (GAOOMO), 9/181. 'Directive of the Board of District Committee,' 4 juli 1986, Glavnoie upravlenie iustitsii Mogilevskogo oblistpolkoma Uchrezhdenie 'Zonal'nyi' gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v g. Kricheve (Arkhirv Kricheva) 3/4/1503: 80–83. Zie voor metingen 'No. 1353,' 19 september 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 121 Denis Martinovich, 'Nam dolbili, kak diatly: Tol'ko by ne bylo paniki,' Tut.by, geraadpleegd op 22 juni 2018, <http://news.tut.by/society/493766.html>. Over vertraagde rapportage aan het Wit-Russische leiderschap, zie 'Memo-report,' 1989, NARB 7/10/1938: 40–55.
- 122 'Statement,' 9 oktober 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 123 'No. 899,' 23 juni 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 124 Het eerste Wit-Russische document over het ongeluk is 'Uittreksel uit protocol nr. 8' van 28 april 1986. Lokale functionarissen van de civiele bescherming constateerden voor het eerst verhoogde straling op 27 april om 20.00 uur. Zie ook 'Protocol nr. 5' van 19 juni 1986, in Adamushko, *Chernobyl'*, p. 29–30 en 42–45.
- 125 Voor de eerste bevelen, zie 'Progress on Implementation,' 2 juli 1986, GAOOMO 9/184/55: 1–5, en 'Progress in Liquidation,' 10 juni 1986, NARB 411/366, 157–58. Voor de erkenning dat men te laat had gehandeld, zie 'On Reorganization and Changes,' 19 mei en 13 juni 1986, NARB 1088/1/986: 214–18. Over het gebrek aan expertise in Wit-Rusland, zie 'Protocol No. 8,' 27 augustus 1987, NARB 1088/1/1002: 59–61; 'Memo of Environmental Protection, BSSR,' 13 april 1989, NARB 83/1/767: 116–18.
- 126 'Statement on Republican Center of Radiational Measurements,' 9 oktober 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS. Voor een latere bevestiging van de opgelopen stralingsdoses, zie: 'A. I. Vorobiev, Ministry of Health, to B. E. Shcherbina,' 12 juni 1989, Gosudarstvennyi archiv Gomel'skoi oblasti (GAGO) 1174/8/2215, 24–27. Over metingen, zie 'Minutes of Meeting of Interdepartmental Commission,' 25 februari 1993, NARB 507/1/39: 1–5.
- 127 'No. 621, Nesterenko to Sliun'kov, N. N.,' 7 mei 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 128 In Bragin werd een stralingsniveau van 54 μSv per uur gemeten en in Tsjernjev 3,2 μSv per uur. Toch werd geen van beide steden geëvacueerd. Zie 'Nr. 899,' 23 juni 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 129 'No. 609, Data,' 21 juni 1986; 'No. 900,' 21 juni 1986; 'Meeting Minutes,' 15 september 1986; en 'No. 1353,' 19 september 1986; 'No. 1504/ File No. 54,' 27 oktober 1986; en 'No. 1354 from File ss.09.86/ no. 54,' 22 september 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 130 'Residents of Bragin, Khoyniki and Narovlia Regions,' 11 mei 1986, NARB 4P/156/238: 104.

- 131 'No. 588,' Nesterenko aan N. N. Sliun'kov, 30 april 1986; en 'To the Deputy Head of Council of Ministers of BSSR Petrov,' 29 mei 1886, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 132 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 143.
- 133 Martinovich, 'Nam dolbili, kak diatly.'
- 134 'Radiation Shield for Kyiv,' 1 oktober 1986, Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi kinofotofonoarkhiv Ukrainy im. H. S. Pshenychnoho [TsDKFFA of Ukraine] No. 10219, filmdossier.
- 135 Alla Yaroshinskaya, *Chernobyl: Crime without Punishment* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011), *Chernobyl: The Big Lie* (Moskou: Vremya, 2011), en *Chernobyl: The Forbidden Truth* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1995).
- 136 Interview door de auteur met Alla Yaroshinskaya op 27 mei 2016 in Moskou, en een telefonisch interview op 30 maart 2017.
- 137 Evgenii Chernykh, 'Egor Ligachev: Stranno, konechno, chto Gorbachev ne s'ezdil v Chernobyl,' *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 29 april 2011.
- 138 'KPSS Central Committee Politburo Meeting,' 3 juli 1986, geheim document, enkel exemplaar, afkomstig uit de persoonlijke collectie van Yaroshinskaya.
- 139 'Boris Evdokimovich Shcherbina, 1919–1990,' Gorod T, geraadpleegd op 21 juni 2018, <https://gorod-t.info/people/obshchestvo-upravlenie/shcherbina-boris-evdokimovich/>.
- 140 'On the Reactions of Foreign Reporters,' 8 juli 1987, SBU 16/1/1250: 193–94; en 'Informational Communiqué,' 30 juli 1987, SBU 16/1256: 43–44.
- 141 'Interministerial Memo,' juli 1986, SBU 68/483: 15; en Anatolii S. Diatlov, *Chernobyl': Kak eto bylo* (Moskou: Nauchtekhlitizdat, 2003), chap. 4. Voor de orders om reactor 3 in augustus weer op te starten, zie 'Directive of the Central Committee of KPSS,' 22 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chernobyl'skaia trahedia*, 156.
- 142 'Lutsenko to SM USSR,' 2 december 1988, Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiyskoi Federatsii (GARF) 8009/51/4340: 166–71.
- 143 'KPSS Central Committee Politburo Meeting.'
- 144 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' Conference Proceedings, Kyiv, 11–13 mei 1988 (Wenen: IAEA, 1989), 49.

- 145 'KPSS Central Committee Politburo Meeting,' 12–13.
- 146 'Informational Communiqué,' 17 maart 1987, SBU 16/1249: 48–51.
- 147 Voor een bespreking van de technische problemen van de RBMK-reactor, zie: Sonja D. Schmid, *Producing Power: The Pre-Chernobyl History of the Soviet Nuclear Industry* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015), 128–30.
- 148 'Causes of Chernobyl Accident, Facts and Fiction,' 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 86–99. Zie voor een toelichting op de positieve vacuümcoëfficiënt van de RBMK-reactor: Paul R. Josephson, *Totalitarian Science and Technology: Control of Nature* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1996), 308.
- 149 Schmid, *Producing Power*, 125.
- 150 'KPSS Central Committee Politburo Meeting.'
- 151 Voor haar meest recente geschiedenis, zie Natalia Baranovska, *Ispytanie Chernobylem* (Kyiv: Iustinian, 2016).
- 152 A. I. Avramenko to A. P. Kartysh, 14 juni 1990, TsDAVO, 342/17/5220: 27.
- 153 'On Archival Programs,' 1 juli 1991, en Prof. Dr. Hans Booms, 'Report about the Unesco-Mission to the UkSSR,' 29 augustus 1991, UNESCO Archive, CII/PGI/MONT/4.
- 154 Interview door de auteur, 13 juni 2014, Kyiv.
- 155 'Memo,' 1987, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 147–50.
- 156 Interview door de auteur met Natalia Baranovska en Irina, 13 juni 2014, Kyiv.
- 157 'Sanitary-Hygiene Guidelines,' 4 augustus 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 18–20.
- 158 'Transcripts, May 3' en 'Protocol No. 5,' 5 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 27–30, 52–56.
- 159 'Situation Report,' 5 mei 1986, Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KGB (Kyiv, 2001): 77–78; en 'On Construction,' 28 oktober 1991, TsDAVO 342/17/5357: 120.
- 160 'On a Question for Clarification,' July 7, 1988, SBU 16/1262: 324–25.
- 161 'On Problematic Issues,' 6 december 1988, SBU 16/1266: 248–50.
- 162 'Memo: On the Military,' 30 juli 1986, SBU 68/483: 13.
- 163 'On Shortcomings,' augustus 1986, SBU 68/483: 16.

- 164 'From Protocol No. 15,' 15 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 104.
- 165 'Situation Report'; en V. K. Savchenko, *The Ecology of the Chernobyl Tragedy: Scientific Outlines of an International Programme of Collaborative Research* (Parijs: Parthenon Publishing, 1995), 14, 95.
- 166 'Protocol,' 5 maart 1992, NARB 507/1/12: 8–9.
- 167 'Ministry Decree,' 15 mei 1986; 'Objectives,' september 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4355: 155–74.
- 168 'Memo,' 1987, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 147–50; en 'Objectives.'
- 169 'Materials for Government Information,' 29 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159–61; en 'Operative Meeting,' 8 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 324/17/4886: 15–17.
- 170 Joseph Mangano, 'Three Mile Island: Health Study Meltdown,' *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (oktober 2004): 31–35; en Natasha Zaretsky, *Radiation Nation: Three Mile Island and the Political Transformation of the 1970s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).
- 171 'Ministry Memo,' 15 januari 1987, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 69–73.
- 172 Interview door de auteur met Oleksandr Popovych, Kyiv, 1 juni 2017.
- 173 'Minutes No. 17,' 17 mei 1986; en voor de Polesië-regio, 'Explanatory Note,' 14 juni, 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 120, 217–18.
- 174 'Proposals from Science Department,' 4 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 109–10.
- 175 'On Some Urgent Measures,' 5 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 46–47.
- 176 'Methodological Recommendations,' 20 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390: 5–8.
- 177 'Children Examination Results,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 73–74. 'From the Transcripts,' 14 mei 1986, 'From the Protocol,' 13 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 101–2.
- 178 'Proposals from the Science Department.'
- 179 'Transcripts of Meeting No. 7,' 11 mei 1986; 'From the Protocol,' 13 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 46–48, 91–92.
- 180 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 8 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 10.
- 181 Elgė Rindzevičiūtė, *The Power of Systems: How Policy Sciences Opened Up the Cold War World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 187.
- 182 'Transcripts No. 7 of the Politburo TsK KPU Operative Group,' 11 mei 1986, in V. A. Smolii, *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy TsK KPU (1986–1988)* (Kyiv: Institut istoriyi, 2017), 98.
- 183 A. K. Gus'kova, E. I. Chazov, en L. A. Il'yn, *Opasnost' iadernoi voiny* (Moskou: Novosti, 1982), 72.
- 184 'From the Protocol,' 13 mei 1986; en interview door de auteur met O. A. Bobyliova, 6 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 185 'On the Radiological Situation,' 3 mei 1986, 'On Medical-Sanitation Provisions,' 7 mei 1986, en 'Protocol No. 25,' 26 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 38–39, 70–71, 166–68.
- 186 'From Protocol No. 7,' 6 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 58.
- 187 A. K. Gus'kova en Iu. G. Grigor'iev, 'Conclusion,' 16 november 1986, RGANI 89/53/55, HIA.
- 188 Valentyna Shevchenko, 'Urozhena mudrist,' in *Volodymyr Scherbyts'kyi: spohady suchasnykiv*, red. E. F. Vozianov et al. (Kyiv: 'In Yure,' 2003), 47–48.
- 189 Interview door de auteur met Olha Oleksandrivna Bobyliova, 6 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 190 Memo, John Willis aan Doug Mulhall en David McTaggart, 14 augustus 1990, Greenpeace Archive (GPA), 1625; en Bryon MacWilliams, 'Climate Change: Crunch Time for Kyoto,' *Nature* 431, no. 7004 (2 september 2004): 12–13. Een onderzoek van de Oekraïense Communistische Partij wees Izrael en Ilyin aan als schuldigen. 'Minutes to the 28th Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine,' 14 december 1990, TsDAHO 1/2/1065: 112–43.

- 191 Metingen in de straten van Kyiv toonden stralingsniveaus van 8 tot 26 $\mu\text{Sv}/\text{uur}$. 'On the Radiological Situation.'
- 192 'Report on Pediatric Screening,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 41-44.
- 193 '30-km Zone Areas in Kyiv Province,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 75-79.
- 194 'Meeting Minutes No. 1,' 3 mei 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy TsK KPU*, 32-33. Drie weken later gaf Sjtsjerbytsky het bevel: 'Information,' 22 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 151-53.
- 195 'Proposals from the Science Department,' 4 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 46-48; and 'Explanatory Note,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4390: 59-61.
- 196 'Science Department Memo,' 6 juni 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 206-8. Kinderen uit plattelandsgebieden gingen eind mei: 'Memo,' niet eerder dan 20 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 14-19.
- 197 'From Protocol No. 14,' 14 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 93-100.
- 198 'From Protocol No. 13,' 13 mei 1986, en 'From Protocol No. 14,' 14 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 93-100; en Shevchenko, "Urodzhena mudrist," 47-48.
- 199 'From the Transcripts,' 14 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 101-2.
- 200 'Residents of Gomel to Gromyko,' 26 mei 1986, NARB 4R/154/362: 102-3ab; en 'Protocol No. 12,' 12 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 83-89.
- 201 'Informational Memo,' 1989, NARB 7/10/1938: 40-55.
- 202 De stralingsniveaus liepen uiteen van twintig tot driehonderdvijftig $\mu\text{Sv}/\text{uur}$. 'From Protocol No. 17,' 22 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 145-47; en 'People to A. S. Kamai,' 11 mei 1986, NARB 4R/156/238: 104.
- 203 N. I. Rosha aan de Commissie, 10 januari 1989, NARB 10/7/1851: 35-36. Voor reconstructies van schildklierdoses, zie V. T. Khrushch en Iu. I. Gavrilin, 'Verifikatsiia dozimetricheskikh dannykh i rekonstruktsiia individual'nykh doz oblucheniia shchitovidnoi zhelezy dlia zhitelei g. Minska' (Moskou: Institut biofiziki, 1991).
- 204 Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 218-19. Het gebruik van kinderen uit Tsjernobyl voor landbouwwerkzaamheden werd in de daaropvolgende jaren voortgezet. 'On the Question,' 20 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 10-11.
- 205 'Regions of 30-km Zone in Kyiv Oblast,' 1986, en 'Screening Results,' 1986; 'Radiometric Data,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391, 73-74, 75-96; en 'Government Commission's Meeting,' 20 mei 1986, en 'Information,' 11 november 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 131-34, 46-48.
- 206 'Screening Results'; 'On the Procedure of Medical Examination,' 29 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390: 2-4; en 'Memo,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391, 34-40.
- 207 'On the Results of Medical Examination of Pregnant Women and Children,' niet eerder dan juli 1986, 'Memo on Clinical Examination of Children,' 29 december 1986, en 'Report on Examination of Children,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 77-78, 144-46a, 41-44.
- 208 'Memo on Medical-Sanitary Provisions for Pregnant Women,' niet eerder dan oktober 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 108-10.
- 209 Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 224-25.
- 210 'Temporary Methodological Recommendations,' 23 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390: 9-11.
- 211 'Report on the Examination of Children,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 41-44.
- 212 Andrei Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 136.
- 213 Gedurende enkele weken tot twee maanden werden interne stralingswaarden gemeten van 0,002 tot 0,01 $\mu\text{Sv}/\text{uur}$. 'Estimation of Incorporated Radioactive Elements in Bowels,' 20 juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4390: 32-33.
- 214 'Estimation of Incorporated Radioactive Elements in Bowels'; 'Methodological Recommendations,' TsDAVO 342/17/4390, 4 juni 1986, 13-20; en Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 85.
- 215 'Decree,' 12 mei 1986, en 'Protocol No. 12,' 12 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 90-91.

- 216 'Memo,' niet eerder dan 20 mei 1986, en 'Memo on Medical-Sanitary Examination of Pregnant Women and Children,' niet eerder dan oktober 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 14–19, 108–10.
- 217 'On the Management of Clinic Examinations,' 5 juni 1986, NARB, 46/14/1261: 43–46.
- 218 Jorgensen, *Strange Glow*, 230–31.
- 219 'Memo,' niet eerder dan 20 mei 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4391: 14–19.
- 220 'Protocol No. 21,' 21 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, vol. 1, 142–43; en 'Transcripts of the Operative Group,' 15 mei 1986, in V. A. Smolii, red., *Chornobyl: Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukraïny, 2017), 129–33.
- 221 'From Protocol No. 16,' 20 mei 1986; 'From Protocol No. 17,' 22 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, vol. 1, 130–31, 145–47; 'Commission Meeting Minutes,' 10 juni 1987, NARB 7/10/1524: 44–46; 'To the Head of USSR Council of Ministers,' 17 juli 1986 (Drugie berega: Moskou, 1992), Yaroshinskaya, *Sovershenno sekretn*; 426–27.
- 222 ~200 kBq per m²; 'Temporary Instructions,' 30 mei 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4340: 50–75.
- 223 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 87–91.
- 224 Eén curie is $3,7 \times 10^{10}$ becquerel.
- 225 Jorgensen, *Strange Glow*, 62.
- 226 'Technical Memo,' 26 september 1990, GAMO 7/5/3999: 1–9.
- 227 'Transcripts of the Meeting,' 28 juli 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, vol. 2, 9–18.
- 228 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Lynn Anspaugh, 12 januari 2016.
- 229 Ellen Leopold, *Under the Radar: Cancer and the Cold War* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 231, 142–44.
- 230 Soraya Boudia, 'Managing Scientific and Political Uncertainty,' in *Powerless Science: Science and Politics in a Toxic World*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 95–112; en Scott Frickel, 'Not Here and Everywhere: The Non-Production of Scientific Knowledge,' in *Routledge Handbook of Science, Technology and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 263–76.
- 231 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 12–15.
- 232 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 12–13, 151; en 'Nakaz Ministerstva,' 28 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, 186–87.
- 233 'Progress Report,' maart-september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6, attachment H; en Awa A. Akio et al., 'Biodosimetry: Chromosome Aberration in Lymphocytes and Electron Paramagnetic Resonance in Tooth Enamel from Atomic Bomb Survivors,' *World Health Statistical Quarterly* 46 (1996): 67–71.
- 234 I. A. Gusev et al., 'Monitoring of Internal Exposure,' gepresenteerd tijdens 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' *Conference Proceedings*, Kyiv, 11–13 mei 1988 (Wenen, IAEA: 1989), 201.
- 235 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 27, 117.
- 236 Email-correspondentie met Lucas Hixson, 12 oktober 2016.
- 237 'Protocol No. 12,' 12 mei 1986; en 'Protocol No. 23,' 23 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, vol. 1, 83–86, 157–59.
- 238 'On the Installation of the WBS [whole-body counter],' 9 september 1986, NARB, 46/14/1261: 71–72.
- 239 'Council of Ministers of USSR, Protocol No. 29,' 23 juni 1986, zoals gereproduceerd in 'Chernobyl'skaia katastrofa,' *Sil'nye novosti, Gomel.today*, 26 april 2011.
- 240 'From Protocol No. 12,' 12 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov"ia*, vol. 1, 80–81.
- 241 'Transcripts of the Meeting No. 38,' 13 augustus 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy TsK KPU*, 411–33.
- 242 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 27–28.
- 243 Email-correspondentie met Andrei Vorobiev, 8 oktober 2017. Zie voor het besluit van 27 juni 1986 over de indeling van stralingsdoses 'Chernobyl'skaia katastrofa,' *Sil'nye novosti, Gomel.today*, 26 april 2011.
- 244 William J. F. Standring, Mark Dowdall, en Per Strang, 'Overview of Dose Assessment Developments and the Health of Riverside Residents Close to the "Mayak" PA Facilities, Russia,' *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 6, no. 1 (2009): 174–99.

- 245 L. A. Buldakov et al., 'Theory and Practice of Establishing Radiation Standards before and after the Chernobyl Accident,' gepresenteerd tijdens 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' *Conference Proceedings*, Kyiv, 11–13 mei 1988 (Wenen: IAEA, 1989), 83–84.
- 246 'Protocol No. 15,' 15 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 2, 104–5.
- 247 'A. I. Vorobiev to B. E. Shcherbina,' 12 juni 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 24–27.
- 248 Later werd dat aantal teruggebracht tot negenendertig dorpen. L. A. Il'in en K. I. Gordeev, 'Explanatory Note,' niet eerder dan 1 augustus 1986, TsDAVO, 342/17/4390, 59–61; en Iu. A. Israel, 'On the Assessment of Radiological Situation,' 21 mei 1986, in Yaroshinskaya, *Bol'shaia lozh'*, 14.
- 249 Een internationale groep wetenschappers heeft vastgesteld dat directe metingen nauwkeuriger zijn; 'Progress Report,' maart–september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6, attachment H.
- 250 'From the Meeting Transcripts,' 28 juli 1986, en 'Memo,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4391: 16, 14–19; en 'From the Transcripts,' 20 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 135–36.
- 251 'From the Transcripts,' 28 juli 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, 9–22.
- 252 'From the Transcripts,' 28 juli 1986, 9–22.
- 253 'Ministry Decree,' 15 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' – problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 110–12.
- 254 'Resolution No. 304 of the Governmental Commission,' 13 november 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4348: 37.
- 255 'V. V. Malashevsky to Iu. Spizhenko,' 12 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5091: 95–96. Zie ook 'Proposal for a Work Plan,' 3 juli 1989, NARB 10/7/1851: 108.
- 256 'Information on the Radiological Situation,' niet eerder dan 31 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 44–48.
- 257 'Protocol of the Commission Meeting,' 20 januari 1987, NARB 10/7/1524: 12–17; 'Protocol,' 6 oktober en 13 november 1987, NARB 7/10/1524: 44–48, 70–75. Voor discussies over verdere 'her-evacuaties,' zie 'E. I. Sezhenko to Council of Ministers UkSSR,' 5 januari 1988, NARB 7/10/1525: 106; 'A. Grishagina to V. G. Evtukh,' 5 september 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 56; en 'Letter from VRIO [acting authority], No. 1/571,' 3 juli 1989, NARB 10/7/1851: 106.
- 258 'TsK KPB, No. 4972,' 7 april 1987, en 'TsK KRSS No. 148225,' 20 april 1987, NARB 41/156/438: 60–66, 69–75.
- 259 'Meeting Protocol,' 26 december 1990, 16 januari 1992, en 9 december 1992, NARB 507/1/12: 1–4, 27–29.
- 260 'No. 934,' 30 juni 1986; 'No. 1354 from ss.09.86/File No. 54,' 22 september 1986, en 'No. 1433, A. L. Grishaginu,' 11 oktober 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS; 'List of Populated Locales,' 22 augustus 1986, TsDAHO 1/25/3: 121–22.
- 261 'Decree No. 25c,' 29 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 20; 'Information about the Situation,' 5 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 45–60; 'Protocol,' 20 januari 1987, NARB 7/10/1524: 12–16. Over de Oekraïense evacuaties, zie 'On Resettling People from Several Villages in Narodychi Region,' 2 februari 1989, 'On a Draft Directive,' 22 februari 1989, en 'On Question No. 3,' 24 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 6, 8–9, 124; en V. N. Sych aan E. P. Tikhonenkov, 24 mei 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 45–53. Over het protest over schoolkinderen die in radioactieve velden moesten werken en in gebieden moesten wonen met meer dan 40 ci/km, zie 'Obrashchenie,' 29 augustus 1990, en 'V. Voinov to V. F. Kebich,' November 5, 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 54, 202.
- 262 'On Amendments,' 2 maart 1987, RGANI 89/56/1; 'On Additional Included Villages,' 23 mei 1987, RGANI 89/56/5: 196, HIA; en 'On Management of Aid,' 30 mei 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 21–23.
- 263 'Proposal,' 30 juli 1986, Yaroshinskaya, *Sovershenno sekretno*, 418–19; 'List of Populated Locales,' 22 augustus 1986, in V. I. Adamushko et al., red., *Chernobyl': 20 let spustia* (Minsk: NARB, 2006); en 'On Radioactive Pollution of BSSR Territory,' 1, 1986, NARB 7/10/439: 54.
- 264 Zoals aangehaald in 'Chernobyl'skaia katastrofa,' *Sil'nye novosti*, geraadpleegd op 17 mei 2016, <https://gomel.today/rus/article/society/4594/>.

- 265 'Report,' 14 april 1987, 55/1: 347 Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 266 Ales Adamovich, *Imia sei zvezde Chernobyl'* (Minsk: Kovcheg, 2006), 91–94.
- 267 'To the Military Command of the Belarusian Military Region,' 19 juni 1987, NARB 4P, 156/393: 71–75.
- 268 'E. Sokolov to N. I. Ryzhkov,' 23 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 70.
- 269 'On the Radiological Situation,' 23 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 76–81; en Adamovich, *Imia sei zvezde Chernobyl'*, 99.
- 270 Voor de metingen, zie 'Upon the Directive of UkSSR Council of Ministers,' 7 juni 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5238: 115–18.
- 271 'To the Office of the Minister from V. F. Larikov,' 27 augustus 1991, TsDAVO 342/17/5357: 91–92.
- 272 'Memo of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene,' 11 juli 1987, TsDAVO, 342/17/4672: 74–81.
- 273 'Review of the Living Question,' 4 februari 1987, Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernihivskoi oblasti (DACHO) 2347/4/1678: 11–13.
- 274 Interview door de auteur met Tamara Haiduk, 7 juli 2016, Chernihiv.
- 275 'Towards Securing Safety of Movement,' 30 oktober 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1651: 69.
- 276 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene,' 15–18 juni 1987, TsDAVO 342/17/4672: 82–85.
- 277 Interview door de auteur met Tamara Kot, 7 juli 2016, Chernihiv.
- 278 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene.'
- 279 In 1986 overtroffen ze het productieplan ruimschoots: ze behaalden maar liefst 358 procent van de norm. 'On Bonuses,' 1 juni 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1650: 1–4.
- 280 'To the Office of the Minister from V. F. Larikov,' 27 augustus 1991, TsDAVO 342/17/5357: 91– 92.
- 281 'On Regulation of Truck Shipments,' 16 juli 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1650: 57.
- 282 'To the Office of the Minister from V. F. Larikov.' Eind mei werd bij schapen in de velden van de regio Ivankiv een waarde van 3,2 mR/uur gemeten. 'Transcripts of Meeting No. 15,' 20 mei 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy TsK KPU*, Kyiv, 168–72.
- 283 Mondeling interview met Maria Nogina, hoofdingeneur, wolfabriek van Tsjernihiv. 'Thematics,' 24 november 1988, DACHO 2347/4/1683: 133–34.
- 284 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene'; en 'Belarusian SSR Ministry of Health,' 8 augustus 1987, GARF P8009/51/3559: 22–23.
- 285 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene.'
- 286 'V. K. Solomakha to A. A. Tkachenko,' 5 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 20.
- 287 'Transcripts of Meeting No. 15,' en 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 4 juni 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 37.
- 288 'On Dosimetric Control at the Factory,' 4 augustus 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1650: 116.
- 289 'V. S. Iarnykh to the Sovet Ministers, Ukraine SSR,' 22 augustus 1991, TsDAVO 324/17/5357: 99–100; en 'To the Office of the Minister from V. F. Larikov.'
- 290 Bij een stralingsniveau van 0,18 μSv per uur ontvingen werknemers die twaalf uur per dag, zes dagen per week en gedurende twintig weken werkten, in totaal een dosis van 259 μSv . Daarmee overschreden zij ruimschoots de jaarlijkse toegestane norm van honderd μSv .
- 291 'Temporary Methodological Recommendations for Diminishing the Level of Radioactivity of Wool Raw Material,' 9 april 1987, RGAE 650/1/183: 2–8.
- 292 'On the Elimination of Shortcomings in the Protection of Labor,' 25 juli 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1650: 86–91.
- 293 'Planning Chart,' 8 november 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1650: 126.
- 294 'On the Creation of a Radiological Laboratory,' 10 april 1987, DACHO 2347/4/1667: 26.
- 295 Er volgden meer instructies: 'On Providing Rules for Radiation Safety in Decontaminating Wool with Radioactive Substances,' 22 april 1987, DACHO 2347/4/1667: 47.
- 296 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene' [appendix], 82–88.

- 297 'From M. S. Mukharsky to the Chief State Sanitary Doctor,' 1 juli 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4340: 169.
- 298 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene.'
- 299 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene,' appendix, 84–85.
- 300 Interview door de auteur met werknemers van de sorteerhal, wolfabriek van Tsjernihiv, 6 juli 2016, Tsjernihiv.
- 301 'Technical Report,' 11 oktober 1991, DACHO 9014/1/18: 279.
- 302 Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 303 'Certification of the State of Conditions for Sanitary-Hygiene,' 15–18 juni 1987, TsDAVO 342/17/4672: 82–85.
- 304 'Protocol of the Meeting of the Professional Union Committee,' 16 december 1986, DACHO 2347/4/1618: 106.
- 305 'Protocol,' 25 september 1987, DACHO 2347/4/1678: 78–80; 'Protocol,' 20 april 1989, DACHO 2347/1/1705: 21–24; en 'On Directions to the Group of Residents of Chernihiv,' GARF 8009/51/4340: 59.
- 306 'To A. Yablokov from E. B. Burlakov and V. I. Naidiach,' niet eerder dan 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 393–95. Zie voor andere symptomen 'To Respected Comrade K. I. Masyk,' 5 januari 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 5–7.
- 307 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 26.
- 308 Jorgensen, *Strange Glow*, 99.
- 309 Kate Moore, *The Radium Girls: The Dark Story of America's Shining Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016).
- 310 Eileen Welsome, *The Plutonium Files: America's Secret Medical Experiments in the Cold War* (New York: Dial Press, 1999), 50.
- 311 Hematoloog Andrei Vorobiev noemt deze symptomen in zijn beschrijving van het chronisch stralingssyndroom. Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 85.
- 312 'Dear Deputies!,' niet later dan juni 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 21–22.
- 313 Iu. A. Izrael, 'An Evaluation of Radiological Conditions,' 21 mei 1986, in Alla Yaroshinskaya, *Chernobyl': Bol'shaia lozh'* (Moskou: Vremia, 2011), 14.
- 314 'Khulap to A. A. Grakhovskii,' 18 juli 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940, 31–36; 'Decree No. Pr184-DSP,' 30 juni 1986, Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyr'skoi oblasti (DAZhO) 3756/1/1440: 231–34; en 'On Establishing Higher Up to 25% Tariff Rates,' 2 januari 1990, GAGO 1174/8/2336: 152–53.
- 315 'V. P. Platonov, E. F. Konoplia, 'Information on the Major Results of Scientific Work Connected with the Liquidation of the Accident at the ChAES,' 21 april 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 490–571.
- 316 'On Norms for Primary Processing of Wool Contaminated with Radioactive Substances,' 18 augustus 1986, DACHO 2347/1/1650: 135–36; en 'On Disposal of Solid Radioactive Waste,' 18 augustus 1986, DACHO 2347/1/1650: 137.
- 317 Interview door de auteur met Maria Nogina.
- 318 'On the Disposal of Unwashed Wool Contaminated with Radionuclides Higher Than 1 mR/hr,' 14 december 1987, DACHO 2347/4/1669: 122; en 'Protocol of the Professional Union Committee Meeting,' 16 december 1986, DACHO 2347/4/1618: 106.
- 319 'Towards Securing Safety of Movement,' 30 oktober 1986, DACHO 2341/1/1651: 69.
- 320 'Deposition No. 247,' 9 mei 1986, DAZhO 1150/2/3017: 9–11.
- 321 'Telephonogram to the Ministry of Health, UkSSR, Comrade M. S. Mukharskiy,' 27 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 15.
- 322 'Act of Sanitary Investigation,' 11 augustus 1986, en 'Directive from the Soviet Ministers,' 20 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 14, 66.
- 323 'To M. S. Mukharskiy from P. I. Chekrenev,' 27 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4348: 15–16.
- 324 'Evaluation on Work on Processing Hides,' 22 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4348: 5–10.
- 325 De huiden werden gemeten op waarden tussen dertig en vijfhonderd microroentgen per uur. 'Act of Sanitary Investigation' en 'On Processing Leather Raw Material,' 18 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 26.

- 326 Amie Ferris-Rotman, 'The Scattering of Ukraine's Jews,' *The Atlantic*, 21 september 2014.
- 327 Interview door de auteur met Nina Aleksandrovna Chekreneva, 10 juli 2016, Zjytomyr.
- 328 Pas later begonnen ze huishoudelijke bezittingen op radioactiviteit te controleren. 'Disposition 172-r,' 19 maart 1990, GAMO 7/5/3964: 162-64.
- 329 'Telephonogram to the Ministry of Health.'
- 330 'Directions of the Council of Ministers, UkSSR,' 1 september 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 66; en 'On Processing Leather Raw Material.'
- 331 Interview door de auteur met Nina Aleksandrova Chekreneva, 10 juli 2016, Zjytomyr; en 'Foreword, P. I. Chekrenev,' 20 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 13.
- 332 'Transcripts of Meeting No. 1,' 3 mei 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy TsK KPU*, 32-33.
- 333 'Proposal for Reprocessing Livestock of Kyiv Province,' mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 13; 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 4 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 5; 'Case 20, Various Information,' 22 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 7-8; en 'L. K. Filonenko to A. N. Tkachenko,' mei 1986, TsDAVO 2605/9/1601: 8; 'Information on the Situation in the Territory of Gomel' and Mogilev Provinces,' 5 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 45-60.
- 334 Het bevel voor de 'noodslachting' werd op 5 mei gegeven. 'Decree No. 186,' 29 december 1986, DAZhO 5005/1/546: 109-11. Wit-Russische functionarissen dreven 50.900 stuks vee bijeen. TsK KP BSSR 'Certification on the Course of Liquidation,' 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 126-38.
- 335 'Operative Information of the Directory of Mechanization and Electrification,' 7 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 51.
- 336 'V. K. Solomakha to A. A. Tkachenko,' 5 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 20.
- 337 'Recommendations for the Use of Meat Raw Material,' 18 juni 1986, RGAE 650/1/556: 1-3; en 'From M. S. Mukharsky to the Chief State Sanitary Doctor,' 1 juli 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4340: 169.
- 338 'Recommendations for the Use of Meat Raw Material,' 18 juni 1986, RGAE 650/1/556: 1-3.
- 339 De drempelwaarde om als afval te worden aangemerkt lag bij 2,10 x 10⁻⁶ curie per kilogram (Ci/kg) bèta-activiteit. 'On Classification of Meat as Waste,' niet later dan 15 juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 31-33.
- 340 'Certification on the Course of Instruction of Teachers,' 12 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 19; en 'Decree No. 186.'
- 341 'Evaluation of the Berdychiv Regional Sanitation-Epidemiological Station,' niet gedateerd, 1986; 'Annual Assessment of Radiation Hygiene,' DAZhO 3950/1/1296: 13-21, 36-40.
- 342 Het nieuwe toegestane stralingsniveau op de werkplek werd vastgesteld op 50 microrentgen per uur. 'On Classification of Meat as Waste.' Voor letsel bij werknemers, zie 'Decree on Reducing Inadequacies,' 17 maart 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 154/1/34: 105-6. Voor de ontsmetting van een verpakkingsbedrijf, zie 'Decree,' 28 juli 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva 154/1/33: 310.
- 343 'Certification,' 4 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 35; en 'General Union Sanitary-Hygiene Anti-Epidemic Regulations and Norms,' 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 174-90.
- 344 'Decree on Bringing to Justice for Disciplinary Responsibility,' 22 september 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva 154/1/33: 363; en 'Decree on Reducing Inadequacies.'
- 345 'Emergency-gramma No. 129 from the Ministry of Health SSSR,' 23 juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4340: 162. Zie ook 'Contamination of Produce with Radioactive Substances,' 30 mei 1986, GARF, P8009/51/3559: 25-26.
- 346 'Dispatch No. 15,' 17 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 217-18; 'A. N. Tkachenko to E. V. Kachalovskiy,' 10 februari 1987, TsDAVO 27/22/7808: 76; en 'Transcripts of Meeting No. 39,' 20 augustus 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operatyvnoi hrupy*, 435-46.
- 347 'Certification of the State of Special Provisions,' 15 augustus 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 81-84.
- 348 'Protocol No. 23,' 23 mei 1986, en 'Protocol No. 26,' 27 mei 1986, Baranovska, *Chornobyl' - problemy zdorov'ia*, vol. 1, 157-58, 175-77.

349 'A. M. Kasianenko to A. N. Tkachenko,' 16 juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 40.

350 'On the Use of Meat with Elevated Levels of Radioactive Substances,' 9 januari 1987, TsDAVO 27/22/7808: 10–11.

351 'Information on Meat Production,' 17 april 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 16.

352 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 91–93, 112–15; en interview door de auteur met Dmitri Grodzinskii, Kyiv, 14 juli 2015.

353 'On the Use of Meat with Elevated Levels of Radioactive Substances.'

354 'Telegram from Khusainov to V. S. Murakhovsky,' 9 oktober 1986; 'M. N. Dergachev to SM BSSR, No. 13/341-233,' 25 november 1986, NARB 7/10/475: 79, 103; 'M. V. Kovalev to K. Z. Terekhov,' 15 september 1987, NARB 7/10/475: 68; en 'E. F. Sukhorukov to Sovmin BSSR,' 30 mei 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 20.

355 'Results of Detection of Strontium-90 and Cesium-137,' 8 december 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7808: 16–41.

356 'Radiation in Soviet Veal Reported,' *The New York Times*, 1 juni 1986.

357 'Information for Meat Production'; 'Telegram from Khuseinov'; 'M. N. Dergachev to SM BSSR, No. 13/341-233,' 25 november 1986; 'State Telegram,' 18 december 1986, NARB 7/10/475: 79, 103, 110–12; en 'Protocol No. 17/2-SP,' 12 april 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 11–21.

358 'On the Arrival at the Southwest Railroad of Meat with Elevated Levels of Radioactivity,' 28 maart 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 151.

359 'On the Exacerbation of the Situation at the Southwest Railroad,' 14 mei 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 47–48.

360 'On the Arrival at the Southwest Railroad of Meat with Elevated Levels of Radioactivity,' en 'On the Situation Concerning the Refrigeration Section of Meat Production,' 23 augustus 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 158–59.

361 'To A. N. Tkachenko from A. M. Kas'ianenko,' 25 juni 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 63; 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 2 juni 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 35; 'Transcripts from Meeting No. 38,' 13

augustus 1986, in *Chornobyl': Dokumenty operativnoi hrupy*, 411–33.

362 'Explanatory Notes,' 12 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 131–32.

363 'On Results of Investigation of Strawberries,' 6 mei 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 1, 7; 'On Use of Goods,' 20 juni 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/5411: 69–70; 'On Purchase and Processing of Berries,' 25 juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/5411: 62; 'I. M. Chaban from V. V. Vetchinin,' 10 mei 1986; 'To A. N. Tkachenko from A. M. Kas'ianenko,' 25 juni 1986; 'On Results of Spectrological Investigation of Meat,' 10 juli 1986; 'Temporary Directions,' 11 mei 1986; 'General Union Sanitary-Hygiene Anti-Epidemic Regulations and Norms,' 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 3, 39, 63, 84, 179–90.

364 'From the Commission of the European Communities, Com (87), Minutes 894,' 4 november 1987, PSP 133, European Union Archive (EUA); en 'Wheat "A La Chernobyl" for the Third World,' *IPS*, 28 september 1990.

365 V. K. Savchenko, *The Ecology of the Chernobyl Tragedy: Scientific Outlines of an International Programme of Collaborative Research* (Paris: Parthenon Publishing, 1995), 30–31.

366 'On Measures to Liquidate the Consequences of the Accident,' september 1986, NARB 7/10/429: 29–32; 'Additional Recommendations,' 30 juni 1986, Yaroshinskaya, *Sovershenno sekretno*, 386–87.

367 'On Measures to Liquidate the Consequences of the Accident' en 'Reckoning of Need for Commercial Feed,' 1988, NARB 7/10/1851: 53.

368 'M. Kovalev to N. I. Ryzhkov,' 16 oktober 1986, NARB 7/10/439: 63; en 'From 17 December 1986,' 17 december 1986, GAOOMO 15/44/5: 150–52.

369 'E. E. Sokolova to N. I. Ryzhkov,' 6 november 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 143–44.

370 'On Measures to Liquidate the Consequences of the Accident.'

371 'Directions for Decontaminating Milk,' 27 januari 1987; en 'Temporary Instructions,' 21 oktober 1986, RGAE 650/1/555: 1, 2–10.

372 'On the Use of Milk,' 17 mei 1986; 'V. K. Solomakha to A. A. Tkachenko,' niet eerder dan 19 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701:

- 224–25, 258; en ‘Temporary Instructions for Extinction of Directives.’ Voor melkophaling binnen de dertig kilometer-zone, zie ‘Protocol of Meeting of Council on Questions,’ 26 december 1991, NARB 507/1/12: 1.
- 373 ‘A. V. Romanenko to E. V. Kachalovsky,’ 17 mei 1986, TsDAVO 2605/9/1601: 21–22; ‘Information of Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,’ 28 juni 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 119; en ‘On the Work of State Committee of Industrial Agriculture on Liquidation,’ 25 januari 1987, TsDAVO 27/22/7808: 58–64.
- 374 ‘To I. M. Chaban from V. V. Vetchinina,’ 10 mei 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 39; ‘Protocol No. 22,’ 22 mei 1986, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl’ – problemy zdorov’ia*, 148–50.
- 375 ‘Informational Communiqué,’ 31 augustus 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 19–23.
- 376 ‘Information of Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,’ 5 juni 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 38.
- 377 ‘On the Procurement and Processing of Berries,’ 26 juni 1986; ‘On Use of Berries in Children’s Food,’ 27 juni 1986; ‘Minsdrav UkSSR to C. A. Nanasiuk,’ 26 juni 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 41–42, 73–74, 80–81; en ‘On Radiometric Control,’ 17 september 1986, TsDAVO 324/17/4348: 21.
- 378 ‘Commentary on the Active Norms of Radioactive Substances in Food Products,’ 20 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 88–90.
- 379 ‘Information on the State of Vegetables,’ niet eerder dan 4 mei 1986; ‘On the Condition of Vegetables in Measures Taken,’ niet eerder dan 5 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 21–22, 31–32. ‘Information on the Condition of Shipments and Supply,’ 9 mei 1986, TsDAVO 2605/9/1601: 92–93; en ‘The State of Radiological Control of Food Products,’ 26 november 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 207–10.
- 380 ‘Information of the Special Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,’ 2 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 2; en ‘On Inspection of Radiometric Control,’ juni 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 27–30.
- 381 ‘On the State of Control of the Harvest Collection,’ 15 mei 1986, TsDAVO 2605/9/1601: 184.
- 382 ‘Information on the Quality of Water in Reservoirs,’ 4 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 28–29.
- 383 ‘General Union Sanitary-Hygiene Anti-Epidemic Regulations and Norms,’ 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4370: 174.
- 384 ‘To M. S. Mukharsky from V. I. Smoliar,’ 4 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 115.
- 385 ‘Certification on the Distribution of Evacuated Families from the Zone of the Accident,’ 19 september 1986, SBU 68/483: 20–21.
- 386 ‘On Creation of a Special Map No. 3 for Disposal of Biomass,’ oktober 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4348: 31–32.
- 387 ‘Radiation Shield of Kyiv,’ 1 oktober 1986, Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi kinofotofonoarkhiv Ukrainy (TsDKFFA) No. 10219, film dossier.
- 388 ‘Information,’ 15 mei 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7701: 179–80.
- 389 ‘On Results of Inspection,’ 18 juli 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 31.
- 390 ‘Information on Circumstances,’ 5 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 45–60; ‘A. A. Grakhovskii to V. S. Murakhovskii,’ 16 september 1988, GAGO 1174/8/2113: 116; en ‘On Carrying Out of the Decree,’ 26 mei 1987, RGANI 51/7, HIA, reel 1.1008.
- 391 ‘Commander of the Army of the Belarusian Military Region,’ 19 juni 1987, NARB 4R/ 156/393: 71–75.
- 392 ‘Province Consumer Union to Gomel’ Province Executive Committee,’ 3 juli 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 25.
- 393 ‘Temporary Recommendations for Allotment of Agro-Industrial Produce,’ 30 mei 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4340: 50–75; ‘General Union Sanitary-Hygiene Anti-Epidemic Regulations and Norms,’ ‘On Directions for Decontaminating Milk,’ 27 januari 1987; ‘Temporary Instructions for Decontaminating Milk,’ 21 oktober 1986, RGAE 650/1/555: 1, 2–10.
- 394 ‘Decree No. 102,’ 27 juni 1986, DAZhO 219/1/404: 119; ‘Resolutions,’ 27 augustus 1986, NARB 1088/1/1002: 73; ‘On Reorganization and Changes,’ 13 juni 1986, NARB 1088/1/986: 216–18; ‘Protocol No. 8,’ 27 augustus 1987, NARB 1088/1/1002: 59–61; en ‘Sovmin BSSR to Belorussian Consumer Cooperative,’ 13 juni 1988, NARB 7/10/1524: 85–87.

395 'On Hermeticization of Cabins,' 8 november 1986, NARB 7/10/467: 110; 'Narodychi Regional Agri-Industrial Collective,' 7 juli 1986, DAZhO 219/1/404: 127; 'Order for Narodychi Regional Agri-Industry,' 24 april 1987, DAZhO 219/1/428: 70; 'On the Supply of Tractors with Hermeticized Cabins,' 11 juli 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 50-52; en 'On Additional Measures,' 20 maart 1990, DAZhO 1150/2/3278: 17-20.

396 Over gevangenen, 'Protocol of Meeting of the Council on Questions,' 13 oktober 1992, NARB 507/1/12: 2-4. 'On the Redistribution of Construction Points of Special Refabrification,' 20 februari 1987, NARB 10/7/1524: 87; en 'Certification Report,' 1989, NARB 7/10/1938: 40-55.

397 'Tasks,' 1 juni 1988, DAZhO 1150/2/3164: 21; 'On Measures to Liquidate the Accident,' 5 september 1986, NARB 7/10/1851: 35-36; 'Decree No. 107,' 22 mei 1987, DAZhO 5068/1/139: 156-59; en 'Decree No. 132,' 3 juni 1988, DAZhO 5068/1/162: 7-9.

398 'Residents to A. S. Kamai and TsK KPSS,' 11 mei 1986, NARB 4R/156/238: 104; 'On the Necessary Battle with Insect-Enemies,' 31 juli 1986, NARB 7/10/466: 259; 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 10 juni 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 42; 'On Measures to Liquidate the Accident' and 'On the Termination of Production of Disinfectants from DDT,' 14 juni 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4900: 88-89.

399 'Draft Report on Toxic Chemical Contamination in Ukraine,' 3 september 1990, GPA 999.

400 'Tasks of the Sanitary-Epidemiological Service of the Republic,' 23-26 september 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4355: 155-74; 'On Work of State Committee of Industrial Agriculture USSR on Liquidation,' 25 januari 1987, TsDAVO 27/22/7808: 58-64; 'List,' 5 mei 1987, DAZhO 76/36/42: 32-34; 'Protocol,' 20 oktober 1987, NARB 7/10/1524: 49-53; en 'Clarification of Accounting,' 1990, NARB 507/1/2: 278-83.

401 'Assessment of the Possibility of the Contamination of the River,' 15 september 1986, en 'On Effectivity of Water Reservoir Activities,' 30 september 1986, NARB 7/10/467: 91, 99; 'On the Circumstances and Pace of Investigation of the Accident at the Chernobyl NPP'

5 mei 1986, *Z arkhiviv VUCHK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1 (Kyiv, 2001): 77-78; 'On Unfortunate Circumstances,' 21 december 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 300-304; en 'On Additional Construction,' 5 september 1986, NARB 7/10/469: 130-31.

402 'Certification of Processes,' 8 september 1986, SBU 68/483: 18.

403 'On Gasification of the Poliske Region,' 17 juli 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 50; en 'L. Riabev on the Heating-Energy Complex,' 27 september 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 77.

404 'Instructions,' 21 november 1986, NARB 7/10/467: 124.

405 'On Supplying the Population with Clean Food,' 16 juni 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 42-43.

406 'Food and Consumer Goods in Khoyniki and Bragin Regions,' 28 augustus 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 28; 'From the Gomel Sanitary-Epidemiological Service,' 16 mei 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 19; en 'On Party-Political Work,' 28 augustus 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva 621/1/941: 51-52.

407 'Z. A. Khulap to V. K. Levchik,' 18 oktober 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 95-96; en A. Drozdov, 'Chem zhivut Khoyniki?' *Sovetskaia belorussia*, 5 mei 1988, 3.

408 'V. A. Tsalko to A. A. Rakhnovskii,' 4 september 1989, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 92-94; en 'E. I. Sizenko to First Deputy Chair of State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 20 april 1988, GAGO 1174/8/2113: 56-57.

409 'To M. S. Mukharsky from V. I. Smoliar,' 4 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 243/17/4370: 115.

410 'Information of the Operative Group of the State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 29 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 27/22/7703: 120; 'On the Preparation of the School,' 29 augustus 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva, 466/1/1120: 19-20; 'Certification on the State of Children's Food,' niet later dan 24 juni 1992, TsDAVO 324/19/32: 25-28; en 'On State Sanitation Oversight,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1263: 98-114.

411 'An Especially Important Issue,' 2 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 29-31.

412 Deborah Kay Fitzgerald, *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University

- Press, 2003); en Ted Genoways, *The Chain: Farm, Factory, and the Fate of Our Food* (New York: Harper, 2014).
- 413 Voor de erkenning van dit feit door de KGB, zie 'On Some Problems in the Liquidation of the Consequences of the Accident,' 6 december 1988, *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1 (Kyiv, 2001), 370–71. Voor meldingen van mislukte schoonmaakacties, zie 'On Work,' 4 augustus 1989, en 'Certification,' 1989, *DAZhO* 1150/2/3230: 1–16; 'Resolutions,' 20 juni 1989, en 'Dear Comrades,' 1989, *DAZhO* 1/1/850: 225–29, 230–33; en 'Certification,' 29 april 1990, *DAZhO* 1150/2/3281: 52–56.
- 414 Eugene P. Odum, *Fundamentals of Ecology*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1959), 481, aangehaald in Joel Hagen, *An Entangled Bank: The Origins of Ecosystem Ecology* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 116.
- 415 'On the Clarification of the Structure of the Planting,' 23 december 1986, *TsDAVO* 27/22/7808: 12–13; 'To the Commander of the Belorussian Military District,' 19 juni 1987, *NARB* 4R/156/393: 71–75; 'Certification of Report on the Results of Recontamination Efforts,' 13 november 1987, *NARB* 4R, 156/393: 145–49; 'On the Relocation of Residents of Villages of Narodychi Region,' 2 februari 1989, *TsDAVO* 342/17/5089: 6.
- 416 'On Some Questions of the Liquidation of the Consequences of the Accident at the ChAES,' 22 februari 1991, *SBU* 16/1/1292: 143–45; en 'First Draft, Report of Meetings in Kyiv,' 11 december 1992, *GPA* 994.
- 417 'On Additional Included Villages,' 23 mei 1987, *RGANI* 89/56/5: 196, *HIA*; 'No. 3-50/753,' 26 juni 1989, *TsDAVO* 342/17/5089: 70; en 'On Circumstances Forming in the Narodychi Region of Zhytomyr Province,' *GARF* 5446/150/1624: 13–18.
- 418 'On Additional Measures to Secure Safety,' 19 augustus 1987, *NARB* 4R/ 156/393: 129–32.
- 419 'Gomel Province,' niet eerder dan 1 december 1986, *NARB* 4R/154/392: 11–39; 'A. A. Grakhovskii to V. S. Murakhovskii,' 16 september 1988, *GAGO* 1174/8/2113: 116; en 'Certification,' 19 juni 1986, *NARB* 7/10/530: 74–78.
- 420 'On Additional Allocation of Gomel and Mogilev Provinces with Feed,' 11 december 1987, *NARB* 4R/156/393: 153.
- 421 'Data on Labs and Dosimetrical Posts for Objects,' juni 1987, *NARB* 4R/156/393: 35.
- 422 'On Agricultural Produce,' 1 juni 1987, *NARB* 4R/156/393: 61–65; en 'On State Oversight,' 1989, *NARB* 46/14/1263: 98–114.
- 423 'On Agricultural Produce.'
- 424 Die observatie bleek juist te zijn. Zie 'On the Collective Letter from Residents of Rudnia Radovel's'ka,' 19 oktober 1989, *TsDAVO* 342/17/5089: 183.
- 425 Interview door Nadezhda Koroleva met Angelina Gus'kova, 'Serdtshe v rukakh radiologa,' *Atomnaia strategiia*, no. 14 (november 2004); interview door de auteur met Abel Gonzalez, 3 juni 2016, Wenen.
- 426 Voor een reeks verzoeken om herhuisvesting, zie 'Women from Chernihiv Province to M. S. Gorbachev,' 19 juni 1986, en 'Residents of the Village Luhovyky, Kyiv Province,' 21 oktober 1986, *TsDAHO*1/41/106: 148 ob, 191 ob; 'Certification,' 20 november 1987, *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1 (Kyiv, 2001), 290–92; 'V. I. Chazovu,' geen datum, 1988, *GARF* 8009/51/4340: 111–14; 'Ministry of Health SSR,' 20 december 1988, *GARF* 8009/51/4340: 103–4; 'Notes from the Protocol No. 4 Meeting of the Soviet Labor Collective, Strelichevo Farm,' 4 oktober 1989, *GAGO* 1174/8/2336, 142–43; 'Protocol, Meeting of Workers, Cherykaw,' 1 juni 1989, *GAGO* 1174/8/2215: 71–72, 74; 'To the Central Committee KPSS,' 23 maart 1989, *GARF* 8009/51/4340: 140–43. Voor een opiniepeiling waaruit bleek dat 93 procent van de respondenten wilde verhuizen, zie 'Certification,' 1992, *NARB* 507/1/20: 66–70.
- 427 Pas in 1990 werden de productiequota afgeschaft. 'On Measures to Speed the Implementation of the State Program for Liquidation,' 29 september 1990, *NARB* 507/1/1: 28–30.
- 428 'On State Oversight,' 1989, *NARB* 46/14/1263: 98–114; 'Information on Milk Quality,' april 1987, *NARB* 4R/156/393: 30; en 'Annual Account,' 1987, *Arkhiv Kricheva* 588/1/173: 29–30. Een rapport uit 1991, opgesteld voor Moskou door de verantwoordelijken voor de veiligheid binnen het Staatscomité voor Industriële Landbouw,

presenteert andere cijfers. Volgens dat rapport werd de melk tussen 1986 en 1990 juist geleidelijk schoner: 'On Measures Taken in the Agri-Industrial Complex,' 18 maart 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 62–68. Voor beschuldigingen dat het Oekraïense Staatscomité voor Industriële Landbouw stralingsgegevens heeft vervalst, zie: 'Minutes to the 28th Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine,' 14 december 1990, TsDAHO1/2/1065: 112–43.

429 'Explanatory Note,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 22–23; 'Certification,' niet later dan maart 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5359: 51–65; en 'Health Indicators of the Region,' 1992, DAZhO 2959/2/1209: 1–219.

430 'On Order of SM UkSSR No. 5182/86,' 20 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 67–69; en 'A Group Deputy Question,' 9 juni 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5089: 38–42.

431 'On Circumstances Forming in the Narodychi Region of Zhytomyr Province.'

432 'On Radiological Conditions in Korosten,' 19 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159–61.

433 'On Review of Petition,' 14 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 24–26.

434 'On Building Up the Lab a Prep-Solution for Milk/Meat Produce,' 25 juni 1990, GAMO 11/5/1557: 104.

435 Voor een voorbeeld van documenten waarin ontsmettingsmaatregelen worden voorgeschreven: 'On Additional Measures,' 14 december 1986, GAOOMO 40/50/7: 143–46; 'Protocol of Commission Meeting,' 30 november 1987, NARB 10/7/1524: 70–74; 'Decree No. 161,' 8 december 1987, DAZhO 219/1/428: 219; 'On Additional Measures – Not for Publication,' 6 juni 1988, DAZhO 1150/2/3164: 15–19; 'E. I. Sizhenko to First Deputy Chair of State Committee of Industrial Agriculture,' 20 april 1988, GAGO 1174/8/2113: 56–57; 'Protocol No. 17/2-SP,' 12 april 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 11–21; 'Protocol of Commission Meeting,' 21 juli 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 44–47; 'On Creation of a Working Group,' 25 maart 1988, NARB 7/10/1525: 32–33; 'On Problems in Leadership of Some Organizations,' 30 maart 1988, GAOOMO 9/187: 59; 'Resolution No. 556,' 20 januari 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 1–4; 'Resolution of the Zhytomyr Party Committee,' 2 maart 1989,

DAZhO 1150/2/3178: 10–14; 'Certification,' niet vóór juni 1989, DAZhO 1150/2/3230: 7–11; 'Resolution No. 5-29-8/1,' 15 mei 1989, GAMO 7/5/3833: 295–306; 'On Measures to Improve the Food for Population in the Zone of "Strict Control"', 14 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089, 148–49, 156–58; 'Decision No. 601 Carried Out for 1990,' 29 oktober 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 89–95; 'Vetkovskii Regional Committee to Chair of the Supreme Soviet, BSSR, N. I. Dementei,' 5 november 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 142–43; 'Belarus Consumer Cooperative to Deputy Chair of Soviet,' 10 november 1990; 'Project,' Gomel, 1990, NARB 507/1/2: 245–46, 266–68; 'Certification,' niet later dan maart 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5359: 51–65; 'Decision No. 580,' 16–17 november 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 88–91; 'On Food for the Population of Controlled Territories,' 4 juni 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5328: 85–86; 'V. N. Sych to E. P. Tikhonenkov,' 24 mei 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 45–53; en 'Protocol No. 1,' 30 maart 1993, GAMO 7/5/4183: 1–10.

436 'Directive,' 23 mei 1989, GAMO 7/5/3856: 154–57. Zie voor niet-uitgevoerde herhuisvestingsopdrachten: 'Radiological Circumstances,' 29 december 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2336: 41–42; en Urii Bondar, red., *20 let posle Chernobyl'skoi katastrofy: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Minsk, 2006), 72. Zie voor gedeeltelijke afsluitingen van moerassig land en weilanden: 'Decision,' 19 september 1989, GAMO 7/5/3837: 128–29. Zie voor volledige sluitingen: 'Schematic,' 1993, GAMO 7/5/4288: 15–20.

437 'On Medical-Sanitary Provisioning of Gomel and Mogilev Provinces,' 28 mei 1987, RGANI 89/56/6: 199–204, HIA; en 'On Lowering Limits of Exposure of Population,' 16 maart 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 93–96.

438 'To Commander of the Belarusian Military District.'

439 'Resolution No. 556,' 20 januari 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 1–4.

440 'On Question No. 3,' 24 juli 1989; en 'On Citizens' Letters,' niet gedateerd, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 124, 129.

441 'Residents of Village Luhovyky, Kyiv Province,' 21 oktober 1986, TsDAHO 1/41/106: 191 ob.

442 'To Efimovich from Voters of Kosiukovicheskii Region,' 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 75–76.

- 443 David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany* (New York: Norton, 2006), 239.
- 444 U.S. Army Aerial Maps, september 1943, RG 373 GX 16058 SK, National Archives Research Administration (NARA), College Park, MD.
- 445 Joice M. Mankivell en Sydney Loch, *The River of a Hundred Ways: Life in the War-Devastated Areas of Eastern Poland* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1924), 53–66.
- 446 Over pesticiden en kunstmest, zie: Owen Hoffman, 'Interim Report: The Toxicological Program,' 21 december 1992, GPA 1002.
- 447 Łukasz Łuczaj et al., 'Wild Edible Plants of Belarus: From Rostafiński's Questionnaire of 1883 to the Present,' *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 9, no. 1 (januari 2013): 21–38; en Yuriy V. Movchan, 'Environmental Conditions, Freshwater Fishes and Fishery Management in the Ukraine,' *Aquatic Ecosystem Health and Management* 18, no. 2 (april 2015): 195–204.
- 448 Volodymyr Heorhienko, *Utro Atomograda*. Documentaire. Ukrtelefilm, 1974.
- 449 'V. K. Solomakha to A. N. Tkachenko,' 5 mei 1986, TsDAVO 2605/9/1601, 20; en 'To M. S. Mukharsky from P. I. Chekrenev,' 27 augustus 1986, TsDAVO 342/17/4348, 15–16.
- 450 Zie voor deze geschiedenis mijn boek *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- 451 Zie voor de vijf- tot zevenvoudige toename van de radioactiviteitsniveaus als gevolg van bosbranden 'To Deputy Director of Mogilev Oblispolkoma, A. S. Semkin,' 30 oktober 1990, GAMO 7/5/3990: 21–22; en 'Fire Protection,' 12 december 1990, en 'Unsatisfactory Execution of Directives,' april 1992, GAMO 7/5/4126: 82–83, 69–71.
- 452 Timothy A. Mousseau et al., 'Highly Reduced Mass Loss Rates and Increased Litter Layer in Radioactively Contaminated Areas,' *Oecologia*, 4 maart 2014.
- 453 Voor bewijs dat dieren in het wild gevoeliger kunnen zijn voor straling dan dieren in het lab, zie Jacqueline Garnier-Laplace et al., 'Radiological Dose Reconstruction for Birds Reconciles Outcomes of Fukushima with Knowledge of Dose-Effect Relationships,' *Scientific Reports* 5 (16 november 2015).
- 454 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).
- 455 T. Mousseau en A. Møller, 'Reduced Abundance of Insects and Spiders Linked to Radiation at Chernobyl 20 Years After the Accident,' *Biology Letters* (2009): 5.
- 456 Anders Pape Møller et al., 'Ecosystems Effects 25 Years after Chernobyl: Pollinators, Fruit Set and Recruitment,' *Oecologia* 170 (2012): 1155–65.
- 457 Møller et al., 'Elevated Mortality among Birds in Chernobyl as Judged from Skewed Age and Sex Ratios,' *PLOS ONE* 7, no. 4 (11 april 2012).
- 458 Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994).
- 459 Rachel Nuwer, 'Forests Around Chernobyl Aren't Decaying Properly,' 14 maart 2014, Smithsonian.com, geraadpleegd op 7 juni 2016, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/forests-around-chernobyl-arent-decaying-properly-180950075/>.
- 460 Interview door de auteur met Anders Møller, 4 november 2014, Parijs.
- 461 A. V. Stepanenko, 'On a Conception of Residence on Territory Contaminated with Radionuclides,' 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 11–22; en V. P. Platonov en E. F. Konoplia, 'Summary of Main Results of Scientific Work on Liquidation of Consequences of the Accident at the ChAES,' 21 april 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 490–571.
- 462 'To First Deputy, E. V. Kachalovsky,' 6 juni 1989; 'On Conditions in the Narodychi Region, Zhytomyr Province,' 16 juni 1989, SBU 16/1/1275: 27–28; 'For the period of 1987,' niet eerder dan maart 1989, 'Circumstances Forming in Narodychi Region, Zhytomyr Province,' GARF 5446/150/1624: 28–29, 13–18. Voor de weerlegging door het Staatscomité voor Industriële Landbouw van de gemelde toename van geboortefwijkingen, zie 'On Question III,' 24 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 124.

- 463 Nicholas A. Beresford en Davide Cobblestone, 'Effects of Ionizing Radiation on Wildlife: What Knowledge Have We Gained Between the Chernobyl and Fukushima Accidents?' *Integrated Environmental Assessment and Management* 7 (2011): 371–73.
- 464 Zie het verschil tussen eerdere en later publicaties. Robert Baker met Jeff Toney, 'Dean's Corner,' *Translating the Endless Wonderment of Science*, 16 maart 2011; Robert J. Baker et al., 'Mitochondrial Control Region Variation in Bank Voles Is Not Related to Chernobyl Radiation Exposure,' *Environmental Toxicology and Chemistry* 26, no. 2 (februari 2007): 361–69; en Robert J. Baker et al., 'Elevated Mitochondrial Genome Variation after 50 Generations of Radiation Exposure in a Wild Rodent,' *Evolutionary Applications* 10, no. 8 (1 september 2017): 784–91.
- 465 J. T. Smith et al., 'Long-Term Census Data Reveal Abundant Wildlife Populations at Chernobyl,' *Current Biology* 25, no. 19 (5 oktober 2015): R824–26.
- 466 Zie voor de tekortkomingen van computationele studies Leopold, *Under the Radar*, 142–44.
- 467 'On Measures,' 9 juni 1986, DAZhO 76/36/42: 50–53; 'Several Problems,' 22 januari 1991, SBU 16/1/292: 59–63.
- 468 Interview door de auteur met Aleksandr Komov, 2 augustus 2016, Rivne, Oekraïne.
- 469 Michael S. Pravikoff en Philippe Hubert, 'Dating of Wines with Cesium-137,' geraadpleegd op 23 juli 2018, <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1807/1807.04340.pdf>. Zie voor de radioactieve neerslag Owen Hoffman et al., 'A Perspective on Public Concerns about Exposure to Fallout from the Production and Testing of Nuclear Weapons,' *Health Physics* (2002): 736–49.
- 470 A. N. Marei et al., *Global'nye vypadeniia Cs-137 i chelovek* (Moskou: Atomizdat, 1974), 3–13.
- 471 A. N. Marei et al., *Global'nye vypadeniia Cs-137 i chelovek*, 113.
- 472 *Federal Radiation Council Protective Action Guides: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U.S. Congress, June 29–30, 1965* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 217.
- 473 Marei, *Global'nye vypadeniia*, 141.
- 474 'Minutes to the 28th Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine,' 14 december 1990, TsDAHO1/2/1065: 112–43.
- 475 'Information about the Case of Irradiation,' 12 februari 1970; 'On the Case of Irradiation,' 10 februari 1970; 'AKT: Commission Presidium Academy of Science UkSSR,' 9 februari 1970; 'To the Science Division, TsK KPU,' 10 augustus 1970; en 'Measures to Execute the Resolution,' 10 augustus 1970, TsDAHO1/25/365: 3–8, 11–20, 49–50.
- 476 'Iadernyi vzryv v Khar'kovskoi oblasti,' 27 juni 2008, Prestupnosti.net, geraadpleegd op 21 juni 2018, <https://news.pn/en/politics/1503>.
- 477 V. I. Zhuchikhin, *Podzemnye iadernye vzryvy v mirnykh tseliakh* (Snezhinsk: RFIA Ts, 2007), 23–43.
- 478 'Measures to Liquidate and Cover the Gas Fountain,' 11 mei 1972, TsDAHO 1/16/109: 51–57.
- 479 L. F. Chernogor, 'Vzryvy na gazoprovodakh i avarii na gazovykh khranilishchakh – istochnik ekologicheskikh katastrof v Ukraine,' *Ekologiya i resursy* 19 (2008): 56–72; en interview door Olha Martynyuk met Leonid Chernogor, Kharkiv, 18 oktober 2017.
- 480 Zie voor radioactieve besmetting in de oblast Kharkiv: A. M. Koz'mianenko, 'On Possibility of Allocation of NPP,' 1 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5091: 4–6.
- 481 Chernogor, 'Vzryvy.'
- 482 Medvedev, *The Truth about Chernobyl*, 46; en 'On Possible Lowering of Power at the Chernobyl NPP,' 4 februari 1986, *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1 (Kyiv, 2001): 62–63.
- 483 'Notes of Report, UKDB URSR,' 12 maart 1981, SBU 65/1/5: 1–74; en 'Informational Communiqué,' 8 april 1986, SBU 16/1/1283: 9.
- 484 'Accident at NPP,' 13 september 1982, *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*, 1 (Kyiv, 2001): 47; en Medvedev, *The Truth about Chernobyl*, 5.
- 485 Borys Kachura, *Volodymyr Shcherbytsky: Spohady suchasnykiv* (Kyiv: Vidavnychi dim In Yure, 2003), 104–6; en Valentyna Shevchenko, 'Urodzhena mudrist,' 47–48.
- 486 N.K. Vakulenko, 'Notes from a Report,' 12 maart 1981, SBU 65/1/5: 74.

- 487 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 119.
- 488 Kachura, *Volodymyr Shcherbytsky*, 104–6; en V. K. Vrublev'sky, *Vladimir Shcherbytsky: Pravda i vymysly* (Kyiv: Dovira, 1993), 204.
- 489 'Informational Communiqué,' 16 en 30 september, 17 en 28 oktober, 27 december 1986, SBU 16/1/1245:137–38, 164–65, 208, 233–34, 388–89.
- 490 'Address to Cherep,' 14 december 1990, Baranovska, *Chernobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 623–28.
- 491 Voor de veronderstelling dat Tsjernobyl een van de RMBK-centrales was die voor militair gebruik waren bestemd, zie David R. Marples, 'Chernobyl: The Political Fallout Three Years Later,' *EIR Science and Technology* 16, no. 20 (12 mei 1989): 24–31.
- 492 14 maart 1983, N. S. Neporozhnii, *Energetika strany glazami ministra: Dnevniky 1935–1985 gg* (Moskou: Energoatomizdat, 2000), geraadpleegd op 21 december 2016, <http://prozhito.org/person/460>.
- 493 'Information on Circumstances,' 5 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 45–60.
- 494 'Execution of Directives of Council of Ministers UkSSR,' 10 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 91–93.
- 495 'Letter of Chief State Sanitary Doctor,' 26 januari 1988, Baranovska, *Chornobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 499–500.
- 496 'Inventory Material,' 21 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 25–30; en 'Medical Sanitary Provisioning of Population,' 1 maart 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 9–10.
- 497 'Letter to Minister of Health UkRSR,' 19 mei 1988, in Baranovska, *Chornobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 527–28.
- 498 Interview door de auteur met Aleksandr Komov, 2 augustus 2016, Rivne, Oekraïne.
- 499 Interview door de auteur met Nikolai Davidovich Tervonin, 28 juli 2016, Olshany, Wit-Rusland.
- 500 B. V. Sorochinsky, 'Molecular-Biological Nature of Morphological Abnormalities Induced by Chronic Irradiation in Coniferous Plants from the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone,' *Cytology and Genetics* 37 (2003): 49–55.
- 501 Adamovich, *Imia sei zvezde Chernobyl'*, 73. Greenpeace noteerde 'geruchten' over kernproeven in de moerassen. 'VT to Science Unit,' 7 april 1993, GPA 1002. Over het belang van strategische kernwapens, zie: David Holloway, 'Nuclear Weapons and the Cold War in Europe,' in Mark Kramer en Vit Smetana, red., *Imposing, Maintaining, and Tearing Open the Iron Curtain: The Cold War and East-Central Europe, 1945–1989* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 440–43.
- 502 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 12 februari 2016. Voor bewijs van abnormaal hoge aantallen aangeboren afwijkingen, zie 'Memo on Pediatric Service, Dobrush Region,' 1988, NARB 46/14/1261: 134–36.
- 503 'Protocol Council Meeting on Questions,' 16 januari 1992, NARB 507/1/12: 2–4.
- 504 L. Smirenyi, 'Predtecha Chernobylia,' *Nauka i zhizn'*, no. 10 (2003).
- 505 Martin Bürgener, *Pripet-Polessie: Das Bild Einer Polnischen Ostraum-Landschaft* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1939).
- 506 'Informational Communiqué,' 30 november, 6 en 14 december 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 273–74, 303–4; 11 en 17 februari, 8 april, 10 mei en 22 oktober 1988, SBU 16/1/1262: 61, 76, 151, 192–93; 'Informational Communiqué,' 22 oktober 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 179; 19 januari 1989, SBU 16/1/1273: 31–3; 13 en 24 oktober 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 112, 139; 'Informational Communiqué,' 8 september 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 96–97; 'Some Problems of Safety at NPP,' 6 augustus 1990, 16/1/1288, 127–29; 'Results of Safey Inspection at Rivne NPP with IAEA Methods,' 17 april tot 18 mei 1987, RGAE 859/1/592: 118–27.
- 507 'Informational Communiqué,' 23 november, 6 en 14 december 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 273–74, 303–4, 307–8; 11 en 17 februari, 8 april en 10 mei 1988, SBU 16/1/1262: 61, 76, 151, 192–93; 19 januari 1989, SBU 16/1/1273: 31–33; 13 en 24 oktober 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 111–12, 139; 'Informational Communiqué,' 22 oktober 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 179; 'To V.A. Ivashko from N. Holushko on Problems with Raising Safety at ChAES,' SBU 16/1/1279: 111–12, 139, 178–80; en 'Some Problems with Liquidating Consequences of ChAES Accident,' 14 november 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 43–48. Over ongelukken bij

- door de Sovjet-Unie gebouwde kerncentrales in Bulgarije, zie: 'Circumstances at the Bulgarian NPP,' 13 november 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 41–42.
- 508 John McNeill, *The Great Acceleration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).
- 509 Silini, 'Concerning Proposed Draft for Long-Term Chernobyl Studies,' Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR; en National Cancer Advisory Board, bijeengekomen op 11 en 12 september 1998; 1999 National Cancer Institute (NCI) Annual Report.
- 510 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' Kyiv, 11–13 mei 1988 (Wenen: IAEA, 1989), 9–12.
- 511 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 349.
- 512 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 100, 137.
- 513 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 331.
- 514 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 55.
- 515 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 14.
- 516 Interview door de auteur met Natalia Lozytska, 16–17 juli 2016, Kyiv.
- 517 'To Rector of Kyiv University,' 1986, persoonlijke papieren van Lozytska.
- 518 'Information on Radioactive Particles,' niet gedateerd, persoonlijke papieren van Lozytska; en Lozytska, 'Iak ziti dali pislia Chornobyliia,' *Ukrains'ki obrii*, no. 3 (1991): 2.
- 519 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Lars-Erik De Geer, 18 december 2017.
- 520 Lars-Erik De Geer et al., 'A Nuclear Jet at Chernobyl around 21:23:45 UTC on April 25, 1986,' *Nuclear Technology* (2017).
- 521 Alasdair Wilkins, 'Why a Nuclear Reactor Will Never Become a Bomb,' 17 maart 2011, geraadpleegd op 18 december 2017, <https://www.gizmodo.com.au/2011/03/why-a-nuclear-reactor-will-never-become-a-bomb/>.
- 522 'Natalia Lozytska to Deputy Riabchenko,' 1989, GARF 1007/1/212: 16–18.
- 523 'Lozytska to Skopenko,' 18 augustus 1986; en 'To M. S. Gorbachev,' persoonlijke collectie van Lozytska. Voor erkenning van het belang van 'hete deeltjes' vijftientig jaar later, zie: 'Radioactive Particles in the Environment,' IAEA-TECDOC-1663 (Wenen: IAEA, 2011).
- 524 'Examination of Pediatric Population,' 1989, persoonlijke papieren van Lozytska.
- 525 'Natalia Lozytska to Deputy Riabchenko,' 1989, GARF 1007/1/212: 16–18.
- 526 Over industriële ongelukken, zie 'Informational Communiqué,' 30 maart, 13 en 21 april 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 93–96, 136–37, 164; 'Informational Communiqué,' 4, 18 en 22 mei, 11 en 30 juni 1987, SBU 16/1/1250: 20, 54–57, 72–75, 128–29, 170–71; en 'Informational Communiqué,' 19 oktober en 10 december 1987, 16/1/1262: 214, 305–6; 19 januari, 11 en 12 februari, 26 mei en 28 juni 1988: 37, 61, 67–68, 229, 311.
- 527 'Unsatisfactory Circumstances in Production,' 21 december 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 300–4.
- 528 'Informational Communiqué,' april 1986, SBU 16/1113: 12.
- 529 Ter ondersteuning van het idee dat buitenlandse deskundigen moesten oordelen over de gevolgen van de ramp, zie: 'Zelenyi svit u mikrofonta,' *Trudovaia vakhta*, no. 12(58) (March 10, 1989): 2.
- 530 B. Danielsson, 'Poisoned Pacific: The Legacy of French Nuclear Testing,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 46, no. 2 (March 1990): 22.
- 531 L. R. Anspaugh, R. J. Catlin, en M. Goldman, 'The Global Impact of the Chernobyl Reactor Accident,' *Science* 242 (1988): 1513–19.
- 532 'C. C. Lushbaugh, M.D., Oak Ridge Associated Universities, to John Kozlowich, Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory,' 18 juni 1980, Steve Wing Personal Files.
- 533 'Human Radiation Studies: Remembering the Early, Oral History of Pathologist Clarence Lushbaugh, M.D.,' 19950401, geraadpleegd op 29 december 2017, <https://ehss.energy.gov/OHRE/roadmap/histories/0453/0453toc.html>; en Harriet A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 235.
- 534 Lisa Martino-Taylor, *Behind the Fog: How the U.S. Cold War Radiological Weapons Program Exposed Innocent Americans* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Eileen Welsome, *The Plutonium Files:*

- America's Secret Medical Experiments in the Cold War* (New York: Dial Press, 1999); en Kate Brown, *Plutopia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 535 'Human Radiation Studies: Remembering the Early, Oral History of Dr. John W. Gofman, M.D., Ph.D.,' 19941220, geraadpleegd op 4 januari 2018, <https://ehss.energy.gov/ohre/roadmap/histories/0457/0457toc.html>.
- 536 'Informational Communiqué,' 11 maart 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 28–30.
- 537 'Director General's Statement to the Board of Governors,' 12 mei 1986, IAEA Box 15717.
- 538 TASS-bericht geciteerd in Andrei Mikhailov, 'Podlodka, napugavshaia Gorbacheva i Reagana,' 6 oktober 2012, http://www.pravda.ru/society/fashion/models/06-10-2012/1130459-k_219-o/; en 'Soviet Nuclear Submarine Carrying Nuclear Weapons Sank North of Bermuda in 1986,' gepost op 7 oktober 2016, National Security Archive, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB562-Soviet-nuclear-submarine-sinks-off-U.S.-coast/>.
- 539 Interview door de auteur met José Goldemberg, Saõ Paulo, Brazil, 9 augustus 2017; en William Long, 'Brazil Deaths Bring Fallout of Fear,' *The New York Times*, 8 november 1987.
- 540 Voor een kritische analyse van het falen van de Europese autoriteiten om zich voor te bereiden op nucleaire noodsituaties, zie Christopher Auland, 'Chernobyl Reactor Accident and Its Aftermath,' Brussel, 3 augustus 1986, CA-0007, European Union Archive (EUA).
- 541 'Negative Processes among a Portion of Soviet Youth,' 16 april 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 147–50.
- 542 Interview door Olha Martynyuk met Anatoly Artemenko, 22 december 2017, Kyiv.
- 543 'Informational Communiqué,' 27 en 29 april 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 179–180; en 'Interruption of Antisocial Behavior,' 29 december 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 321–22.
- 544 Anders Åslund, *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 15–17; en 'Informational Communiqué,' 21 maart 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 68–72.
- 545 Interview door Olha Martynyuk met Oles Shevchenko en Oleksandr Tkachuk, 1 december 2017, Kyiv.
- 546 'Pre-Meditated Creation of Antisocial Groups,' 4 augustus 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 61–62; 'Preparation for a Meeting in Kyiv on Ecological Problems,' 14 november 1998, SBU 16/1/1266: 225–27.
- 547 'Intensification of Anti-Soviet Slander Abroad,' 24 januari 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 49–51; en Taras Kuzio en Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 70–73.
- 548 Interview met Shevchenko en Tkachuk.
- 549 'On Prevention of Antisocial Activity,' 28 december 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 321–22; en 'On Intentions to Organize Antisocial Community,' 4 augustus 1987, SBU 16/1/1256: 61–62.
- 550 Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 551 Oleksandr Shvets, 'Teatr tinei,' *Vechirniy Kyiv*, 19 oktober 1987; en 'On Termination of the Meeting of Anarcho-Syndicalists,' 26 oktober 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 146–48.
- 552 'Informational Communiqué,' 2 september 1986, SBU 16/1/1245: 100–102; 'Informational Communiqué,' 10 april 1987, 'Internal Report,' 29 april 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 130–31, 187–90; en 'Report on Subversive Attempts by the Antagonist,' 19 januari 1988, SBU 16/1/1262: 33–36. In 1988 hadden KGB-agenten 686 duizend dossiers onderzocht van mensen die tussen 1950 en 1953 waren onderdrukt. 'Organization of Review Work,' 3 augustus 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 55–57.
- 553 'To Comrade V. A. Ivashko from N. Golushko,' 10 februari 1989, SBU 16/1/1273: 81–82.
- 554 'Notes of the Secretary-General's Meeting with the Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,' 11 maart 1988, SG Country File, S-1024-87-8, UNA.
- 555 Interview met Shevchenko en Tkachuk.
- 556 Vitalii Shevchenko, 'Persha nekomunistychna demonstratsiia,' in *Kyiv's'ka vesna*, red. Oles Shevchenko (Kyiv: Oleny Telihiy, 2005), 348–52; 'V upravlinni vnutrishnikh sprav mis'kvykonkomy,' *Prapor komunizmu*, 28 april 1988; en interview met Shevchenko.

- 557 Interview met Shevchenko en Tkachuk.
- 558 Jane Dawson, *Econationalism* (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).
- 559 'Seminar on Ecology,' 10 september 1988, TsDKFFA, No. 11266, filmdossier.
- 560 David R. Marples, *Ukraine under Perestroika: Ecology, Economics and the Workers' Revolt* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 91, 137.
- 561 Zie voor de geschiedenis van deze bewegingen Kuzio en Wilson, *Ukraine*, 77–80.
- 562 14 november 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 225–28.
- 563 'Creation of an Initiative Group of Social Movements,' 24 november 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 243–45; 'Public Ecology Demonstration in the City of Kyiv,' 14 november 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 225–27.
- 564 Interview met Shevchenko en Tkachuk.
- 565 'Porog,' 1988, Rollan Sergienko, Kinostudia im. Oleksandra Dovzhenka.
- 566 Voor getuigenissen van liquidators, zie 'D. I. Moisa, Chief Clinic Doctor, VNTsRM, to M. I. Selikhov,' maart 1988; 'M. I. Velikhov to A. P. Samokhvalov,' 8 september 1988, TsDAVO 2605/8/17: 12, 24–25; 'O. I. Shamov to V. V. Red'kin,' 29 november 1988, GARF 8009/51/4340: 24; 'Aleksandr P. Borshchevsky to Evgeny I. Chazov,' 30 oktober 1988, GARF 8009/51/4340: 67–84; en 'K. L. Gorshunov to S. M. Riabchenko,' 6 juli 1989, GARF 1007/1/212: 2–5.
- 567 'Head Department of Medical Problems,' 17 maart 1994, TsDAVO 324/19/261: 17–18. Zie voor de regels voor het vaststellen van een causaal verband 'Decree, No. 57,' 3 oktober 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5220: 51; en Adriana Petryna, *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 105–17.
- 568 'To E. M. Luk'ianova and L. M. Zhdanova from A. M. Serdiuk,' 1988, TsDAVO 324/17/4886: 24–32; 'Operative Meeting,' 8 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 15–18, 19–22; 'Medical-Sanitary Provision of Population,' 1 maart 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 9–10; en 'Material for Report to the Government,' 29 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159–61.
- 569 E. I. Chazov, 'Medical Aspects of the Accident,' 16 juni 1987, RGANI 89/53/75: 1–7, HIA; 'Decisions of the Coordinating Meeting,' Kyiv, 22–24 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5090: 34–43; 'On Question III,' 24 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 124–28.
- 570 Zie voor het citaat: 'Report,' niet eerder dan 11 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 88–98; en 'Notes on the Secretary General's Meeting with Mr. Anatoliy Zlenko, Foreign Minister of Ukrainian USSR,' 20 september 1990, SG Country File, S-1024-87-8, UNA.
- 571 Zie bijvoorbeeld het verschil in de rapportage van radioactiviteitsniveaus in de provincie Tsjernihiv tussen een intern document uit 1989, 'Deputy Minister of Health UkSSR, A. M. Kas'ianenko, 04-r-16 DSP,' 7 juni 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 68, en een oproep tot externe hulp: 'Material for UNESCO,' UNESCO Archive, Paris, 1994, 9014/1/26: 27. 'Assessment of State of Health of Population Living on Territory Contaminated with Radionuclides,' niet eerder dan april 1991, TsDAVO 342/17/5358: 8–11.
- 572 De bekendste voorbeelden zijn Alla Yaroshinskaya en Yuri Shcherbak, beiden journalisten die na de Tsjernobyl-ramp uitgroeiden tot activisten en politici.
- 573 Voor discussies over het politieke gebruik van de Tsjernobyl-ramp, zie: Petryna, *Life Exposed*, en Olga Kuchinskaya, *The Politics of Invisibility: Public Knowledge about Radiation Health Effects after Chernobyl* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).
- 574 'Results of Inspection of Financial Activity of the Polesian Reserve,' niet eerder dan januari 1992, NARB 507/1/6: 65–68.
- 575 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Alex Klementiev, 6 augustus 2017.
- 576 Robert Proctor, *Cancer Wars: How Politics Shapes What We Know and Don't Know about Cancer* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995); Naomi Oreskes en Erik M. Conway, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011).
- 577 'To E. M. Luk'ianova and L. M. Zhdanova from A. M. Serdiuk.'
- 578 'Inspection of Medical Services,' 28 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 14–30. Voor vergelijkbare cijfers, zie 'Director of

- Division of Medical-Prophylactic Aid,' 18 januari 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 4; en 'Distribution of the Decreed Contingent,' niet eerder dan december 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 120–26. In Wit-Rusland, zie 'Executive Committee of the Province Council of People's Deputies,' 5 januari 1990, en 'To Tamara Vasikas'ko, chair, ispolkom,' GAGO 1174/8/2336: 68–69.
- 579 'Report Academy of Science UkSSR,' 7 juli 1988, Baranovska, *Chornobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 540–51; 'Information on the Appearance of Sick Children,' 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 30–35; 'To E. M. Kuk'ianova and L. M. Zhdanova from A. M. Serdiuk,' en 'Certification on the State of Medical and Pharmaceutical Help,' niet eerder dan januari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 21–31; 'To Head of the Division,' 18 januari 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 4; en 'Inspection of Organization of Medical Services,' 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 14–30.
- 580 'Certification of State of Health of Population in Koriukovskii Region,' 5 april 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 62–67.
- 581 'Circumstances Forming in Narodychi and Zhytomyr Provinces,' 1989 GARF 5446/150/1624: 26–27.
- 582 Het gebruikelijke percentage aangeboren afwijkingen ligt rond de drie tot vier procent. 'Inspection of Medical Services of the Population of Northern Regions of Rivne Province,' 9 februari 1989, en 'Inspection of Quality of Medical Service,' niet eerder dan april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 1–8, 91–106; 'Certification,' niet later dan maart 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5359: 51–65; 'Operative Meeting,' 8 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 15–17, 25–30; en 'Inspection of Medical Services,' 28 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 14–30.
- 583 'Mortality of Children Age 0–14, 1989,' TsDAVO 342/17/5241: 45–47.
- 584 'Memo,' december 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 32–54; 'Operative Meeting'; 'To E. M. Kuk'ianova and L. M. Zhdanova from A. M. Serdiuk'; en 'Medical-Sanitary Provisions for Population of Controlled Regions,' januari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 27. Voor retrospectieve studies, zie: 'In 'phylactics,' 12 februari 1992, TsDAVO 324/19/34: 1–46; 'Evaluation of Scientific-Research Work,' 24 december 1992, TsDAVO 324/19/25: 1–25; 'Review of Organization of Medical Services and Clinical Observation of Population of Kyiv Province,' 28 oktober 1988, en 'Review of Organization of Medical Services and Clinical Observation of Population of Zhytomyr Province,' 10 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 1–13, 14–30; en 'Report,' niet eerder dan 11 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 88–98.
- 585 'Review of Organization of Medical Services,' 'Distribution of the Decreed Contingent,' en 'Medical-Sanitary Provisioning of the Population.'
- 586 Loshchilov en B. S. Prister, 'Informational Report,' 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 4–10; en 'Answer: State Committee of Industrial Agriculture, Ukrainian Republic,' 15 februari 1989, Baranovska, *Chornobyl'sk'ka trahedia*, 540–51, 571.
- 587 E. I Bomko, 'From the Meeting,' 8 augustus 1988, en 'Informational Material,' 21 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 198.
- 588 Zie voor de volledige lijst gecensureerde onderwerpen: 'On Press Limitations Connected with the Accident at Reactor No. 4 of the Chernobyl NPP,' 31 juli 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 589 Interview door de auteur met Heorhii Shkhiarevsky, 1 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 590 'Shcherbina to Ryzhkov,' 7 januari 1987, RGANI 89/53/55, HIA.
- 591 'Reactions of Workers to the Arrival of M. S. Gorbachev,' 28 februari 1989, SBU 16/1/1273: 91–93.
- 592 Leonid Kravchuk, 'Shcherbytsky buv liudynoiu voliovoiu z syl'nym, zahartovanyim kharakterom,' in *Volodymyr Shcherbytsky: spohady suchasnykiv*, red. E. F. Vozianov et al. (Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim 'In-Yure,' 2003), 71–72.
- 593 'To Chair of the Council of Ministers, USSR, N. I. Ryzhkov,' 16 mei 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 1–3.
- 594 'Review of Collective Letter,' 14 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 24–26.
- 595 'Olevs'k Regional Council to V. A. Masol,' 8 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 178.
- 596 'Resolution of Collective Party-Economic Activity, Bykhovskii Region, Mogilev Province,' 26 juni 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 15–18.

- 597 'Supreme Soviet of Belarus' SSR,' 26 september 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 176.
- 598 'Instruction to Group of Residents of Chernihiv,' 1988, GARF 8009/51/4340: 59; 'V. Sharavara to K. I. Masyk,' 10 maart 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5283: 39-41; 'To the Leader of Supreme Soviet of USSR, Ryzhkov, N. I.,' 16 mei 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624, 1-3; en 'To the Deputies of Supreme Council,' 11 april 1990, GARF 1007/1/212: 11-113.
- 599 Heorhiy Shkliarevsky, *Mi-kro-fon*, Kyiv, 1988.
- 600 'Collective Petition of the Participants of a Public Demonstration in City of Malyn,' 29 april 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238.
- 601 'A. M. Serdiuk to V. M. Ponomarenko,' 8 mei 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5220: 15; en 'On the Assessment of Health Indicators in Malyn Region,' 7 juli 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 62-72.
- 602 'On Radiological Situation in Ivankiv Region of Kyiv Province,' 2 februari 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 10-11.
- 603 Petryna, *Life Exposed*, 43; en Baranovska, *Chernobyl' - problemy zdorov'ia*, 67, 144.
- 604 Zie voor een overzicht van wat Sovjetwetenschappers destijds wisten: Daniel L. Collins, 'Nuclear Accidents in the Former Soviet Union: Kyshtym, Chelyabinsk and Chernobyl,' 1991, Defense National Institute, DNA/AFRRI 4020, AD A 254 669.
- 605 'Silini to Beebe,' 25 juli 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR Archive.
- 606 National Cancer Institute, Annual Report, 1999, geraadpleegd op 4 november 2015, https://archive.org/stream/annualreport199173nati/annualreport199173nati_djvu.txt.
- 607 Gayle Greene, *The Woman Who Knew Too Much: Alice Stewart and the Secret of Radiation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001).
- 608 Gayle Greene, 'Science with a Skew: The Nuclear Power Industry after Chernobyl and Fukushima,' *Asia-Pacific Journal*, 25 december 2011; en David Richardson, Steve Wing, en Alice Stewart, 'The Relevance of Occupational Epidemiology to Radiation Protection Standards,' *New Solutions* 9, no. 2 (1999): 133-51.
- 609 'Testimony of Dr. Rosalie Bertell,' U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 21 april 1998; en Tom Foulds Collection, University of Washington Special Collections, Seattle, WA.
- 610 Robert Alvarez, 'The Risks of Making Nuclear Weapons,' in *Tortured Science: Health Studies, Ethics, and Nuclear Weapons in the United States*, red. Steve Wing et al. (Amityville, NY: Baywood Publishing, 2012), 181-98.
- 611 Greene, 'Science with a Skew.'
- 612 'C. C. Lushbaugh, MD, Oak Ridge Associated Universities, to John Kozlowich, Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory,' 18 juni 1980, Steve Wing Personal Files.
- 613 'Informational Communiqué,' 11 maart 1987, SBU 16/1/1249: 28-30; en 'Travel Report, P. J. Waight,' 23-30 oktober 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 6.
- 614 'Material for a Report to the Government,' 29 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159-61.
- 615 'G. I. Razumeeva to I. A. Liashkevich,' 23 augustus 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 61-63; en *Nauka i suspils'tvo*, no. 9 (september 1989).
- 616 'To E. M. Luk'ianova and L. M. Zhdanova from A. M. Serdiuk,' 'Outcomes of the Advancement of the All-Union Registry,' Kyiv, 22-24 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5090: 34-43; 'On the Health of Children Exposed to Radioactive Substances,' 21 juni 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 35-36; en 'Certification,' 7 juli 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240, 62-72.
- 617 'Materials for the Council of Soviet Ministry of Health,' 21 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886, 25-30.
- 618 'Materials for the Governmental Report,' 29 september 1989, 'Debate on the Letter of Executive Committee,' 21 november 1989, 'On Question No. 3,' 24 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 124-28, 159-61, 193-94.
- 619 V. G. Bebesheko, N. V. Bugaev, V. K. Ivanov, en B. A. Ledoshchuk, 'Estimate of Future Scientific Research,' 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5090: 20-28.
- 620 O. O. Bobyliova, 'Memo,' niet eerder dan 11 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 88-98.

- 621 'Monitoring of Provision of Health Services to the Population,' niet eerder dan december 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 32-54.
- 622 'On State of Medical Service for Residents of Kyiv Province,' niet eerder dan januari 1989, 'Spravka,' 7 juli 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240, 21-31, 62-72.
- 623 'Inspection of Medical Services to Residents of Zhytomyr Oblast,' 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 1-8; 'On the State of Medical Services for Children in City of Chernihiv,' niet later dan 24 juni 1992, TsDAVO 324/19/32: 1-5; 'Inspection of the Organization of Medical Services,' 9 februari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092; Sergei G. Wamruk, niet later dan mei 1991, NARB 507/1/7: 21; 'On Medical Services,' 11 november 1986, NARB 7/10/608: 71-73; 'Information about Clinical Examination in Areas under [radiological] Control,' 7 augustus 1989, NARB 46/14/1262: 45-54; 'On the Amendment of the Long-Term Program,' 8 juli 1991, NARB 46/14/1373: 1-3; 'On Medical Provisions for Children,' 21 november 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 144; 'List,' 1989, NARB 507/1/2: 2-43b; 'Evaluation of Incidence of Disease,' 18 april 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 110-12; 'Letter from N. I. Rosh No. 06-11/21,' 10 januari 1989, NARB 7/10/1851: 35-36; 'Memo,' 'Yearly Report,' 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 25-27; 'Memo,' 19 juni 1986, NARB 7/10/530: 74-78; en 'Memo,' niet eerder dan november 1993, GAMO 7/5/4156: 81-94. Zie voor het verzoek van de artsen om de Zone te mogen verlaten: 'Announcement,' 19 september 1989, NARB 46/14/1218: 79.
- 624 'Belarus SSR Ministry of Health to UkSSR Ministry of Health,' 30 augustus 1990, TsDAVO, 342/17/5220, 47-48.
- 625 'V. G. Perederii to V. S. Kazakov,' 30 augustus 1990, TsDAVO, 342/17/5220: 49.
- 626 'On Clinical Examination of Children Who Were Exposed to Radiation,' 31 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 18-19.
- 627 'Operative Meeting,' 8 augustus 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 15-18.
- 628 'Memo,' 9 februari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 1-8. Ook een ander dorp, met een bevolkingsdichtheid van 584 inwoners per vierkante kilometer, was aanvankelijk over het hoofd gezien. 'On Resettling Residents of Pershotravneve,' 29 december 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5357: 20-21.
- 629 G. I. Razumeeva, 'Medical-Sanitary Provisions for Population in Controlled Regions,' januari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 26.
- 630 'Information Material for the Council of Soviet Ministry of Health,' 21 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 25-30.
- 631 'On the State of Medical and Pharmaceutical Provisions,' niet eerder dan januari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 21-31. Voor vergelijkbare omstandigheden op het platteland van Wit-Rusland, zie: 'On Medical Services of Rural Residents of BSSR,' 11 november 1986, NARB 7/10/608: 71-72; 'To the State Deputy of Supreme Council I. G. Chigrinov,' 6 juli 1989, NARB 46/14/1218: 187; en 'To the Gomel Province Executive Committee,' 4 november 1986, GAGO 1174/8/1940: 98.
- 632 'Memo,' niet eerder dan 11 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 88-98.
- 633 'Work Plan,' 17 oktober 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 75-87.
- 634 'Directive of the Klimavichy Regional Administration,' 4 juli 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva, 3/4/1503: 80-83; 'On the Progress of Liquidation,' 10 juni 1986, GAOOMO 9/181/66: 170b; en 'On the Progress of Decontamination,' 22 augustus 1986, GAOOMO 15/44/5: 123-25.
- 635 'Enactment of State Sanitary Control,' 1986, NARB 46/14/1263, 98-108; 'On Additional Questions,' 2 maart 1987, RGANI 89/56/1, HIA; en 'On Improvements for the Long-Term Program,' 8 juli 1991, NARB 46/14/1373: 1-3.
- 636 'On the Work of the Medical Radiology Division of the Special Department of BSSR Ministry of Health,' 1989, NARB 46/12/1264: 1-10; 'Resolution No. 580,' 16-17 november 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 88-91; 'On the Needs of Medical Radiology Research Institute,' 4 juli 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 142; 'Central Commission of KPB, Memo on Progress with Liquidation,' 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 126-38; en 'V. A. Matiukhin to E. E. Sokolov,' 1 juni 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 209-12.
- 637 'On Additional Measures,' 14 december 1986, GAOOMO 40/50/7: 143-46; 'Information,' 15 juli 1986, 'Decree of the Chief Doctor of Cherykaw Region,' 7 april 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/166: 1-9, 90; 'On the Assessment of Children's Health,' 18 april 1989, 'V. Ia. Latysheva, on Neurological Services,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1261:

- 110–12, 152–62; en ‘On the Assessment of Endocrinology Services,’ 23 maart 1988, NARB 46/12/1262: 83–85. Zie voor de voorschriften inzake geheimhouding: ‘On Providing Information,’ 28 april 1988, NARB 7/10/1525: 45. Zie voor informatie over apparatuur en het niet uitvoeren van controles: ‘Protocol No. 8,’ 27 augustus 1987, NARB 1088/1/1002: 59–61; en ‘V. N. Sych to E. P. Tikhonenkov,’ 24 mei 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 45–53.
- 638 ‘Information about the Situation in Gomel and Mogilev Provinces,’ 5 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 45–60; ‘On the Organization of Aid,’ 30 mei 1988, NARB 7/10/1523: 21–23; ‘On the Work of BSSR Ministry of Health,’ 1989, NARB 46/14/1260: 1–15; en ‘List of Populated Settlements to Be Relocated,’ 1989, NARB 507/1/2: 2–43ob. Over recent ontdekt verontreinigd terrein in de provincie Brest, zie ‘P. P. Shkapich to V. F. Kebich,’ 3 juli 1990, en ‘Iu. M. Pokumeiko,’ 9 september 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 4–6, 142.
- 639 ‘Survey of the Incidence of Disease among Children and Adults in Mogilev Province,’ 13–25 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1263: 1–15.
- 640 ‘On the Structure of Diseases of the Endocrine System,’ 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 17–21.
- 641 ‘On the Structure of Diseases of the Endocrine System,’ 17–21.
- 642 ‘Incidence of Disease among Children Living on Territory Contaminated from 15–40 ki/km² 1983–1988,’ 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 80–84.
- 643 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 13 mei 2016. Zie voor de lopende-bandkwaliteit van medische onderzoeken in Wit-Rusland: ‘To the Soviet Ministry of Health,’ 1988, GARF 8009/51/4340: 103–4.
- 644 ‘Residents of Komarin and Bragin Region to the Kremlin (Moscow),’ 18 oktober 1989, en ‘Protocol of the Public Demonstration in City of Cherykaw,’ 1 juni 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 71–72, 74, 103–6.
- 645 ‘Ales Adamovich, Speech to the Plenum of the USSR Union of Writers,’ 28 april 1987, NARB 4R/156/436: 4–10; ‘E. P. Petriaev to E. E. Sokolov,’ 27 maart 1987, NARB 4R/156/437: 6–7; en ‘E. E. Sokolov to N. I. Ryzhkov,’ 23 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/393: 70.
- 646 Wat betreft nucleaire oplossingen voor modernisering, zie Paul Josephson, *Red Atom: Russia’s Nuclear Power Program from Stalin to Today* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1999).
- 647 ‘On Inspection of Letters,’ 1986, NARB LA 4R/157/86: 11–32.
- 648 ‘Appeal Claim to V. B. Nesterenko,’ 6 januari 1988, NARB 4R/158/538: 153–58.
- 649 ‘Explanations to the Commission of the Minsk Regional Party Committee,’ 27 september 1988, NARB 4R/137/538: 212–18.
- 650 Budakovsky verwijst naar deze brief in ‘Transcripts,’ 3 februari 1987, NARB LA 4R/157/86: 106.
- 651 ‘An Employee of BSSR Academy of Science to the Politburo TsK KPSS,’ 5 augustus 1986, ‘Citizens of Minsk, Patriots of Their Motherland, to M. S. Gorbachev,’ niet gedateerd, en ‘Citizens to M. S. Solomentsev,’ 22 juni 1987, NARB 4R/156/441: 3–8, 152–55, 221–25.
- 652 ‘V. N. Ermashkevich to M. I. Demchuk,’ 17 februari 1987, en ‘To M. S. Solomentsev,’ 23 juli 1987, NARB 4R/156/441: 43–52, 197–200.
- 653 Wladimir Tchertkoff, *The Crime of Chernobyl: The Nuclear Gulag* (London: Glasoslav Publications, 2016), 110.
- 654 ‘Solutions of the Science-Technology Commission,’ niet eerder dan 28 november 1986, en ‘Decree of the Ministry of Medium Machines,’ 20 november 1986, NARB LA 4R/157/86: 35–39, 51–54.
- 655 ‘Party Control Commission,’ 7 juli 1987, NARB 4R/156/441: 183–86.
- 656 ‘P. Budakovsky to N. N. Sliun’kov,’ 7 januari 1987, NARB 4R/157/86: 57–60.
- 657 ‘Transcript,’ 3 februari 1987, NARB 4R/157/86: 89–119.
- 658 ‘Memo on Inspection of Letters,’ 29 januari 1987, NARB LA 4R/157/86: 76–84.
- 659 ‘I. Isakov to M. S. Solomentsev,’ 27 juli 1987, en ‘To Comrade M. S. Gorbachev,’ 16 november 1987, NARB 4R/156/441: 178–82, 196–98.
- 660 ‘Nesterenko to President of BSSR Academy of Science,’ niet later dan 27 januari 1988, NARB 4R/157/548: 50–51; ‘A. V. Stepanenko,’ 12 april 1987, en ‘M. Demchuk,’ 29 december 1987, NARB 4R/157/538: 96, 98–99.
- 661 Interview door de auteur met Alexey Nesterenko, 22 juli 2016, Minsk.

- 662 'Memo,' 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 8-23; 'Directive No. 5-29-8/1,' 15 mei 1989, GAMO 7/5/3833: 295-306; en 'Resolution,' 25 mei 1990, GAMO 7/5/8940: 25-34. Nesterenko mat aanvankelijk een waarde van 80 curie per vierkante kilometer en informeerde de minister van Volksgezondheid hierover. 'No. 1353,' 19 september 1986, Nesterenko Papers, BAS.
- 663 'Memo,' 21 februari 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 11-15.
- 664 'Memo,' 1987, 'Godovoi otchet,' 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 25-27.
- 665 'Information,' 15 juli 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/160: 1-9.
- 666 'Doses of Exposure of Cesium-134-137 among the Population,' Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/160: 7.
- 667 'Information,' 15 juli 1986, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/160: 1-9.
- 668 'Information,' 20 mei 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 1-12.
- 669 'Yearly Report,' 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 29-30.
- 670 'Explanatory Note,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 22-23; en 'Memo on Radiation Protection,' Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 48-49.
- 671 'Protocol from the Public Demonstration of Workers in City of Cherykaw,' 1 juni 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 71-72.
- 672 'Memo,' 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 8-9; en 'State Statistical Report,' 1991, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/182: 1-10.
- 673 'Information,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 20.
- 674 'Information,' 20 mei 1987, en 'Information,' 1987, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 1-12, 20-25.
- 675 'Information,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 20.
- 676 'Clinical Examination,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 19; en 'Lab Tests Results for Newborns and Infants,' NARB 46/14/1261: 106-9.
- 677 'Information on Obstetric and Gynecological Services in Cherykaw Region,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 17-19.
- 678 'Conclusions,' 20 mei 1989, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 23-30.
- 679 'On the Assessment of the Incidence of Disease among Children,' 18 april 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 110-12.
- 680 'Dynamics in Disease Incidence among Children,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1161a: 23-24.
- 681 'Malignant Tumor Incidence in BSSR,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1161a: 32.
- 682 'Cherykaw Region, Tables,' 1988, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 15, 32; en 'Memo' 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 8-23.
- 683 'Demographic Data,' 1989, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/176: 33; 'Acute Leukemia among Citizens of Mogilev Province,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1161a: 27-30; en 'G. V. Tolochko, MZ BSSR,' 30 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 111-25.
- 684 'Child Population of Cherykaw Region,' 20 oktober 1989, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 29-30.
- 685 'State Statistical Report,' 1991, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/182: 1-10.
- 686 'Disease Incidence among Children Who Live on a Territory with Pollution of 15-40 ki/km²,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 80-84.
- 687 'On the Medical Aspects of Liquidating the Consequences of the Accident,' 22 juni 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 83-88; en 'Analytical Memo on the Work of Neurological Services in Gomel Province,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 152-62.
- 688 'On the Work of the Ministry of Health, BSSR from 1986-1989,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1260: 1-15.
- 689 'Memo on the Incidence of Hypothyroidism,' juni 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 87-88.
- 690 'Evaluation of the Incidence of Disease among the Pediatric and Adult Population of Mogilev Province,' 13-15 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1263: 1-11. Zie voor soortgelijke argumenten: 'On the Work of BSSR Ministry of Health, 1986-1989.'
- 691 'Lab Tests for Key Health Indicators among Newborns,' 1988, NARB 46/14/1261: 106-9; en 'Memo,' 17 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1263: 18-24.
- 692 'To the Head of SM V. A. Masol,' 26 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 190-93; en 'On the Evaluation of Medical Consequences of Chernobyl Accident,' niet gedateerd, 1996, SBU 35/68: 1-12.
- 693 'On Problems Liquidating the Consequences of the Accident at ChAES,' 14 november 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 43-48; en interview door de auteur met Mykhailo Zakharash, July 1, 2016, Kyiv.
- 694 Interview door de auteur met Mykhailo Zakharash, 1 juli 2016, Kyiv.
- 695 'On the Rate of Children Born with Health Defects,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1262: 89-93.

- 696 'To the Director of of the Kazan' Synthetic Rubber Factory,' 4 juli 1990, NARB 46/14/1332: 19.
- 697 'Enacting State Sanitary Control,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1263: 98-114; 'On the Situation Emerging in Narodychi Region of Zhytomyr Province,' 1989, en 'V. Mar'yin to V. E. Shcherbina,' 19 juni 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 13-18, 51; 'Technical Memo,' 26 september 1990, GAMO 7/5/3999: 1-9; 'On Enhancement of the Laboratories in the Meat and Dairy Industries,' 25 juni 1990, GAMO 11/5/1557: 104; 'Information,' 16 maart 1992, GAMO 7/5/4126: 145-46; 'Protocol No. 1,' 30 maart 1993, GAMO 7/5/4783: 1-10; en 'Measurements of Permissible Content of Cesium-137,' 1989, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 5-7.
- 698 'A. I. Vorobiev, MZ USSR, to Academician B. E. Shcherbina,' 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 24-27; 'On Results of Measurement of the Plutonium Body Burden among Residents of Gomel' Province in 1989,' 11 mei 1990, BAS 242/2/5: 1-5; 'On the Central Allotment [of goods],' 5 oktober 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 216; en 'Conclusions on the Radiological Situation and Living Conditions,' 1990, GAGO, 1174/8/2336: 43-45.
- 699 'S. N. Nalivko, Memo,' 9 januari 1990, NARB 46/14/1264: 49-66; 'Memo on Assessment,' 1989 NARB 46/14/1262: 1-15; 'Information about the State of Clinical Examinations in the Regions under Control in 1989,' 1 augustus 1989, NARB 46/14/1262: 45-54; en 'On the Work of the Health Services of Brest Province in Liquidating Consequences of the Accident,' 1 augustus 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 11-14.
- 700 Voor de algemene gezondheid: 'On Pediatric Services in the Dobrush Region,' 1988, 'Disease Incidence among the Population,' 1988; 'Analysis,' niet eerder dan maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1161a: 1-4, 6, 15; 'Health Indicators among the Population in the Areas under Control,' 10 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 32-44; 'On the Evaluation of Primary Care Services in Krasnopolie and Karma Regions,' 18 april 1989, NARB 46/12/1262: 1-12; 'On the State of the Auto-Immune System,' 31 mei 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 127-33; 'Information on the State of Clinical Examinations'; 'On the Estimation of Disease Incidence among the Pediatric Population

- of Chechersk Region, Gomel Province,' 18 april 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 110-12; 'On the Epidemiological Situation Related to Non-Specific Diseases of Respiratory Organs,' 1989, 'On Major Outcomes of Clinical Examinations in 1989,' 14 augustus 1990, NARB 46/14/1264: 67-76, 135-39; 'A. A. Romanovskii to Gomel Province Executive Committee,' 18 juli 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 195-96; 'To the Head of the Department of Health Care and Prevention,' 18 januari 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 4; 'On the Evaluation of Medical Services,' 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4877: 14-30; 'To the Minister of Health Iu. P. Spizhenko,' 3 mei 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5241: 1-5; 'Materials for Release to the State,' 29 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159-61; 'On the Situation Emerging in the Narodychi Region of Zhytomyr Province'; 'On Work of the Commission of the Soviet Ministry of Health in Poliske Region, Kyiv Province,' 4 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 57-59; en 'Materials for Presentation to UNESCO,' 9014/11/26: 27-37.
- Over endocriene aandoeningen, waaronder het ontstaan van tumoren: 'Evaluation of Endocrinology Services,' 23 maart 1988, 'On Results of a Survey of Disease Incidence,' 23 maart 1989, NARB 46/12/1262: 83-85, 92-95; 'Measures for a Survey of Hypothyroidism among Children in Komarin,' 28 november 1988, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 118; 'Memo,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 23-25; 'The Gomel Province Executive Committee and Council of People's Deputies,' 5 januari 1990; en 'Tamara Vasikas'ko, Chair of Executive Committee,' GAGO 1174/8/2336: 68-69.
- Over aangeboren afwijkingen en kindersterfte: 'Memo on Rates of Children with Birth Defects,' 23 maart 1989, 'Memo about Analysis of Lethal Malformations among the Population of the City of Gomel,' 24 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1262: 89-92, 121-26; 'Still Births,' 1988, NARB 46/14/1161a: 8-15; 'Informational Material for the Council of the Soviet Ministry of Health,' 21 oktober 1988, TsDAVO 342/17/4886: 25-30; en G. I. Razumeeva, 'On Medical-Sanitary Provisions for Populations in Areas under Control,' januari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5092: 29-30.
- 701 'Explanatory Note,' 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 166-67.
- 702 'Resolution No. 566,' 20 januari 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 1-5.

703 'Workers of Karma to Politburo TsK KPSS,' 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 205-7.

704 L. A. Ilyin et al., 'Strategiia NKRZ po obosnovaniiu vremennykh predelov Doz godovogo oblucheniiia naseleniia posle avarii na Chernobyl'skoi AES, Konseptsiia pozhiznennoi dozy,' *Meditinskaiia radiologia* 8 (1989): 3-11.

705 'On the Work of BSSR Ministry of Health,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1260: 1-15; en 'On the Results of Debate over Problematic Issues,' 9 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5091: 41-43.

706 'Gomel Province,' niet eerder dan 1 december 1986, NARB 4R/154/392: 11-39.

707 'On Trends in the Growth of Negative Events in the Republic,' 26 februari 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 96-98.

708 'On Undesirable Conditions,' 16 januari 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 24-25.

709 'E. P. Petriaev to E. E. Sokolov,' 27 maart 1987, NARB 4R/156/437: 6-7.

710 'Elaboration of Methods for Cytology Diagnostics,' 1991, BAS 242/2/28: 12-15; en 'On the Results of Measuring Radioactive Body Burdens among Residents of Gomel and Mogilev Provinces,' 1990, BAS 242/2/11: 1-27.

711 'On the Results of Screening for Plutonium Body Burdens among Residents of the Gomel Province in 1989,' 11 mei 1990, BAS 242/2/5: 1-5.

712 K. V. Moshchik et al., 'Study of the Incidence of Non-Infectious Disease,' vol. 1, 1988, BAS 242/2/1: 1-30.

713 V. P. Platonov en E. F. Konoplia, 'Information on Major Findings of Scientific Work Related to Liquidating Consequences of ChAES Accident,' 21 april 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 490-571.

714 V. P. Platonov and E. F. Konoplia, 'Information on Major Findings of Scientific Work Related to Liquidating Consequences of ChAES Accident,' en 'Resolution of the First All-Union Convention on Radiobiology,' Moskou, 21-27 augustus 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 399-403.

715 Zie voor gegevens over hogere stralingswaarden in voedsel in minder verontreinigde gebieden: 'Technical Memo,' 26 september 1990, GAMO 7/5/3999: 1-9.

716 'Evaluation of External Pediatric Hematology, Ministry of Health, BSSR,' 26 april 1990, NARB 46/14/1264: 96-101. Opmerkelijk genoeg ontbreken in later rapporten over leukemie in Wit-Rusland de jaren 1986-1990, terwijl men juist in die periode het optreden van de ziekte zou verwachten. Zie Urii Bondar, red., *20 let posle Chernobyl'skoi katastrofy, natsional'nyi doklad* (Minsk, 2006), 46-47.

717 Platonov, 'Information on Major Findings'; en A. V. Stepanenko, 'Toward a Concept of Living on Territory Contaminated with Radionuclides,' 27 januari 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 11-22.

718 'Platonov, 'Information on Major Findings.'

719 'Explanatory Note,' 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 166-67.

720 'Resolution No. 566,' 27 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 14-19.

721 'On Carrying Out Plan No. 566 of the State Commission,' 18 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 20.

722 'D. Bartolomeevka, Vetkovskii Region,' 1989, NARB 46/14/1261: 132-33.

723 'Indicators of the State of Health,' 10 maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1264: 32-45.

724 'A. I. Vorobiev to B. E. Shcherbina,' 12 juni 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 24-27.

725 'A. I. Vorobiev to B. E. Shcherbina,' 24-27.

726 'Resolution No. 5-29-8/1,' 15 mei 1989, GAMO 7/5/3833: 295-306; en 'Decision of the Executive Committee of the Province Council of People's Deputies,' 25 mei 1989, DAZhO 1150/2/3227: 161-67.

727 'Teachers of Komarin to M. S. Gorbachev,' 18 oktober 1988, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 113-15; 'To E. I. Chazov,' niet gedateerd 1988, GARF 8009/51/4340: 111-14; 'Collective of the Korosten' Seamstress Association to K. I. Masyk,' 22 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 150-51; en 'M. I. Vorotinskii to the Council of Ministers, UkSSR,' 5 april 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 60-67.

728 'Collective MPK-157 to V. S. Venglovskaiia,' 14 april 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 42-44; 'On Consideration of the Collective

Letters,' 14 april 1989, 'On Consideration of Collective Letters of Residents of the Village of Povch, Luginskii Region,' 20 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 2, 12-13; 'To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, N. I. Ryshkov,' 16 mei 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 1-3; 'Residents of Komarin, Bragin Region, to the Kremlin, Moscow,' 18 oktober 1989, en 'Workers of Korma to the Politburo TsK KPSS,' 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 103-6, 205-7; 'To the People's Deputy UkSSR, A. A. Dron,' 28 april 1990, en 'Request of Participants in the Meeting of Malyn Residents,' 29 april 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5328: 30, 98-104.

729 'Dear Comrade K. I. Masyk,' 5 januari 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238: 5-7.

730 'A. A. Grakhovskii to B. E. Shcherbina,' 14 maart 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 101-2.

731 'Explanatory Note,' niet later dan najaar 1989, RGAE; en 'Comments and Suggestions for the Concept of a Threshold "Lifetime Dose",' 4 september 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 172-73.

732 'On the Exacerbation of the Situation at Stations of the Southwest Railroad,' 14 mei 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 47-48; 'On the Radiological Situation in Korosten,' 19 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159-61; en 'On Measures for Medical Service to the Population of Narodychy Region,' 1989, TsDAVO, 324/17/5091: 54-59.

733 'On the Radiological Situation,' 18 mei 1989, 'Consideraton of the Collective Letters of Workers of Collective Farm Gorki, Narodychy Region,' 14 april 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 27-28; 'V. Maryin to the Secretariat Verkhovnii Council,' 5 juli 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 53; 'On Results of Consideration of Telegrams of Residents of Kalinovskii Rural Council, Lugin Region,' 13 juli 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5089: 47-48; 'On Results of Consideration of Questions Raised in an Appeal of People's Deputies,' 9 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5091: 41-43; 'On the Collective Letters of Residents of Rudnia Radovel'skaia,' 19 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 183; 'On Allocation of Additional Funds,' 12 december 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 197-98; 'A. M. Serdiuk to V. M. Ponomarenko,' 8 mei 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5220: 15; 'On the Inclusion of Villages of Ovruch Region [in controlled zones],' 14

februari 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5283: 25-26; en 'Veprin, Lesan, and Bakunovich, Cherykaw Region,' zomer 1990, GAGO, 1174/8/2336: 43-47.

734 'On Consideration of Collective Letters of Residents of Village Povch, Luginskii Region,' en 'No. 3-50/753,' 26 juni 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 70; 'Collective of the Korosten' Seamstress Association to K. I. Masyk'; 'On Including the Whole Malyn Region [in controlled zone],' 3 mei 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5238, 79-80; 'On Assessment of Health Indicators of Population of Malyn Region,' 7 juli 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5240: 62-72; en 'P. P. Shkapich to V. F. Kebich,' 3 juli 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 4-6.

735 'On Radiological Circumstances in the City of Korosten,' 19 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 159-61.

736 'Appeal to People of the Land!' 1989, GAOOMO 9/187/214: 14; en 'Statement,' 27 maart 1990, TsDAVO 2605/9/1853: 15-20.

737 Alla Yaroshinskaya, 'V zone osobo zhestokogo obmana,' *Nedelia* (24-30 juli 1989).

738 'On the State and Measures for Medical Provisions to the Population of Narodychy Region,' 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 54-56; en 'V. Maryin to the Secretariat Verkhovnii Council.'

739 Marples, *Ukraine under Perestroika*, 50.

740 'On the Situation in Narodychy Region,' 16 juni 1989, SBU 16/1/1275: 27-28.

741 'Informational Communiqué,' 1989, 16/1/1279: 49-52, 86-86.

742 'Informational Communiqué,' 10 april 1989, 16/1/1273: 120-21; en 'Informational Communiqué,' 25 september 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 83-84.

743 'On Processes Connected with the Construction and Operation of Nuclear Power Plants in the Republic,' 29 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 198-200.

744 'On Creation of a State Committee to Investigate the Fact of Mass Graves,' 9 oktober 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 233.

745 'To People's Deputy, USSR, V. E. Golavnev from Voters,' 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 75-76.

746 'Fenomen Chumaka, Kashpirovskogo i Dzhuny: kak sovetskie tseliteli zavladeli soznaniem millionov,' StarHit.ru, geraadpleegd

- op 28 maart 2018, <http://www.starhit.ru/eksklusiv/fenomen-chumaka-kashpirovskogo-i-djunyi-kak-sovetskie-tseliteli-zavladeli-soznaniem-millionov-133418/>.
- 747 'Meeting Protocol,' 12 juli 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 36–38; en 'On Relocation of Residents from Villages of Narodychy Region,' 2 februari 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 6.
- 748 'Proposal for a Joint Environmental Program of the Northern Ukraine,' 15 november 1990, 996 GPA.
- 749 'Protocol No. 15,' 31 oktober 1989, GAOOMO 9/187/99: 18; en 'Memo,' 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 8–23.
- 750 'On Urgent Measures,' 12 mei 1989, NARB 4R/137/627: 224; 'Protocol No. 15'; en 'Resolution,' 25 mei 1990, GAMO 7/5/8940: 25–35.
- 751 'Directive No. 120-r,' 26 februari 1988, GAMO 7/5/3776: 23. Zie voor de regio Kranopole: 'Resolution,' 17 oktober 1989, GAMO 7/5/3838: 57.
- 752 'TsK KP BSSR Memo on Liquidation,' 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 126–38; V. G. Evtukha, 'Lecture on the 12th Session of the Supreme Soviet, BSSR,' 1989, NARB 4R/158/625: 20–61. Zie voor een vergelijkbaar geval: 'Conference Participants to the Chair of the Supreme Soviet,' 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 63–64.
- 753 'Memo,' 21 februari 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 11–15.
- 754 Interview door de auteur met Alexey Nesterenko, 22 juli 2016, Minsk; en 'On Creation of State Service, BSSR,' 19 oktober 1990, NARB 1256/1/302: 255–57.
- 755 'On the Ecological Pilgrimage,' persoonlijke papieren van Lozytska; en interview door de auteur met Natalia Lozytska, 16 juli 2016, Kyiv.
- 756 'On the Situation in Narodychy Region,' 16 juni 1989, SBU 16/1/1275: 27–28; en 'To People's Deputy A. A. Dron,' 28 april 1990, TsDAVO 324/17/5328: 98–104.
- 757 Interview door de auteur met Natalia Lozytska. Zie voor de KGB-rapportage: 'On Processes Connected with the Construction and Operation of Nuclear Power Plants in the Republic.'
- 758 William Krasner, 'Baby Tooth Survey – First Results,' *Environment* 55, no. 2 (maart 2013): 18–24.
- 759 'On the Situation Emerging in Narodychi Region of Zhytomyr Province,' juni 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 12–40; 'Olevsk Regional Council to V. A. Masol,' 8 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 178; 'Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, UKSSR,' 14 februari 1990, TsDAVO 1/22/1125: 20–21; en 'Appeal,' 29 augustus 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 54.
- 760 'Resolution No. 5-29-8/1,' 15 mei 1989, GAMO 7/5/3833: 295–306; 'A General Important Question,' 2 mei 1989, en 'On the Group Inquiry of Deputies,' 6 juni 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5089: 29–42, 43; 'On Question No. 3,' 24 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 124; 'V. Voinkov to V. Kebich,' 5 november 1990, NARB 46/14/1332: 202; 'Resolution of the Party-Economic Collective of Vykhovskii Region,' 26 juli 1990, en 'On Consideration of the Collective Resolution,' 3 augustus 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 15–18, 11; en 'Appeal.'
- 761 Alla Yaroshinskaya, *Bosikom po bitomu steklu*, vol. 1 (Zhytomyr: Ruta, 2010), hoofdstuk 5.
- 762 'To the Presidium of People's Deputies, USSR,' 5 juni 1989, 'V. M. Kavun, V. N. Yamchinskii to N. I. Ryzhkov,' 27 juni 1989, en 'To Comrade Shcherbina,' 19 juni 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 11, 51, 54–55.
- 763 Zie voor een analyse: Olga Kuchinskaya, *The Politics of Invisibility: Public Knowledge about Radiation Health Effects after Chernobyl* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014), 1605–73 [Kindle]. Zie voor ideeën over hoe de ramp kan worden gebruikt om buitenlandse valuta te verkrijgen: 'Proposal of the Ministry of Health, USSR,' 11 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 98–101. Zie voor Wit-Russische verzoeken om buitenlandse hulp: 'Accounts Open for Chernobyl Clean-up Aid,' 22 augustus 1989, TASS, GPA 1625.
- 764 'To the Council of Ministers, USSR,' 26 juli 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 5–8. Zie ook 'On the Rationale of Future Residency in Particular Villages,' 1 juni 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 76–77.
- 765 'On the State Project,' 19 oktober 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 185; en 'On the Necessity of Eradicating the Accident Thresholds,' 30 november 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 85–87. Zie ook David R.

- Marples, Belarus: *From Soviet Rule to Nuclear Catastrophe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 45, 89–91.
- 766 V. K. Vrulevs'kii, *Vladimir Shcherbytsky: pravda i vymysli* (Kyiv: Dovira, 1993): 220, 245; P. Tron'ko, 'V. V. Shcherbytsky (1918–1990),' en Iu. I. Shapoval, 'V. V. Shcherbytsky: Osoba polityka stred obstavyn chasu,' *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 1 (2003): 109–17, 118–29.
- 767 Interview door Olha Martynyuk met Anatolii Artemenko, 22 december 2016, Kyiv.
- 768 'Informational Communiqué,' 26 januari 1987, SBU 16/1/1247: 74–76.
- 769 'On Protest among Employees of the Academy of Sciences,' 29 november 1989, SBU 16/1/1279: 174–76.
- 770 Interview door de auteur met Alla Yaroshinskaya, 27 mei 2016, Moskou.
- 771 Pierre Pellerin en Dan Beninson. Zie voor rapporten over hun beoordeling van Tsjernobyl: Stuart Diamond, 'Chernobyl's Toll in Future at Issue,' *The New York Times*, 28 augustus 1986; en Judith Miller, 'Trying to Quell a Furor, France Forms a Panel on Chernobyl,' *The New York Times*, 14 mei 1986.
- 772 'M. Titov to Tsk Kompartii BSSR,' 28 juni 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 120; en 'From Women of Belarus!,' niet eerder dan 30 maart 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 130–33. Zie voor andere verzoeken om deskundigen: 'No. 7061/2,' 18 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 114.
- 773 'V. Valuev, Chair KPB BSSR, to TsK KP Belorussia,' 22 juni 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 114.
- 774 V. Mar'in to E. V. Kachalovskii,' 14 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 110; en 'On the Necessity of Eradicating the Accident Thresholds,' 30 november 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5091: 85–87.
- 775 'Assessment on Visit of the Group of WHO Experts, June 19–25,' juni 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 437–40. De opmerkingen werden overgenomen in: 'The International Chernobyl Project: An Overview and Assessment of Radiological Consequences and Evaluation of Protective Measures' (Wenen: IAEA, 1990).'
- 776 Zoals geciteerd in Yaroshinskaya, *Boll'shaia lozh'*, 209–11.
- 777 A. V. Stepanenko, 'Toward a Concept of Living on Territory Contaminated with Radionuclides,' 27 januari 1990, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 11–22.
- 778 'V. Doguzhiev to Gomel' oblispolkom,' 11 juli 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2215: 29–32.
- 779 'V. P. Platonov to N. I. Ryzhkov,' 27 juli 1989, NARB 4R/156/627: 144–45.
- 780 Yaroshinskaya, *Boll'shaia lozh'*, 209–11.
- 781 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Fred Mettler, 7 januari 2016.
- 782 Tchertkoff, *The Crime of Chernobyl*, 71–72.
- 783 'Resolution of the First All-Union Conference on Radiobiology,' Moskou, 21–27 augustus 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 399–403; 'Proposal of the Academy of Sciences, UkSSR toward a Concept for Safe Living in the Regions,' 6 september 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 1–3; en 'To the Soviet Ministers USSR,' 26 juli 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 5–8. Voor bezwaren van het Instituut voor Stralingsgeneeskunde op grond van genetische risico's, zie 'V. G. Andreev to O. O. Bobyliova,' 31 augustus 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 164–65.
- 784 Brodie, 'Radiation Secrecy and Censorship after Hiroshima and Nagasaki,' 842–964.
- 785 'Protocol of the Meeting of Scientists and Specialists of Ukraine SSR and Belarus SSR,' 16 januari 1990, Moskou, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 361–66.
- 786 'To the General Director, UNESCO, Federico Maior,' 4 oktober 1990, UNESCO, 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1; Waight to Tarkowski, 'Advisory Group to the Soviet Union,' 9 januari 1990, World Health Organization Archive (WHO) E16-522-6, jacket 1; 'Duty Travel Report,' P. J. Waight, IAEA Advisory Group 676, Wenen, 10–15 december 1989, WHO E16-522-6, jacket 1; 'To the State Expert Commission,' 10 februari 1990, GARF, 3/59/19: 127; 'Note on the Secretary General's Meeting with Mr. Lev Maksimov,' 7 maart 1990, UN NY, 1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001; en 'Economic and Social Council,' 9 juli 1990, UNDRO UN NY, S 1046/14/4.

- 787 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 16 februari 2016.
- 788 'U. P. Spizhenko to E. I. Chazov,' 30 november 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5091: 85–88.
- 789 T. I. Gombosi et al., 'Anthropogenic Space Weather,' *Space Science Reviews* 212, no. 3–4 (november 2017): 985–1039; en R. C. Baker et al., 'Magnetic Disturbance from a High-Altitude Nuclear Explosion,' *Journal of Geophysical Research* 67, no. 12 (1962): 4927–28.
- 790 Zie voor meer informatie over protesten tegen kernenergie: Marples, *Ukraine under Perestroika*, 115.
- 791 Interview door de auteur met Alexander Kupny, 14 juni 2014, Slavutych, Oekraïne.
- 792 Kyle Hill, 'Chernobyl's Hot Mess, "the Elephant's Foot," Is Still Lethal – Facts So Romantic,' *Nautilus*, 4 december 2013, geraadpleegd op 29 april 2015, <http://nautil.us/blog/chernobyls-hot-mess-the-elephants-foot-is-still-lethal>.
- 793 Aleksander Kupny, *Zhivy poka nas pomniat* (Kharkov: Kupny, 2011), 83.
- 794 Spencer R. Weart, *The Rise of Nuclear Fear* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 81; en Brodie, 'Radiation Secrecy and Censorship after Hiroshima and Nagasaki,' 847.
- 795 Weart, *The Rise of Nuclear Fear*, 82.
- 796 Craig Nelson, 'The Energy of a Bright Tomorrow: The Rise of Nuclear Power in Japan,' *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective* 4, no. 9 (juni 2011), geraadpleegd op 26 april 2015, <http://origins.osu.edu/article/energy-bright-tomorrow-rise-nuclear-power-japan>.
- 797 Voor een ooggetuigenverslag over de gevaren van het 'first strike'-systeem, zie: Daniel Ellsberg, *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017).
- 798 Angela N. H. Creager, 'Radiation, Cancer, and Mutation in the Atomic Age,' *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 45, no. 1 (February 2015): 22–23.
- 799 Barak Kushner, 'Gojira as Japan's First Postwar Media Event,' in *Godzillas Footsteps: Japanese Pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage*, red. William M. Tsutsui en Michiko Ito (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 42–50.
- 800 David Holloway, 'The Soviet Union and the Creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency,' en Elisabeth Roehrllich, 'The Cold War, the Developing World, and the Creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 1953–1957,' *Cold War History* 16, no. 2 (mei 2016): 177–93, 195–212.
- 801 Carolyn Kopp, 'The Origins of the American Scientific Debate over Fallout Hazards,' *Social Studies of Science* 9 (1979): 403–22.
- 802 Martha Smith-Norris, 'The Eisenhower Administration and the Nuclear Test Ban Talks, 1958–1960,' *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 4 (september 2003): 503–41.
- 803 Jacob Darwin Hamblin, 'Exorcising Ghosts in the Age of Automation: United Nations Experts and Atoms for Peace,' *Technology and Culture* 47, no. 4 (oktober 2006): 734–56; en Toshihiro Higuchi, 'Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Debate on Risk Knowledge in Cold War America, 1945–1963,' in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, red. J. R. McNeill en Corinna R. Unger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 301–23.
- 804 Hamblin, 'Exorcising Ghosts.'
- 805 Susan Schuppli, 'Dirty Pictures: Toxic Ecologies as Extreme Images,' Radioactive Ecologies Conference, Montreal, Canada, 15 maart 2015.
- 806 Dit werk wordt meestal niet als 'nucleair' gezien. Gabrielle Hecht, *Being Nuclear: Africans and the Global Uranium Trade* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012).
- 807 Eoin O'Carroll, 'Marie Curie: Why Her Papers Are Still Radioactive,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 november 2011.
- 808 Jan Beyea, 'The Scientific Jigsaw Puzzle: Fitting the Pieces of the Low-Level Radiation Debate,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 68, no. 3 (2012): 13–28.
- 809 'To the Council of Ministers, SSSR,' 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 111.
- 810 'Waight to V. A. Ivasutin, President, Bryansk Regional Council of Trade Union,' 26 juli 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 1; 'Information on

- the Realization of the UN Program,' 1991, NARB 507/1/5: 131-41; 'Waight to Tarkowski,' 'Advisory Group to the Soviet Union,' 9 januari 1990, WHO E16-522-6, jacket 1; 'Briefing for Dr. Nakajima's Meeting with Dr. Chazov, Soviet Ministry of Health,' maart 1990, WHO E16-445-11, #1; 'To the State Expert Commission of Gosplan SSSR on Chernobyl,' 10 februari 1990, GARF, 3/59/19: 127; en 'Notes on the Chef de Cabinet's Meeting with the Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,' 12 april 1990; 'Notes on the Secretary-General's Meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister Kostiantyn Masyk,' 18 april 1990, UN NY, 1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001; en 'Working Plan,' 17 oktober 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 75-87; 'John Willis to Doug Mulhall, David McTaggart,' 14 augustus 1990, GPA 1625.
- 811 'The UNESCO Chernobyl Project,' 30 juni 1990, UNESCO 361.9 (470), UNESCO Archive, Parijs; en 'Michel Hansenne, ILO, Geneva, to Nakajima,' 15 januari 1991, WHO E16-445-11, #3.
- 812 'Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Health of the USSR and the World Health Organization on Efforts to Mitigate the Health Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident,' 30 april 1986 [sic], 1990, WHO E16-445-11, #2. Zie voor een overzicht van de voorstellen: 'Burton Bennet to Dr. M. K. Tolba,' UNEP, 22 oktober 1990, UNSCEAR Correspondence Files.
- 813 'Silini to C. Herzog, Director, Division of External Relations, IAEA,' 29 oktober 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR Archive.
- 814 In de notulen van de Raad van Bestuur van het IAEA uit 1989 staat: 'De deskundigen waren het er over het algemeen over eens dat voor de personen in de meest blootgestelde groepen in de Sovjet-Unie een levenslange dosis van driehonderdvijftig μ Sv aanvaardbaar werd geacht' in 'The Annual Report for 1989,' Board of Governors, 27 april 1990, BOG IAEA, Box 33047.
- 815 'From Enrique ter Horst, Assistant Secretary-General, ODG/DIEC, to Virendra Daya, Chef de Cabinet, EOSG,' 16 april 1990, United Nations Archive, New York, S-1046 box 14, file 4, acc. 2001/0001. Zie ook over de 'geloofwaardigheidskloof' van het IAEA: Bruno Lefèvre, 'Mission Report – USSR,' 22-31 juli, 1990, UNESCO, 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1.
- 816 Interview door de auteur met Abel Gonzalez, 3 juni 2016, Wenen. 'Economic and Social Council Appeals for Co-operation and Aid to Mitigate Consequences of Chernobyl Nuclear Accident,' United Nations Database, 13 juli 1990, ECOSOC/5254. Zie voor een verklaring van de directeur van de WHO dat het IAEA verantwoordelijk was voor de beoordeling: *Nuclear Truth*, regie Vladimir Tchertkoff (Feldat Film, Zwitserland, 2004).
- 817 'Travel Report,' 28 mei 1990, WHO E16-445-11, 1; 'Report of a Special Meeting of the Inter-Agency Committee on Response to Nuclear Accidents (IAC/RNA),' 29 mei 1990, WHO E16-445-11, #1. De Amerikaanse afgevaardigde wilde deze commissie gebruiken als een platform om Tsjernobyl-programma's van VN-organisaties te beoordelen en goed te keuren; 'Economic and Social Council Appeals for Co-operation.'
- 818 Zie voor meer informatie over het uitstel van een groot voorgesteld UNESCO-programma voor Tsjernobyl, in navolging van het voorbeeld van het IAEA: 'Proposal UNESCO Chernobyl Project,' 10 mei 1990; 'B. Andemicael, IAEA, to H. Blix,' 'Consequences of Chernobyl Accident: ECOSOC Decision,' 18 mei 1990; 'ADG/SC to the Director-General,' 17 mei 1990, UNESCO, 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1, Part I; en ECOSOC/5254 United Nations Database, 13 juli 1990.
- 819 IAEA Board of Governors, 744th meeting, 27 februari 1991, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Archive, Box 33007.
- 820 'Third Meeting of the Inter-Agency Task Force on Chernobyl,' 19-23 september 1991, WHO E16-445-11, no. 5.
- 821 'Itsuzo Shigematsu to Dr. P. Waight, PEP, EHE, WHO,' 25 september 1990; en 'Waight to Shigematsu,' 4 oktober 1990, WHO E16-445-11, #2.
- 822 'On Questions of Ukraine's Economic Relations with the West,' 10 augustus 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 130-37.
- 823 'Informational Notes,' 14 mei 1987, SBU 16/1/1250: 42-44.
- 824 'To Comrade V. Kh. Doguzhiev from A. Kondrusev and V. Vozniak,' 5 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5220: 10-11.

825 'On Subversion Activity Abroad,' 15 februari 1990, 'On Preparations for the Student Strike,' 15 februari 1990, 'On Tendencies in the Development of Negative Occurrences,' 2 februari 1990, 'On the Development of the Situation in Lviv Province,' 13 maart 1990, 'On Activation of Subversive Activity by Radio Free Europe,' 19 april 1990, 'On the Gathering of Spilka of Independent Ukrainian Youth,' 23 april 1990, 'On Processes Related to Construction and Exploitation of NPP,' 29 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 83-85, 90-91, 96-97, 128-31, 173-74, 176-178, 198-200; 'On Circumstances in Kyiv,' 27 september 1990, 'On Measures to Control Events in Kyiv,' 29 september 1990, SBU 16/11288: 215-16, 221-22.

826 'On Problems Connected with Trips of Soviet Scientists Abroad,' 30 november 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 85-89.

827 'On Attempts by the Protagonist to Use the New Moments and International Relations for Subversion,' 5 november 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 215-18.

828 'On International Collaboration,' 29 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1274: 194-96. Zie voor eerdere maatregelen ter bestrijding van buitenlandse spionage: 'Assessments by Foreign Specialists of the Circumstances in the Republic,' 19 september 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 180-84.

829 'On International Collaboration,' 29 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1274: 194-96.

830 'On International Collaboration,' 29 april 1990, SBU 16/1/1274: 194-96.

831 'Travel Report,' 28 mei 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 1.

832 Anspaugh and Bennett, 'Unsolved Problems,' 23 juli 1990, GAGO, 1174/8/2346: 103-4.

833 Interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 23 juni 2016, Minsk; en 'Andersen to Sawyer,' 12 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.

834 B. G. Bennett, 'Mission Report,' niet eerder dan november 1990, Correspondence Files, 1990, UNSCEAR Archive.

835 'Unsolved Problems,' GAGO, 1174/8/2336: 103-4.

836 Interview door de auteur met Abel Gonzalez, 3 juni 2016, Wenen.

837 Email-correspondentie met A. I. Vorobiev, 8 oktober 2017.

838 'On Circumstances Emerging in Narodychy Region,' juni 1989, GARF 5446/150/1624: 12-40.

839 B. G. Bennett, 'Mission Report,' en appendix: '11/3: Institute of Experimental Meteorology, Obninsk, Visited by Teams 1 and 2 on 15 August 1990, Report by E. Wirth, Fed Rep. of Germany.'

840 'The IAEA Project for a Repeat Assessment of the Situation,' 15 oktober 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 33-50.

841 Het besluit tot het instellen van het register: 'On Establishing an All-Union Scientific Center,' 9 september 1986, NARB, 46/14/1261: 87.

842 'Travel Report,' 28 mei 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 1; 'Unsolved Problems'; 'List of Questions.'

843 *Trud*, 12 juli 1990

844 'John Willis to Doug Mulhall, David McTaggart,' 14 augustus 1990, GPA 1625.

845 Pavel Vorobiev, 'Do i posle Chernobyliya,' *Nezavisimaia*, 28 april 2006.

846 Email-correspondentie met A. I. Vorobiev, 8 oktober 2017.

847 'Report of the Economic and Social Council,' 29 oktober 1990, UN NY S-1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001.

848 'Soviet Scientists Report,' Bennett, 'Mission Report,' niet eerder dan november 1990, Correspondence Files, 1990, UNSCEAR Archive: 48.

849 B. G. Bennett, 'Background Information for UNEP Representative to the Meeting of the Ministerial Committee for Coordination on Chernobyl,' 17 november 1993, Correspondence Files, 1993, UNSCEAR.

850 'On Information,' 24 mei 1990, TsDAVO, 342/17/5220: 22-23; en L. N. Astakhova et al., 'Particularities of the Formation of Thyroid Pathologies among Children Exposed to Radioactivity,' Institute of Radiation Medicine, Report No. 91/763E, 19 november 1991, WHO E16-445-11, No. 6; en F. Fry, 'Mission Report,' niet eerder dan november 1990, Correspondence Files, 1990, UNSCEAR: 3.

851 'Bennett to Tolba,' 22 oktober 1990, Correspondence Files, 1990, UNSCEAR Archive; 'Commentary on the Existing Norms

- of Radioactivity for Food Products,' 20 juli 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 88–90.
- 852 'On the Directives of SM UkSSR no. 5182/86,' 20 mei 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 67–69; 'V. A. M. Kas'ianenko, 04-r-16 DSP,' 7 juni 1989, TsDAVO 342/17/5089: 68; 'Chernobyl Humanitarian Assistance and Rehabilitation Programme,' 21 mei 1993, WHO E16-180-4: 11.
- 853 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Jacques Repussard, 28 februari 2018; en 'Andre Bouville, UNSCEAR, to Chester Richmond,' Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Correspondence Files, 1987, UNSCEAR.
- 854 Martha Smith-Norris, *Domination and Resistance: The United States and the Marshall Islands during the Cold War* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 83–90.
- 855 Over de onzekerheden van wiskundige modellen voor dosisschattingen, zie: Owen Hoffman et al., 'The Hanford Thyroid Disease Study,' *Health Physics* 92, no. 2 (februari 2007): 99–112.
- 856 'Radioactive Situation and Residential Conditions,' zomer 1990, GAGO, 1174/8/2336: 43–45.
- 857 'Report of the Economic and Social Council,' 29 oktober 1990, UN NY S-1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001.
- 858 F. Fry, 'Mission Report'; and Report by an International Advisory Committee, *The International Chernobyl Project, Technical Report* (Wenen: IAEA, 1991), 225–26.
- 859 Verslag van een internationale adviescommissie, *Technical Report*, 236. Zie ter vergelijking de tweejaarsdoses die door de Wit-Russische onderzoekers zijn verstrekt: V. S. Ulashchik, 'Some Medical Aspects of the Consequences of the Accident at Chernobyl, Based on Byelorussian Data,' 'John Willis to Doug Mulhall, David McTaggart,' 14 augustus 1990, GPA 1625.
- 860 'On Problems Liquidating the Chernobyl Catastrophe,' 22 januari 1991, SBU 16/1/1292: 59–63.
- 861 'Cesium 134-137 Doses among Residents of Cherykaw Region in 1986,' Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/160: 7; en V. A. Shevchenko, Institute of General Genetics, Moscow, 'Biological and Genetic Consequences of Nuclear Explosions,' 996 GPA; 'Draft for Chernobyl Report,' 30 november 1990, en Bennett, 'Mission

- Report,' *Technical Report*, 212–26. Zie voor de erkenning dat de dosisschattingen te conservatief waren: 'Chernobyl: Local Doses and Effects,' Document R. 554, Conference Room Papers, 1994, UNSCEAR.
- 862 'Draft for Chernobyl Report,' 30 november 1990, en Bennett, 'Mission Report,' niet eerder dan november 1990, UNSCEAR Correspondence Files, 1990; en Verslag van een internationale adviescommissie, *Technical Report*, 212–26.
- 863 Zie voor de productie van onzekerheid en de schatting van stralingsdoses: Scott Frickel, 'Not Here and Everywhere: The Non-Production of Scientific Knowledge,' in *Routledge Handbook of Science, Technology and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 263–76; en Scott Frickel, et al., 'Undone Science: Charting Social Movement and Civil Society Challenges to Research Agenda Setting,' *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 35, no. 4 (1 juli 2010): 444–73.
- 864 'Progress Report,' maart–september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6, attachment H.
- 865 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Fred Mettler, 7 januari 2016.
- 866 Verslag van een internationale adviescommissie, *Technical Report*, 281–84.
- 867 'Report to the General Assembly,' Conference Room Papers, 1995, UNSCEAR.
- 868 'Working Group, Document R. 541, Epidemiological Studies of Radiation Carcinogenesis,' 1994, Conference Room Papers, UNSCEAR.
- 869 V. P. Platonov en E. F. Konoplia, 'Information on Major Findings of Scientific Work Related to Liquidating Consequences of ChAES Accident,' 21 april 1989, RGAE 4372/67/9743: 490–571.
- 870 F. Fry, 'Mission Report,' 3.
- 871 'Duty Travel Report,' P. J. Waight, IAEA Advisory Group 676, Wenen, 10–15 december 1989, WHO E16-522-6, jacket 1; en F. Fry, 'Mission Report.'

- 872 Medewerkers van Greenpeace ontvingen een exemplaar van het Wit-Russische rapport: 'John Willis to Doug Mulhall, David McTaggart,' 14 augustus 1990, GPA 1625.
- 873 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Fred Mettler, 7 januari 2016; en 'International Chernobyl Project Proceedings of an International Conference,' Wenen, 21–24 mei 1991, 34, 39.
- 874 Zie voor de vereiste schaal van epidemiologisch onderzoek bij lage stralingsdoses: Conference Room Papers, 'Working Group, Document R. 541, Epidemiological Studies of Radiation Carcinogenesis,' 1994, UNSCEAR Archive, Wenen.
- 875 'International Conference Completes Review of Chernobyl Study,' 24 mei 1991, UN Archives S-1046/16/3.
- 876 Persbericht van de Verenigde Naties, 'Advisory Body Finds No Health Disorders Directly Attributable to Radiation Exposure in Populations Affected by Chernobyl Accident,' 24 mei 1991, UN Archives S-1046/16/3.
- 877 International Chernobyl Project Proceedings, 38.
- 878 'International Conference Completes Review of Chernobyl Study,' 24 mei 1991, UN Archives S-1046/16/3.
- 879 *International Chernobyl Project: An Overview* (Wenen: International Atomic Energy Association, 1991), 32.
- 880 'Press Conference by Ms. Anstee on Chernobyl Pledging Conference, 20 September,' 19 september 1991, UNA S-1046/16/3/2001/0002.
- 881 'Minister P. Kravchenko to V. F. Kebich,' 3 april 1991, NARB 507/2/13: 31–37; en 'Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, 45th Session, Agenda Item 12,' 21 december 1990, WHO E16-445-11, No. 3.
- 882 'International Chernobyl Project Proceedings of an International Conference,' Wenen, 21–24 mei 1991, 23, 34–38, 40.
- 883 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' *Proceedings*, Kyiv, 11–13 mei 1988 (Wenen: IAEA, 1989), 21–24; L. N. Astakhova et al., 'Particularities of the Formation of Thyroid Pathologies among Children Exposed to Radioactivity,' Institute of Radiation Medicine, Report No. 91/763E, 19 november 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 6.
- 884 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident.'
- 885 Angela Liberatore, *The Management of Uncertainty: Learning from Chernobyl* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1999), 3
- 886 Toshihiro Higuchi, 'Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Testing and the Debate on Risk Knowledge in Cold War America, 1945–1963,' in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, red. J. R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 301–23. On the proliferation of simplified computer simulations and the simplifications that follow, see J. R. Ravetz, " 'Climategate' and the Maturing of Post-Normal Science," *Futures* 43 (2011): 149–57.
- 887 Zie de getuigenissen van Konoplya, Hotovchits, Bar'yakhtar en Dushutin, 'Proceedings.'
- 888 Verslag van een internationale adviescommissie, *The International Chernobyl Project, Technical Report* (Wenen: IAEA, 1991), 388.
- 889 Rosen, 'Medical Aspects of the Chernobyl Accident,' 61.
- 890 Marples meldt de eerste stijging van het aantal gevallen van schildklierkanker in Oekraïne in 1986. Zie Marples, *Belarus: From Soviet Rule to Nuclear Catastrophe*, 104. Zie voor een vroeg bericht over tumoren: 'Check of the State of Endocrinology Services,' 23 maart 1988, NARB 46/12/1262: 83–85; en 'On Deputies' Group Questions,' 9 juni 1989, TsDAVO 324/17/5089: 38–42. Het Oekraïense tijdschrift *Zdorov'e* publiceerde in april 1989 nieuws over gezondheidsproblemen als gevolg van Tsjernobyl, waaronder de toename van schildklierkanker. WHO-functionarissen hoorden tijdens een conferentie in 1990 over de gevallen van kanker, Riaboukine, Travel Report, 12 februari 1991, WHO No. 16-441-4; en 'Rodzilsky to Prilipko,' 30 november 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 5.
- 891 Andrej Lyshchik et al., 'Diagnosis of Thyroid Cancer in Children,' *Radiology* 235, no. 2 (mei 2005).
- 892 Interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 15 juni 2016, Minsk.
- 893 Interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 15 juni 2016, Minsk. L. N. Astakhova, E. P. Demidchuk, E V Davydov, A.N. Arinchin, S. M. Zelenko, V. M. Drozd, T. D. Poliakova, 'Health Status of Belarusian Children and Adolescents Exposed to Radiation as

- Consequence of the Chernobyl AES accident,' *Vestnik Academia meditsinskikh nauk, SSSR*, Vol 11, no. 11 (1991): 25-27.
- 894 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 12 februari 2016.
- 895 Ze verwezen vaak naar een kleinschalig Zweeds onderzoek onder volwassenen die met jodium-131 waren behandeld, waaruit was gebleken dat er geen toename van het aantal gevallen van kanker was. Keith Baverstock, 'The Recognition of Childhood Thyroid Cancer as a Consequence of the Chernobyl Accident: An Allegorical Tale of Our Time?' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 100 (2007): 1-3.
- 896 V. N. Novoselov en V. S. Tolstikov, *Atomnyi sled na Urale* (Chelyabinsk: Rifei, 1997), 127. Zie voor Ilyins veel bescheidener voorspellingen over schildklierkanker: L. A. Ilyin et al., 'Radiocontamination Patterns and Possible Health Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station,' *Journal of Radiological Protection* 10, no. 3 (1990): 3-29.
- 897 Smith-Norris, *Domination and Resistance*, 72, 89-93.
- 898 Barbara Rose Johnston en Holly M. Barker, *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War: The Rongelap Report* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 173-91.
- 899 Wilfred Goding, High Commissioner of the Pacific Islands, UN Trusteeship Council, 13 juni 1961, zoals geciteerd in Smith-Norris, *Domination and Resistance*, 90.
- 900 'Minutes NCI Thyroid 131 Assessments Committee,' 24-25 augustus 1987, NCI, RG 43 FY 03 Box 5, part 3; *Cancer in Utah: Report No. 3, 1967-77: Utah Cancer Registry*, september 1979, acc. no. 0331726, Nuclear Testing Archive (NTA); en Joseph L. Lyon et al., 'Childhood Leukemias Associated with Fallout from Nuclear Testing,' *New England Journal of Medicine*, no. 300 (1979): 397-402.
- 901 Howard Ball, *Justice Downwind: America's Atomic Testing Program in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 158-72; en Leopold, *Under the Radar*, 169-80.
- 902 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Joseph Lyon, 7 maart 2018; en verklaring van Joseph Lynn Lyon, M.D., M.P.H., hoogleraar, over de Management of Radiation Studies van het NCI

- voor de Congrescommissie voor Regeringszaken, United States Senate, One Hundred Fifth Congress, 1 oktober 1997.
- 903 'Getuigenverklaring van Joseph L. Lyon,' 23 oktober 1981, no. 0067276, NTA.
- 904 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Lynn Anspaugh, 12 januari 2016; en email-correspondentie van de auteur met Owen Hoffman, 11 maart 2018.
- 905 Brief van dr. Richard D. Klausner, 'On the National Cancer Institute's Management of Radiation Studies,' United States Senate: 58.
- 906 Email-correspondentie van de auteur met Owen Hoffman. Zie ook O. Hoffman et al., 'Dose Assessment Communication,' *Health Physics* (2011): 591-601; en O. Hoffman et al., 'A Perspective on Public Concerns about Exposure to Fallout from the Production and Testing of Nuclear Weapons,' 736-49.
- 907 S. Simon, A. Bouville, en C. Land, 'Fallout from Nuclear Weapons Tests and Cancer Risks,' *American Scientist* 94, no. 1 (januari 2006): 48-57.
- 908 Rob Hotakainen, Lindsay Wise, Frank Matt, en Samantha Ehlinger, 'The Hidden Legacy of 70 Years of Atomic Weaponry,' *McClatchy Report*, 11 december 2015. Zie voor een onderzoek waaruit blijkt dat kinderen met een betere voeding meer radioactief jodium opnemen als gevolg van kernproeven Merrill Eisenbud et al., 'Iodine-131 Dose from Soviet Nuclear Tests,' *Science* 136, no. 3514 (4 mei 1962): 370-74.
- 909 'Iodine releases of 45 million curies from Chernobyl, 145 million from the National Testing Service.' Getuigenverklaring van F. Owen Hoffman, Ph.D., Oak Ridge, over de Management of Radiation Studies van het NCI voor de Congrescommissie voor regeringszaken, United States Senate, One Hundred Fifth Congress, 16 september 1998.
- 910 Email-correspondentie van de auteur met Owen Hoffman, 11 maart 2018; getuigenverklaring van Jan Beyea, *Exposure of the American People to Iodine-131 from Nevada Nuclear-Bomb Tests: Review of the National Cancer Institute Report and Public Health Implications*, Institute of Medicine and National Research Council

- (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999). Zie voor de mislukte pogingen om koeien in Minnesota tijdens periodes met veel neerslag over te laten schakelen op oud voer: Kendra Smith-Howard, *Pure and Modern Milk: An Environmental History Since 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 133–34.
- 911 David Philipps, ‘Troops Who Cleaned Up Radioactive Islands Can’t Get Medical Care,’ *The New York Times*, 28 januari 2017.
- 912 Zie Tom Foulds Collection, University of Washington Special Collections (TFC UWSC); en A. Körblein, ‘Perinatal Mortality in West Germany Following Atmospheric Nuclear Weapons Tests,’ *Archives of Environmental Health* 59, no. 11 (november 2004): 604–9.
- 913 Zie bijvoorbeeld ‘Testimony of Dr. Rosalie Bertell,’ U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, 21 april 1998.
- 914 Department of Energy, Richland Operations Office, ‘Requests for Assistance Resulting from Chernobyl,’ 1 juni 1986, WH 423500, TFC UWSC.
- 915 ‘Chernobyl Implications Report,’ 12 juni 1987, RG 431-01/1358, box 2, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).
- 916 ‘Progress Report,’ oktober 1993 – januari 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE Opennet, UCRL-ID-110062-94-4.
- 917 ‘More Chernobyls Unavoidable,’ *Los Angeles Times*, 27 juni 1987.
- 918 Citaat uit ‘Report of the Economic and Social Council,’ 29 oktober 1990, UN NY S-1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001.
- 919 ‘Hoffman et. al., ‘A Perspective on Public Concerns about Exposure to Fallout from the Production and Testing of Nuclear Weapons,’ 744; Gary J. Hancock et al., ‘The Release and Persistence of Radioactive Anthropogenic Nuclides,’ in *A Stratigraphical Basis for the Anthropocene*, red. C. N. Waters (Londen: Geological Society, 2014), 265–81; John R. Cooper, Keith Randle, en Ranjeet S. Sokhi, *Radioactive Releases in the Environment: Impact and Assessment* (New York: Wiley, 2003), 17; Hoffman et al., ‘A Perspective on Public Concerns about Exposure to Fallout from the Production and Testing of Nuclear Weapons,’ 736–49; Australian Mission to the United Nations, 26 november 1974, en ‘R. H. Wyndham to Dr. S. Sella,’ 15 november 1973, UN NY S-0446-0106-09; en ‘Study of the Radiological Situation at the Atolls of Mururoa and Fangataufa,’ IAEA Board of Governors, Technical Cooperation Report for 1997, 30 april 1998, IAEA BOG, Box 33054. ‘Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effect of Atomic Radiation to the General Assembly,’ 2000, geraadpleegd op 29 april 2018, <http://www.unscear.org/docs/reports/gareport.pdf>. Zie voor de vergelijkbaarheid met de atoombommen op Hiroshima ‘General Overview of the Effects of Nuclear Testing,’ CTBTO, geraadpleegd op 29 mei 2018, <https://www.ctbto.org/nuclear-testing/the-effects-of-nuclear-testing/general-overview-of-the-effects-of-nuclear-testing/>.
- 920 Getuigenverklaring van Owen Hoffman, ‘National Cancer Institute’s Management of Radiation Studies,’ hoorzitting voor de permanente subcommissie voor onderzoek, U.S. Senate, 16 september 1998, 48.
- 921 Coline N. Waters et al., ‘Can Nuclear Weapons Fallout Mark the Beginning of the Anthropocene Epoch?’ *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 71, no. 3 (May 2015): 46–59.
- 922 ‘On the Work of BSSR Health Ministry, 1986–1989,’ niet eerder dan maart 1989, NARB 46/14/1260: 1–15.
- 923 Eckart Conze, Martin Klimke, en Jeremy Varon, *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), en Andrew S. Tompkins, *Better Active Than Radioactive!: Anti-Nuclear Protest in 1970s France and West Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 196–98.
- 924 I. Riaboukhine, ‘International Program on the Health Effects of the Chernobyl Accident,’ 13 december 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 6.
- 925 ‘Matiukhin to Riaboukhine,’ 19 november 1991, WHO E16-180-4, 6; en Ozolins, ‘On Meeting at Neuherberg,’ München, 15 januari 1991 [sic], 8 januari 1992, WHO E16-180-4, 10.
- 926 Astakhova et al., ‘Particularities of the Formation of Thyroid Pathologies among Children Exposed to Radioactivity from the Chernobyl Accident,’ 6. De doses in dit rapport komen overeen met die van het langlopende NCI-onderzoek. Zie Hatch et al. 2005.

- 927 Artsen constateerden cystische knobbeltjes bij de helft minder kinderen uit de controlegroep dan uit de onderzoeksgroep van Khoyniki. Valentina Drozd et al., 'Systematic Ultrasound Screening as a Significant Tool for Early Detection of Thyroid Carcinoma in Belarus,' *Journal of Pediatric Endocrinology and Metabolism* 15, no. 7 (2002): 979–84.
- 928 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Keith Baverstock, 3 november 2015.
- 929 Voor eerste kennisgevingen, zie: 'Duty Travel Report,' Dr. P. J. Waight, IAEA Advisory Group 676, Wenen, 10–15 december 1989, WHO E16-522-6, jacket 1; en 'WHO IPHECA Task Group, Obninsk, 7–11 januari 1990,' WHO E16-445-11: 3.
- 930 Waight, 'Meeting at Neuherberg, Munich, 15 januari 1991 [*sic* 1992],' en 'Travel Report Summary, Waight,' 16 januari 1992, CEC Meeting on the Reports of an Excess of Thyroid Cancer in Belarus, GSF, Neuherberg, Duitsland, WHO E16-445-11: 7; en U. Riaboukhine Duty Travel Report, Duitsland, 21–25 oktober 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 6.
- 931 Astakhova et al., 'Particularities of the Formation of Thyroid Pathologies among Children Exposed to Radioactivity from the Chernobyl Accident.'
- 932 Waight, 'Meeting at Neuherberg, Munich, 15 januari 1991 [*sic* 1992],' WHO E16-445-11: 7; en J. Sinnaeve, 'Radiation Protection Research to Waight,' 29 januari 1992, WHO E16-180-4: 10. Waight vond het probleem ernstig genoeg om te pleiten voor behandelingsprogramma's voor schildklierkanker in Wit-Rusland. Zie 'Waight to Manager PEP,' 20 januari 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 7.
- 933 'On Reviewing the Implementation of IPHECA (Russian translation),' 11 juni 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 9; en 'Tarkowski to Napalkov,' 10 juni 1992, WHO E16-180-4: 10.
- 934 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Keith Baverstock, 3 november 2015.
- 935 Email-correspondentie van de auteur met Keith Baverstock, 21 december 2015. Toen hem hiernaar werd gevraagd, zei Kreisel dat hij niet wilde ingaan op personeels- of politieke kwesties, maar hij voegde er wel aan toe dat hij van mening was dat 'veel problemen

- voorkomen hadden kunnen worden als deze persoon [een niet bij naam genoemde persoon die de WHO ontrouw was] bij de WHO was ontslagen.' Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Wilfred Kreisel, 23 juli 2018.
- 936 Baverstock et al., 'Thyroid Cancer in Children in Belarus after Chernobyl,' en 'Sinnaeve, CEC, to V. S. Kazakov, Minister of Public Health, Belarus,' 8 september 1992, WHO E16-445-11, 11. 'Project Document: Thyroid Cancer in Belarus after Chernobyl,' 25 januari 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 18.
- 937 Keith Baverstock et al., 'Thyroid Cancer after Chernobyl,' *Nature* 359 (3 september 1992).
- 938 I. Shigematsu en J. W. Thiessen, 'Letter to the Editor,' *Nature* 359 (22 oktober 1992): 680–81; V. Beral en G. Reeves, 'Letter to the Editor,' *Nature* 359 (22 oktober 1992): 680–81; en E. Ron, J. Lubin, en A. B. Scheider, 'Thyroid Cancer Incidence,' *Nature* 360 (12 november 1992): 113.
- 939 Fred A. Mettler et al., 'Thyroid Nodules in the Population Living Around Chernobyl,' *Journal of the American Medical Association* 268, no. 5 (5 augustus 1992): 616–19.
- 940 'Kreisel, Directory Division of Environment Health, to J. E. Asvall, Regional Directory, WHO, Europe,' 25 september 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 11.
- 941 Email-correspondentie met Keith Baverstock, 15 december 2016.
- 942 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Wilfred Kreisel, 23 juli 2018.
- 943 'S. Tarkowski to Napalkov,' 10 juni 1992, WHO E16-445-11, 9; 'Kreisel to Chikvaidze,' Department of Humanitarian Affairs, UN NY, 28 september 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 20.
- 944 Email-correspondentie met Baverstock, 15 december 2015; 'Gonzalez to Napalkov,' 10 augustus 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 19; en 'Report by the Director-General, IPHECA,' 30 november 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 13.
- 945 Zoals VN-functionarissen schreven over de diverse VN-projecten op het gebied van de schildklier: 'Er lijken weinig regelingen te zijn voor samenwerking bij deze onderzoeken.' 'Strengthening of International Cooperation and Coordination of Efforts to Study,

- Mitigate and Minimize the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster,' 28 september 1993, UN NY S-1082/35/6/ acc. 2001/0207. Zie bijvoorbeeld het debat in Shigenobu Nagataki, red., *Nagasaki Symposium on Chernobyl: Update and Future* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1994).
- 946 'Rhiaboukhine Travel Report to USSR,' 23 augustus 1991, WHO E16-441-4.
- 947 'Study of Thyroid Cancer and Other Thyroid Diseases Following the Chernobyl Accident (Belarus),' geraadpleegd op 15 januari 2016, http://chernobyl.cancer.gov/thyroid_belarus.html. Zie voor klachten over het trage tempo: Anspaugh, 'Foreign Trip Report,' in 'Progress Report,' maart-september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6. Zie voor de diverse schildklieronderzoeken: 'Inventory of International Health Related Activities in the USSR on the Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident' (niet gedateerd, 1991), WHO E16-445-11, No. 5; en E. Cardis, B. K. Armstrong, en J. Esteve, International Agency for Research on Cancer, Lyon, 'Opinion of the Conduct of Epidemiological Studies of the Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident Within the WHO IPHECA Project,' WHO E16-445-11: 7.
- 948 'Riaboukhine Travel Report Summary to USSR,' 23 augustus 1991, WHO E16-180-4: 5.
- 949 'Inventory of International Health Related Activities in the USSR on the Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident,' 23 augustus 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 5.
- 950 Zie het telefonische interview van de auteur met Mona Dreicer over het feit dat het IAEA geen testresultaten heeft teruggekoppeld, 13 april 2018; en 'Martin A. Chepesiuk, MD FRSPC, to Steve Bloom,' GPA 1624.
- 951 Waight, 'Travel Report,' Parijs, 12-13 maart 1991, en Obninsk, 13-16 maart 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 3; en 'Rhiaboukhine Travel Report to USSR,' 23 augustus 1991, WHO E16-441-4; 'Harry Pettengill, Deputy Assistant Secretary, DOE, to Waight,' 18 mei 1992, WHO E16-180-4: 10; 'Napalkov to Kondrusev, Deputy Minister of Health, USSR,' 26 februari 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 3; en 'Itsuzo Shigematsu to Nakajima,' 25 november 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 13.
- 952 Urgent Telegram, J. E. Asvall, 17 februari 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 7; 'Asvall to Napalkov,' 19 februari 1992, WHO E16-180-4: 10; 'S. Tarkowski, DEH to Napalkov, attn. Kreisel,' 27 augustus 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 11; 'Kreisel to Tarkowski, EHE EURO,' 19 juli 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 19; en H. I. Alleger, Commission of the European Communities, to Kreisel, 26 juli 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 19.
- 953 'Inter-Agency Coordination during Emergency Situations,' 5 september 1990, UNESCO Archive (Paris) 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1.
- 954 Het 'IPHECA'-onderzoek genoemd, 'Memorandum of Understanding Between the Ministry of Health of the USSR and the World Health Organization on Efforts to Mitigate the Health Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident, April 30, 1986 [sic],' 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 2.
- 955 Interview door de auteur met Gonzalez. Zie ook 'Waight to Gonzalez,' 17 mei 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 1. Zie voor een uitgebreid, niet-ondertekend betoog tegen het IPHECA-onderzoek van de WHO: 'Proposed WHO-Soviet International Program on the Health Effects of the Chernobyl Accident (IPHECA),' 27 december 1990, WHO E16-445-11: 3.
- 956 'Gonzalez to Napalkov,' 10 augustus 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 19. Zie voor een eerdere verklaring dat het IPHECA-programma van de WHO een voortzetting was van het IAEA-onderzoek: 'Gonzalez to Kreisel,' 3 juni 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 9.
- 957 'U. Riaboukhine Duty Travel Report, Germany,' 21-25 oktober 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 6. Voor kritiek op de formuleringen van de WHO, die de literatuur van het IAEA overnamen waarin de gevolgen voor de gezondheid werden gebagatelliseerd, zie 'Dr. I. Filyushikin, Institute of Biophysics, Moscow, to Kreisel,' 27 april 1993, WHO E16-3445-11: 16.
- 958 'Reviewing the Implementation of IPHECA,' 11 juni 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 9; en 'Napalkov to Gonzalez,' 27 september 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 20.

959 'International Chernobyl Project Proceedings,' 48; en 'B. Weiss to A. Gonzalez,' 2 juli 1993, WHO E16-180-4: 11; 'UNESCO to MAB National Committees,' 5 november 1991, WHO E16-180-4: 10.

960 Persbericht: 'IAEA Calls "Unfounded" Der Spiegel Article,' 28 januari 1992, UN NY S-1082/27/9/ acc. 2001/0190; en B. G. Bennett, 'Background Information for UNEP Representative,' 17 november 1993, Correspondence Files, 1993, UNSCEAR Archive.

961 'Bennett to Secretary Hazel O'Leary,' 5 mei 1994, Correspondence Files, 1994, UNSCEAR Archive.

962 'Strengthening of International Cooperation and Coordination of Efforts to Study, Mitigate, and Minimize the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster: Report of the Secretary General,' 13 november 1992, Department of Humanitarian Affairs DHA, UN NY S-1082/27/9, ac 2001/0190.

963 Persbericht van het Oekraïense ministerie van Volksgezondheid: 'Cooperation in Assessment of Medical Consequences of Chernobyl Catastrophe, January 1993,' WHO E16-445-11: 14.

964 B. G. Bennett, 'Background Information for UNEP Representative to the Meeting of the Ministerial Committee for Coordination on Chernobyl,' 17 november 1993, New York, Correspondence Files, 1993, UNSCEAR Archive. Bennett herhaalde dit standpunt een jaar later: 'Comment on Summary of Funding Requirements for Chernobyl,' 7 september 1994, Correspondence Files, 1994, UNSCEAR Archive.

965 'Strengthening of the Coordination of Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Assistance,' 13 november 1992, UN NY S-1082/27/9/ acc. 2001/0190.

966 'Strengthening of International Cooperation and Coordination of Efforts to Study, Mitigate and Minimize the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster,' 27 oktober 1997, en 'Note to the Secretary-General, Chernobyl,' 29 oktober 1997, UN NY S-1092/96/5, acc. 2006/0160.

967 'Note to the File, Chernobyl, Anstee,' 17 januari 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 7.

968 'Silini to Tolba Telegram,' 26 september 1986, en 'Silini to Katz,' 12 september 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR Archive.

969 'Silini to Katz,' 12 september 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR Archive; en 'Silini to Tolba Telegram,' 26 september 1986, Correspondence Files, 1986, UNSCEAR Archive.

970 'Bennett to Dr. M. D. Gwynn,' UNEP, 13 januari 1992, Correspondence Files, 1992, UNSCEAR Archive.

971 V. Arkhipov, 'Nuclear Energy, Environment and Public Opinion,' 19 januari 1990, TsDAVO 2/15/1871, 42-50.

972 'Bennett to Cardis,' 5 september 1991, Correspondence Files, 1991, UNSCEAR Archive.

973 'Burton Bennett to Hylton Smith, Scientific Secretary International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP),' 11 oktober 1991, Correspondence Files, 1991, UNSCEAR Archive.

974 Document R. 554, 1994, Conference Room Papers, UNSCEAR.

975 Document R. 556, June 20, 1996, Conference Room Papers, UNSCEAR.

976 Document R. 556, June 20, 1996, Conference Room Papers, UNSCEAR, 29.

977 Zie onder meer David Michaels, *Doubt Is Their Product: How Industry's Assault on Science Threatens Your Health* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Allan M. Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2007); en Nancy Langston, *Toxic Bodies: Hormone Disruptors and the Legacy of DES* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

978 Leopold, *Under the Radar*; Brown, *Plutopia*; Johnston en Barker, *Consequential Damages of Nuclear War*; Sarah Alisabeth Fox, *Downwind: A People's History of the Nuclear West* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 2014); Gabrielle Hecht, *Being Nuclear: Africans and the Global Uranium Trade* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012); en Jacob Darwin Hamblin, *Poison in the Well: Radioactive Waste in the Oceans at the Dawn of the Nuclear Age* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008). Zie voor meer informatie over de hardnekkigheid van de geheimhouding rond kernenergie: Joseph Masco, *The Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

- 979 'Strengthening of the Coordination of Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Assistance,' 8 september 1995, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015; J. Sinnaeve et al., 'Collaboration between the Radiation Protection Research Actions of the CEC and the CIS on the Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident,' in Shigenobu Nagataki, red., *Nagasaki Symposium on Chernobyl: Update and Future* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1994), 95-114.
- 980 'N. S. Fes'kov to I. A. Kenik,' 12 februari 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 15-16.
- 981 In 1993 hadden in Khoyniki, Wit-Rusland, zes op de duizend kinderen schildklierkanker. V. M. Drozd, L. N. Astakhova, O. N. Polyanskaya, V. F. Kobzev, en A. S. Nalivko, 'Ultrasonic Diagnostics of Thyroid Pathology in Children and Adolescents Effects by Radionuclides,' WHO E16-445-11: 19. Zie ook: 'Draft Meeting Report, Kyiv, Thyroid Cancer after the Chernobyl Accident,' 23 oktober 1993, Riaboukhine, WHO E16-445-11: 21.
- 982 Fred H. Mettler, David V. Becker, Bruce W. Wachholz, en Andre C. Bouville, 'Chernobyl: 10 Years Later,' *Journal of Nuclear Medicine* 37, no. 12 (december 1996): 24.
- 983 'Anstee to Roland M. Timerbaev,' 1 november 1991, WHO E16-180-4: 6; en 'Brief for Secretary-General's Meeting,' 15 oktober 1991, UN Archives S-1046/16/3.
- 984 'International Co-operation in the Elimination of the Consequences of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Accident,' 24 mei 1990, UNA S-1046/14/4; 'Third Meeting of the Inter-Agency Task Force on Chernobyl,' 19-23 september 1991, WHO E16-445-11: 5; en 'Briefing Note on the Activities Relating to Chernobyl,' 3 juni 1993, Department of Humanitarian Affairs DHA, UNA S-1082/35/6/, acc. 2002/0207. Japan had in februari 1991 al twintig miljoen dollar toegezegd, wat de basis vormde voor de financiering van het IPHECA-project. WHO E16-445-11: 3.
- 985 'Anstee to Napalkov,' 17 januari 1992, WHO E16-445-11: 7.
- 986 'Notes of the Secretary-General's Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,' 22 september 1992, United Nations Archive, New York (UN NY) S-1046/14/4, acc. 2001/0001; en 'From President Lukashenko to the Secretary-General,' 28 oktober 1996, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015.
- 987 'Chernobyl: Mission to Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine,' 10-16 september 1994, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015; 'For Information on United Nations, Press Conference Chernobyl,' 30 november 1995, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015; 'A. M. Zlenko, A. N. Sychev, and S. V. Lavrov to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali,' 9 januari 1995, UN NY S-1082/46/5, acc. 2007/0015; 'Strengthening of the Coordination of Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Assistance,' 8 september 1995, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015; 'Strengthening of International Cooperation and Coordination of Efforts to Study, Mitigate and Minimize the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster,' 27 oktober 1997, 'Press Conference on Funding to Address Effects of Chernobyl Disaster,' 1 mei 1998, Sergio Vieira de Mello, 18 mei 1999, 'Note to the Secretary-General,' 23 april 2001, UN NY S-1092/96/5, acc. 2006/0160.
- 988 'Notes of the Secretary-General's meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine'; 'Meeting of Jan Eliasson and Victor H. Batik,' 25 februari 1993; en 'Meeting with Gennadi Buravkin, Belarus,' 4 maart 1993, WHO E16-445-11: 16.
- 989 'Strengthening of the Coordination of Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Assistance,' 8 september 1995, UN NY S-1082/46/5/ acc. 2007/0015.
- 990 'Strengthening of International Cooperation and Coordination of Efforts to Study, Mitigate and Minimize the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster,' 27 oktober 1997.
- 991 'Lars-Erik Holm, Chairman of UNSCEAR, to Kofi A. Annan, Secretary-General,' 6 juni 2000, en Carolyn McAskie, Emergency Relief Coordinator, a.i., aide-mémoire, 27 juni 2000, UN NY S-1092/96/5, acc. 2006/0160. Zie voor de verklaring van de WHO-directeur waarin hij de leidende rol van het IAEA in de kwestie rond Tsjernobyl erkent: *Nuclear Truth*, regie Vladimir Tchertkoff (Feldat Film, Switzerland, 2004).
- 992 Dillwyn Williams en Keith Baverstock, 'Chernobyl and the Future: Too Soon for a Final Diagnosis,' *Nature* 440, no. 7087 (20 april 2006): 993-94.

- 993 'The Human Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident: A Strategy for Recovering,' 2002; en *The Chernobyl Forum: Chernobyl's Legacy, Health, Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts* (UN, 2005).
- 994 Didre Louvat, Conference Proceedings, *Commemoration of the Chernobyl Disaster: The Human Experience Twenty Years Later*, 26 april 2006 (Washington, DC: 2007), 33.
- 995 International Chernobyl Project, Proceedings of an International Conference, 21–24 mei 1991, Wenen, Oostenrijk, 47.
- 996 Telefoongesprek van de auteur met Fred Mettler, 6 januari 2017.
- 997 'John Willis to Morten Andersen,' 23 april 1991, GPA 1800; 'A Group Deputy Question,' en 'Information to Provide Medical Help to the Pediatric Population,' 6 augustus 1992, TsDAVO, 324/19/33: 8–11.
- 998 Morten Andersen, 'Chernobyl Medical Brief,' 19 april 1991, GPA 997.
- 999 'Andersen to Sawyer,' 12 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.
- 1000 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Valentina Drozd, 12 februari 2016.
- 1001 Susan M. Lindee, *Suffering Made Real: American Science and the Survivors at Hiroshima* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 183.
- 1002 In het technische rapport van het IAEA worden diverse gemelde gevallen van kanker genoemd, waarvan er slechts één in Oekraïne is bevestigd, gevolgd door de volgende opmerking: 'Eind 1990 waren er twintig bevestigde gevallen van schildklierkanker bij kinderen in de Oekraïense SSR. Elf daarvan kwamen uit niet-besmette woongebieden.' Verderop in dezelfde tekst staat: 'De meeste meldingen van schildklierkanker waren anekdotisch van aard,' *Technical Report*, 388. In de samenvatting van het rapport worden de gevallen met betrekking tot de schildklier 'geruchten' genoemd. *The International Chernobyl Project: An Overview and Assessment of Radiological Consequences and Evaluation of Protective Measures* (Wenen: IAEA, 1991), 32–34.
- 1003 Mettler et al., 'Thyroid Nodules.'
- 1004 V. B. Nesterenko, V. S. Sergienko, en V. F. Shurkhai, 'On Radiological Conditions in Veprin, Lesan,' Bukunovich, 29 december 1989, GAGO 1174/8/2336: 41–42.
- 1005 'Conclusions on Radiological Circumstances and Conditions for Living in Veprin, Lesan,' and Bukunovich,' (niet gedateerd 1989) GAGO, 1174/8/2336, 43–47.
- 1006 'On Carrying out the Resolution,' 15 augustus 1991, NARB 507/1/5: 108–10; 'On Course of Realization,' 26 september 1991, NARB 507/1/6: 69–71; en 'On Unsatisfactory Execution of Directives,' april 1992, GAMO 7/5/4126: 69–71.
- 1007 'Certificate on Analysis of Morbidity,' 1991, 'Memo,' 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/173: 35–36, 8–23. 'On Inspection of Therapeutic Services of Krasnopol Region,' 18 april 1989, NARB 46/12/1262: 8–12; en 'Information on the State of Examinations in Regions under Control for 1989,' 1 augustus 1989, NARB 46/12/1262: 45–48. Zie ook V. I. Kulakov et al., 'Female Reproductive Function in Areas Affected by Radiation after the Chernobyl Power Station Accident,' *Environmental Health Perspectives* 101 (juli 1993): 117–23.
- 1008 'Values of Permissible Levels of cs-137,' 1989, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/181: 5–7. Volwassenen hadden een hogere waarde: 6.400 Bq/kg Cs-137. Voor de uitschieters bij de hoge stralingsdoses bij Veprin-kinderen (38,9 µSv /3,89 rem alleen al voor 1990), zie 'Protocol,' juni 1990, Arkhiv Kricheva 588/1/184: 2–7.
- 1009 'V. N. Sych to E. P. Tikhonenkov,' 24 mei 1991, GAGO 1174/8/2445: 45–52.
- 1010 'Ministry for Emergencies,' 12 juli 1999, GAGO 1174/8/3346: 36–41.
- 1011 Voor geschatte doses tussen 35 en 65 rem, zie 'Conclusions on the Radiological Situation.'
- 1012 Vorobiev, *Do i posle Chernobylia*, 85.
- 1013 'On Proposals,' 17 oktober 1990; en 'V. Petrovskii to V. Kh. Doluzhiev,' 20 juli 1990, NARB 46/14/1322: 16–17, 170.
- 1014 'Kreisel to S. Tarkowski, Euro,' 14 februari 1990, WHO E16-522-6, jacket 1; en 'Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Inter-Agency Committee for Response to Nuclear Accidents,' Wenen, 25–26 januari 1990, UNESCO, 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1, Part I.

1015 'Report on Assessment Mission to the Areas Affected by the Chernobyl Disaster, USSR,' februari 1990, GPA 1819.

1016 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Clare Moisey, 19 februari 2018.

1017 'Report on Assessment Mission.'

1018 'Australian Mission to the United Nations,' 26 november 1974, UN NY S-0446-0106-09.

1019 Paul Lewis, 'David McTaggart, a Builder of Greenpeace, Dies at 69,' *The New York Times*, 24 maart 2001; en Frank Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 131-160.

1020 'Steve Sawyer to David McTaggart,' 1 juli 1990, GPA 1624.

1021 'Spizhenko to Didenko,' 1 maart 1990, TsDAVO 342/17/5252: 59.

1022 'Confidential Report on "Children of Chernobyl" Trip,' 3 april 1990, GPA 1622; en interview door de auteur met Andrei Pleskonos, 1 juni 2017, Kyiv.

1023 'David McTaggart to Steve Sawyer,' 19 juni 1990, GPA 1624.

1024 Doug Mulhall, 'Revised Proposal and Steve's Comments,' 30 juni 1990; en 'David McTaggart to Board,' 19 juni 1990, GPA 1624.

1025 'Trip Log,' mei 1990, GPA 1624.

1026 'Summary of Evaluation of Medical Needs to Serve the Children's Dispensary at Kyiv,' oktober 1990, GPA 1804; en telefonisch interview van de auteur met Clare Moisey, 19 februari 2018.

1027 'To Kostiantyn Masyk from Nikolai Golushko,' 23 augustus 1990, en 'To the Council of Ministers, Ukraine SSR, K. I. Masyk,' 22 augustus 1990, SBU 16/1/1288: 152-53, 155-56.

1028 'Trip Log,' mei 1990, GPA 1624.

1029 'Trip Log,' mei 1990, GPA 1624.

1030 'Willis to Doug Mulhall and David McTaggart,' 14 augustus 1990, GPA 1625.

1031 'David McTaggart to George Soros,' 1990, GPA 1624

1032 Steve Sawyer, 'Notes from Kyiv Trip,' 20 januari 1991, GPA 999.

1033 'McTaggart to Soros Foundation,' juni 1990, GPA 1624.

1034 'Cunningham to Walker,' 31 januari 1991, GPA 1799; 'Andersen to Walker,' 16 februari 1991, GPA 1799; 'Belcher to Walker,' 15 maart

1991, en 'Mincey to Walker,' 1 maart 1991, GPA 1799; en 'Mincey to Bloom,' 20 juni 1990, GPA 1624.

1035 Een van de artsen, Everett Mincey, was gespecialiseerd in medische apparatuur, waaronder radiologische instrumenten; 'Walker to Andersen,' 18 juni 1991, GPA 1800.

1036 'Anderson to Walker, Sawyer, McTaggart,' 22 februari 1991, GPA 1799.

1037 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Clare Moisey. Zie voor het 'beperkte aantal kinderen': 'Mincey to Walker,' 1 maart 1991, GPA 1799.

1038 'First Draft, Report of Meetings in Kyiv,' 11 december 1992, GPA 994.

1039 Interview door de auteur met Andrei Pleskonos, 1 juni 2017, Kyiv.

1040 'Olga Savran to Judith Walker,' 30 april 1991, GPA 1800.

1041 'Olga Savran to Judith Walker,' 30 april 1991, GPA 1800; en 'Andersen to Sawyer,' 12 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.

1042 Judith Walker, 'A Briefing on the USSR Project,' 11 februari 1991, 999 GPA.

1043 'Morten Andersen Memo to David Squire,' 23 augustus 1991, GPA 1801; 'Greenpeace Kyiv to Yeager,' 26 augustus 1991, GPA 1803; en J. R. Yeager, 3 december 1991, GPA 1804.

1044 'Greenpeace Kyiv to Squire,' 19 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.

1045 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Clare Moisey; en 'Morten Andersen re Science Kyiv to Judith Walker,' 25 februari 1991, GPA 999.

1046 'Walker re Ernest McCoy,' 16 november 1990, GPA 1819; en 'Report of Meeting with Ricki Richardson,' 14 december 1991, GPA 1804.

1047 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Clare Moisey. Ook de WHO stond wantrouwend tegenover donaties van apparatuur en 'onderbenutting': 'Riaboukhine Travel Report Summary to USSR,' 23 augustus 1991, WHO E16-180-4: 5.

1048 Petryna stelt bijvoorbeeld dat Lysenko de Sovjet-stralingsgeneeskunde heeft beïnvloed 'door het ontbreken van een specifieke biologische beschrijving.' Petryna, *Life Exposed*, 119-20.

1049 Hiroshi Ishikawa, 'Radiation Study and the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Second Half of the 1950s: Beyond the Lysenkoists'

- Hegemony,' ICCEES Conference, 7 augustus 2015, Makuhari, Japan; en Susanne Bauer, 'Mutations in Soviet Public Health Science: Post-Lysenko Medical Genetics, 1969–1991,' *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 47 (september 2014): 163–72.
- 1050 Ilya Gadjev, 'Nature and Nurture: Lamarck's Legacy,' *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 114, no. 1 (januari 2015): 242–47.
- 1051 Christopher Sellers, 'The Cold War over the Worker's Body: Cross-National Clashes over Maximum Allowable Concentrations in the Post-World War II Era,' *Toxicants, Health and Regulation since 1945*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 24–45.
- 1052 *Soviet Scientists on the Danger of Nuclear Weapons Tests* (Moskou: Atomizdat, 1959).
- 1053 Carl F. Cranor, 'Reckless Laws, Contaminated People,' in *Powerless Science: Science and Politics in a Toxic World*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 197–214.
- 1054 Patrick O. McGowan en Moshe Szyf, 'The Epigenetics of Social Adversity in Early Life: Implications for Mental Health Outcomes,' *Neurobiology of Disease* 39, no. 1 (1 juli 2010): 66–72.
- 1055 'Belcher to Walker,' 25 februari 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1056 'Belcher to Walker,' 15 maart 1991, en 'Donald MacDonald to De Graaf,' 1 maart 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1057 'Cunningham to Walker,' 28 januari 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1058 'Greenpeace Kyiv to Squire,' 19 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.
- 1059 Judith Walker, 'A Briefing on the USSR Project,' 11 februari 1991, 999 GPA.
- 1060 'Pickaver to Tykhyy,' 11 februari 1991, GPA 999.
- 1061 'Sprange to Walker,' 30 januari 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1062 'Sprange to Walker,' 2 februari 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1063 'Belcher to Walker,' 26 maart 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1064 'Belcher to Walker,' 27 maart 1991, GPA 1799.
- 1065 Steve Sawyer, 'Notes from Kyiv Trip,' 20 januari 1991, GPA 999.
- 1066 Steve Sawyer, 'Notes from Kyiv Trip,' 20 januari 1991, GPA 999.
- 1067 Zie voor de oorspronkelijke plannen 'Protocol of Intentions between Greenpeace and the Shevchenkivskii Regional Council

- of People's Deputies,' 15 juni 1990, GPA 1624; 'Proposal for a Joint Environmental Monitoring Programme of the Northern Ukraine,' 15 november 1990, GPA 996; en 'Zindler to Moisey and Mincey,' 1990, GPA 999.
- 1068 'Bloom to Lapshin,' 12 mei 1990, GPA 1622.
- 1069 'Meeting with Shcherbak, Gruzin, McTaggart, Sawyer, Walker, Tik [sic]i,' 17 januari 1991, GPA 1725.
- 1070 'Tykhyy to J. R. Yaeger,' 26 december 1991, 1001 GPA.
- 1071 Interview door de auteur met Volodymyr Tykhyy, 1 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 1072 Interview door de auteur met Andrei Pleskonos, 1 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 1073 'Alan Pickaver to Judith Walker,' 10 oktober 1990, GPA 997.
- 1074 'On Attempts to Create a Military Structure in the Republic,' 24 november 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 66.
- 1075 Interview door de auteur met Volodymyr Tykhyy, 5 juni 2017, Kyiv.
- 1076 'Certificate No. 8778,' 28 oktober 1986, SBU 68/0463: 24; 'Informational Communiqué,' 23, 26 en 30 maart 1987, SBU 16/1/1249, l. 1: 73–77, 87, 95; 'Informational Communiqué,' 26 oktober, 11 november en 22 december 1988, SBU 16/1/1266: 180–81, 223–24, 305–8; 'On Poor Ecological Conditions,' 28 februari 1990, SBU 16/1/1284: 105–7; 'On the Emergency Situation at the Dam,' 4 december 1990, SBU 16/1/1289: 94.
- 1077 'The Infolab Program,' persoonlijke papieren van Tykhyy; en V. O. Tykhyy, 'Review of Greenpeace International Project to Establish a Mobile Laboratory' (niet gedateerd GPA 999. Zie voor een vergelijking met de doelstellingen van Greenpeace: 'Zindler to Moisey and Mincey,' 1990, en 'Doug Mulhall, re: Dr. Ricky Richardson,' 31 oktober 1990, GPA 1622.
- 1078 Doug Mulhall, 'Revised Proposal and Steve's Comments,' 30 juni 1990, GP 1624. Zie ook 'Walker to Gruzin,' 15 november 1990, GPA 996; en 'Confidential Report on "Children of Chernobyl" Trip,' 3 april 1990, GPA 1622.
- 1079 'Michael Calderbank to Alan Pickaver,' 16 juli 1991, re: Mobile Lab and Container for GP COC Rad/Tox Project, GPA 1000.
- 1080 'Joint Greenpeace, Greenworld and Renaissance Foundation Radiological Toxicity Monitoring Programme in the Ukraine,' Scientific Advisory Group, 27 september 1991, GPA 996; 'Hoffman

to Pickaver, Monthly Report,' januari 1991, GPA 999; 'Tykhyy to Pickaver,' 16 augustus 1991, GPA 1801.

1081 'Science Unit to J. R. Yeager,' 18 maart 1992, GPA 1725.

1082 Tykhyy, 'Contamination of Soil, Food and Water by Toxic Chemicals in Ukraine,' 18 mei 1991, GPA 1000.

1083 'Pickaver to Tykhyy,' 11 februari 1991, GPA 999; en 'Tykhyy to Board Members,' 14 augustus 1991, GPA 1001.

1084 'Hoffman to Pickaver, Monthly Report,' januari 1991, 999 GPA; en 'Minutes of a Meeting Rad/Tox,' 18 maart 1992, GP 1725.

1085 'Martin Pankratz to Zindler,' 26 december 1991, GPA 1001.

1086 'Minutes of a Meeting Rad/Tox,' 18 mei, 'Service Division Consultation Meeting,' 15 juli 1992, en 'Service Division Consultation Meeting,' 15 juli 1992, GPA 1725.

1087 'Minutes of a Meeting in Kyiv Concerning the Radiological-Toxicological Monitoring Program,' Kyiv, 15 september 1992, GPA 1725. Het hoofdkantoor van Greenpeace besloot het laboratorium open te houden: 'Alan Pickaver to Steve Sawyer,' 30 september 1992, GP 1725.

1088 Interview door de auteur met Volodymyr Tykhyy, 5 juni 2017, Kyiv.

1089 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Iryna Labunska, 27 februari 2018.

1090 'Case Study of Radioactive Contamination in Zhytomir Ob, Ukraine,' 15 januari 1993, GPA 1002.

1091 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Olga Savran, 17 januari 2018.

1092 'McTaggart to Greenpeace Kyiv,' 27 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.

1093 'Pickaver to J. R. Yeager,' 16 juli 1992, GPA 1725.

1094 Interview door de auteur met Aleksandr Komov, 2 augustus 2016, Rivne, Oekraïne.

1095 'Chernobyl Humanitarian Assistance and Rehabilitation Programme,' 21 mei 1993, WHO E16-180-4: 11.

1096 'Chernobyl Humanitarian Assistance and Rehabilitation Programme.'

1097 'Andersen to Sawyer,' 12 augustus 1991, GPA 1803.

1098 'First Draft, Report of Meetings in Kyiv,' 11 december 1992, GPA 994.

1099 Alexey V. Yablokov, Vassily B. Nesterenko, Alexey V. Nesterenko, en Janette D. Sherman-Nevinger, *Chernobyl: Consequences of the Catastrophe for People and the Environment* (New York: Wiley, 2010).

1100 *Children of Chernobyl*, Yorkshire British Channel 4, 1991.

1101 Zie bijvoorbeeld James K. McNally, *Children of Chernobyl*, Lethbridge TV, 1990; en Maryann De Leo, *Chernobyl Heart*, Home Box Office, 2003.

1102 William Sweet, 'Chernobyl's Stressful After-Effects,' *IEEE Spectrum* (1 november 1999); en Elisabeth Rosenthal, 'Experts Find Reduced Effects of Chernobyl,' *The New York Times*, 6 september 2005.

1103 J. Lochard, T Schneider, en S. French, *International Chernobyl Project – Input from the Commission of the European Communities to the Evaluation of the Relocation Policy Adopted by the Former Soviet Union* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992); en telefonisch interview door de auteur met Mona Dreicer, 13 april 2018.

1104 Soraya Boudia, 'Managing Scientific and Political Uncertainty,' in *Powerless Science: Science and Politics in a Toxic World*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 95–112.

1105 'Memo,' 1992, NARB 507/1/20: 66–70.

1106 'IAEA Project for a Repeat Assessment of the Situation,' Moskou, 15 oktober 1990, NARB 507/1/1: 33; 'Chernobyl—Nothing to Celebrate,' 1991, GPA 1804.

1107 Ilyin et al., 'Strategy NKRZ.'

1108 Nancy Langston, *Sustaining Lake Superior: An Extraordinary Lake in a Changing World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 181.

1109 'Dr. I. Filyushikin, Institute of Biophysics, Moscow, to Kreisel,' 27 april 1993, WHO E16-3445-11: 16.

1110 'Protocol No. 3, Meeting of the Collegium State Committee, BSSR,' 22 april 1994, NARB 507/1/41, 28–38; Yaroshinskaya, *Bol'shaia lozh'*, 334.

1111 Taras Kuzio, *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security

- International, 2015); en Valentin Maslyukov, 'A Report from Minsk,' *Monthly Review* 50, no. 4 (september 1998): 15–30.
- 1112 Kuchinskaya, *The Politics of Invisibility*, 1606–12 [Kindle].
- 1113 Interview door de auteur met Alexey Yablokov, 5 juni 2015, St. Petersburg.
- 1114 In *Life Exposed* beschrijft Petryna de halfslachtige pogingen om in de jaren negentig in Oekraïne gezondheidsgegevens te verzamelen.
- 1115 'Memo,' niet eerder dan november 1993, GAMO 7/5/4156: 81–94.
- 1116 'On the State of Children's Food,' 1992, TsDAVO 324/19/33: 25–28.
- 1117 Tatiana Kasperski, 'Nuclear Dreams and Realities in Contemporary Russia and Ukraine,' *History and Technology* 31, no. 1 (maart 2015): 55–80.
- 1118 Kuchinskaya, *The Politics of Invisibility*, 1539–76 [Kindle].
- 1119 'Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Inter-Agency Committee for Response to Nuclear Accidents,' Wenen, 25–26 januari 1990, UNESCO, 361.9(470) SC ENV/596/534.1, Part I.
- 1120 Seizin Topçu, 'Chernobyl Empowerment?: Exporting "Participatory Governance" to Contaminated Territories,' in *Toxic World: Toxicants, Health and Regulation in the 20th Century*, red. Soraya Boudia en Nathalie Jas (Londen: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 135–58. Voor de medische effecten van een gerduceerd programma voor schoon voedsel, zie Ian Fairlie, *Torch-2016* (Wenen: Wiener Umweltnwaltsschaft, 2016), 84.
- 1121 Citaat van Didier Louvat, Head, Waste Safety Section, IAEA, Conference Proceedings, April 26, 2006, *Commemoration of the Chernobyl Disaster: The Human Experience Twenty Years Later* (Washington, DC: 2007), 25–30.
- 1122 S. Lepicard en G. Dubreuil, 'Practical Improvement of the Radiological Quality of Milk Produced by Peasant Farmers in the Territories of Belarus Contaminated by the Chernobyl Accident: The ETHOS Project,' *Journal of Environmental Radioactivity* 56, no. 1–2 (2001): 241–53.
- 1123 'Decision,' 29 december 1993, GAMO 7/5/4156: 78–94; 'Memo,' niet eerder dan november 1993, GAMO 7/5/4156: 81–94.
- 1124 'Memo,' 1992, NARB 507/1/20: 66–70; William Sweet, 'Chernobyl's Stressful After-Effects,' *IEEE Spectrum* (1 november 1999).
- 1125 'Professor Iuryi Bandazhevskiy: mirnyi atom eto mif,' *Tema*, 30 augustus 2011, geraadpleegd op 19 juli 2015, <http://tema.in.ua/article/6677.html>.
- 1126 Y. I. Bandazhevsky, 'Chronic Cs-137 Incorporation in Children's Organs,' *Swiss Medical Weekly* 133 (2003): 488–90; en G. S. Bandazhevskaya et al., 'Relationship between Caesium (137Cs) Load, Cardiovascular Symptoms, and Source of Food in Chernobyl Children,' *Swiss Medical Weekly* 134 (2004): 725–29.
- 1127 Tchertkoff, *The Crime of Chernobyl*, 201.
- 1128 'Three Sites Singled Out for Nuclear Power Plant in Belarus,' No. 2, 26 maart 1998, *Interfax*, Belapan Radio, 4 februari 1998; en 'Lukashenko Says People Will Decide on Nuclear Power Plant,' FBIS-SOV-98-035.
- 1129 Interview door de auteur met Yuri Bandazhevsky, 20 juli 2015, Ivankiv, Oekraïne.
- 1130 Interview door de auteur met Yuri Bandazhevsky, 20 juli 2015, Ivankiv, Oekraïne.
- 1131 Iu. I. Bandazhevskii, 'Chernobyl': *Ekologiya i zdorov'ia*, vol. 1 (Ivankiv, 2014). Zie voor ondersteunende statistieken: National Research Center for Radiation Medicine, 'Thirty Years,' 61–65.
- 1132 Dillwyn Williams, 'An Unbiased Study of the Consequences of Chernobyl Is Needed,' *The Guardian*, 17 januari 2010.
- 1133 Eugenia Stepanova et al., 'Exposure from the Chernobyl Accident Had Adverse Effects on Erythrocytes, Leukocytes, and Platelets in Children in the Narodichesky Region, Ukraine: A 6-Year Follow-Up Study,' *Environmental Health* 7 (2008): 21.
- 1134 M. R. Sheikh Sajjadih et al., 'Effect of Cesium Radioisotope on Humoral Immune Status in Ukrainian Children with Clinical Symptoms of Irritable Bowel Syndrome Related to Chernobyl Disaster,' *Toxicology and Industrial Health* 27 (2011): 51–56.
- 1135 Erik R. Svendsen et al., 'Cesium 137 Exposure and Spirometry Measures in Ukrainian Children Affected by the Chernobyl Nuclear Accident,' *Environmental Health Perspectives* 118, no. 5 (mei 2010): 720–27; en Erik R. Svendsen et al., 'Reduced Lung Function in Children Associated with Cesium 137 Body Burden,'

- Annals of the American Thoracic Society* 12, no. 7 (juli 2015): 1050–57.
- 1136 Eero Pukkala, 'Breast Cancer in Belarus and Ukraine after the Chernobyl Accident,' *International Journal of Cancer* 119 (2006): 651–58.
- 1137 De onderzoeksgroep van Davis stelde vast dat er in het algemeen sprake was van een 'significante toename van het risico op leukemie naarmate de stralingsdosis hoger was.' Van de drie onderzochte regio's (Oekraïne, Wit-Rusland en Rusland) werd een statistisch significant effect alleen in Oekraïne gevonden. Daar was de steekproef namelijk het grootst. In het onderzoek werden patiënten en de controlegroep met elkaar vergeleken op basis van hun woonplaats. Dat bracht echter het risico van zogeheten overmatching met zich mee. In de woonplaatsen van de deelnemers werd voedsel namelijk vaak op lokale markten verhandeld. Daardoor konden zowel de patiënten als de controlegroep vergelijkbare hoeveelheden lokaal besmet voedsel hebben gegeten. Zo'n overmatching kan ertoe leiden dat het werkelijke effect wordt onderschat. Ondanks deze methodische moeilijkheid vonden de onderzoekers toch een algemeen statistisch significant effect. Scott Davis et al., 'Childhood Leukaemia in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine Following the Chernobyl Power Station Accident,' *International Journal of Epidemiology* 35 (2006): 386–96. Zie ook A. G. Noshchenko et al., 'Radiation-Induced Leukaemia among Children Aged 0–5 Years at the Time of the Chernobyl Accident,' *International Journal of Cancer* 127 (2010): 214.
- 1138 A. I. Niagu et al., 'Effects of Prenatal Brain Irradiation as a Result of the Chernobyl Accident,' *International Journal of Radiation Medicine* 6, no. 1–4 (2004): 91–107.
- 1139 Fairlie, *Torch-2016*, 76; en *20 let posle Chernobyl'skoi katastrofy, natsional'nyi doklad* (Minsk, 2006): 59.
- 1140 K. Spivak et al., 'Caries Prevalence, Oral Health Behavior, and Attitudes in Children Residing in Radiation-Contaminated and Non-Contaminated Towns in Ukraine,' *Community Dental Oral Epidemiology* 32 (2004): 1–9.
- 1141 Michael Gillies et al. 'Mortality from Circulatory Diseases and Other Non-Cancer Outcomes among Nuclear Workers in France, the United Kingdom and the United States (INWORKS),' *Radiation Research* 188, no. 3 (2017): 276–90; en Klervia Leuraud, David B. Richardson, et al., 'Ionising Radiation and Risk of Death from Leukaemia and Lymphoma in Radiation-Monitored Workers (INWORKS): An International Cohort Study,' *The Lancet. Haematology* 2, no. 7 (July 2015): e276–81.
- 1142 Benedict O'Donnell, 'Low-Dose Radiation May Be Linked to Cancer Risk,' *Horizon: The EU Research and Innovation Magazine* (30 mei 2016); en Munira Kadhim et al., 'Non-Targeted Effects of Ionising Radiation – Implications for Low Dose Risk,' *Mutation Research* 752 (2013): 84–98.
- 1143 Zie voor corruptie: 'Memo,' niet eerder dan november 1993, GAMO 7/5/4156: 81–94.
- 1144 'Progress Report,' maart–september 1994, Chernobyl Studies Project, Working Group 7.0, DOE, UCRL-ID-110062-94-6.
- 1145 Interview door de auteur met Irina Vlasenko, 13 april 2016, Minsk.
- 1146 In 2016 stond 82 procent van de inwoners van besmette gebieden onder medisch toezicht. 'Natsional'nyi doklad Respubliki Belarus,' *30 let Chernobyl'skoi avarii* (Minsk, 2016), 16–20.
- 1147 Interview door de auteur met Nikolai Kachan, 28 juli 2016, Valavsk, Wit-Rusland.
- 1148 Voor een kritische beoordeling van de evaluaties van de VN inzake Tsjernobyl, zie: European Commission Radiation Protections No. 170, 'Recent Scientific Findings and Publications on the Health Effects of Chernobyl' (Luxemburg: Directoraat-Generaal voor Energie, 2011).
- 1149 In 2015 exporteerde Oekraïne negentienduizend ton wilde bessen, dertig keer zoveel als het jaar daarvoor. Email-correspondentie met Ivgen Kuzin, International Relations Manager van Fruit-Inform, 11 september 2016.
- 1150 Alexis Madrigal, 'Chernobyl Exclusion Zone Radioactive Longer Than Expected,' *Wired* (15 december 2009).
- 1151 Interview door de auteur met Wladimir Wartelecki, 5 mei 2016, Washington, DC.

- 1152 De op één na hoogste percentages van dit soort geboorteafwijkingen werden vastgesteld in Noord-Engeland, in de buurt van de plutoniumfabriek in Windscale. Wladimir Wertelecki, 'Chernobyl 30 Years Later: Radiation, Pregnancies and Developmental Anomalies in Rivne, Ukraine,' *European Journal of Medical Genetics* 60 (2017): 2–11.
- 1153 Interview door de auteur met Wladimir Wertelecki, 12 juli 2016, Rivne, Oekraïne.
- 1154 'From Commission of the European Communities, Com (87), Minutes 894,' 4 november 1987, PSP 133, European Union Archive, Florence, Italië; en 'Council Regulation (Euratom) 2016/52 of 15 January 2016,' geraadpleegd op 9 mei 2018, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32016R00>.
- 1155 Khalil Boudjemline, 'CBSA's Radiation Detection Program (RADNET),' Technical Reach-Back Workshop, Joint Research Centre, Ispra, Italië, 28 maart 2017. Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Khalil Boudjemline, Research Engineer, Canada Border Services Agency, 21 april 2018.
- 1156 *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, 9 november 2016.
- 1157 Voor argumenten om 'samen te spannen met andere levensvormen,' zie Natasha Myers, 'From Edenic Apocalypse to Gardens against Eden,' in *Infrastructure, Environment and Life in the Anthropocene*, red. Gregg Hetherington (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press).
- 1158 Telefonisch interview door de auteur met Sarah Phillips, 18 mei 2018.
- 1159 Manfred Dworschak, 'The Chernobyl Conundrum: Is Radiation as Bad as We Thought?' *Spiegel Online*, 26 april 2016.
- 1160 National Research Center for Radiation Medicine, 'Thirty Years of Chernobyl Catastrophe: Radiological and Health Effects' (National Report of Ukraine: Kyiv, 2016): 7.
- 1161 Zie de analyse van Sonja Schmid, 'Nuclear Emergencies and the Masters of Improvisation,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 25 april 2016.
- 1162 Sarah D. Phillips, 'Contamination of Japan 43 – Sociology of Nuclear Disaster,' *Nuclear Exhaust*, geraadpleegd op 16 mei 2018,

- <https://nuclearexhaust.wordpress.com/2015/04/30/contamination-of-japan-43-sociology-of-nuclear-disaster-sarah-d-phillips/>.
- 1163 'The Legacy of Nuclear Testing | ICAN,' geraadpleegd op 25 mei 2018, <http://www.icanw.org/the-facts/catastrophic-harm/the-legacy-of-nuclear-testing/>.
- 1164 Voor zuigelingen in Utah: 120–420 rad of 1,200–4,200 µSv. Charles Mays, 'Estimated Thyroid Doses and Predicted Cancers in Utah,' DOE NVO403156, zoals overgenomen in Andrew Kirk, *Doom Towns: The People and Landscapes of Atomic Testing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 199–201. Zie voor landelijke schattingen Hoffman et al., 'A Perspective on Public Concerns about Exposure to Fallout from the Production and Testing of Nuclear Weapons.'
- 1165 Elizabeth Tynan, *Atomic Thunder: The Maralinga Story* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2016); Nic Maclellan, *Grappling with the Bomb* (Acton: ANU Press, 2017); en B. Danielsson, 'Poisoned Pacific: The Legacy of French Nuclear Testing,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 46, no. 2 (maart 1990): 22.
- 1166 Hyeyun Lim et al., 'Trends in Thyroid Cancer Incidence and Mortality in the United States, 1974–2013,' *Journal of the American Medical Association* 317, no. 13 (4 april 2017): 1338–48; B. A. Kilfoy et al. 'International Patterns and Trends in Thyroid Cancer Incidence, 1973–2002,' *Cancer Causes Control* 20 (2009): 525–31; en F. De Vathaire et al., 'Thyroid Cancer Following Nuclear Tests in French Polynesia,' *British Journal of Cancer* 103 (2010): 1115–21.
- 1167 Peter Kaatsch, 'Epidemiology of Childhood Cancer,' *Cancer Treatment Reviews* 36, no. 4 (1 juni 2010): 277–85; National Cancer Institute, 'SEER Cancer Statistics Review, 1975–2013,' https://seer.cancer.gov/archive/csr/1975_2013/#contents. Een stijgende trend is niet vanzelfsprekend; in Brazilië bijvoorbeeld daalden de cijfers. Arnaldo César Couto, 'Trends in Childhood Leukemia Mortality over a 25-Year Period,' *Jornal de Pediatria* (Rio J) 86, no. 5 (2010): 405–10.
- 1168 Children's Leukemia and Cancer Research Foundation, <https://childcancerresearch.com.au/>.

1169 Niels Jorgensen, Jaime Mendiola, Hagai Levine, Anderson
Martino-Andrade, Irina Mindlis, Shanna H. Swan, et al.,
'Temporal Trends in Sperm Count: A Systematic Review and
Meta-Regression Analysis,' *Human Reproduction Update* 23, no. 6
(december 2017): 646-59.

AUTEUR

Kate Brown

UITGEVER

Starfish Books

VERTALING EN REDACTIE

Menno Grootveld

OMSLAGONTWERP EN BINNENWERK

Zsa Zsa Linnemann, Studio ZenZ

FOTO AUTEUR

Annette Hornischer, bewerking: Peter Cypers

PAPIER

Roman 80 g/m2 en Biotop 3, 250 g/m2

DRUK- EN BINDWERK

Ipskamp Printing, Enschede

ISBN 978 94 92 7 34 372, ECOLOGIE - HISTORIE

april 2026

OORSPRONKELIJKE TITEL

Manual for Survival –

A Chernobyl Guide to the Future

uitgebracht door W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2019

COPYRIGHT

2019 ©Kate Brown

december 2026 © vertaling Menno Grootveld



WWW.STARFISHBOOKS.ORG